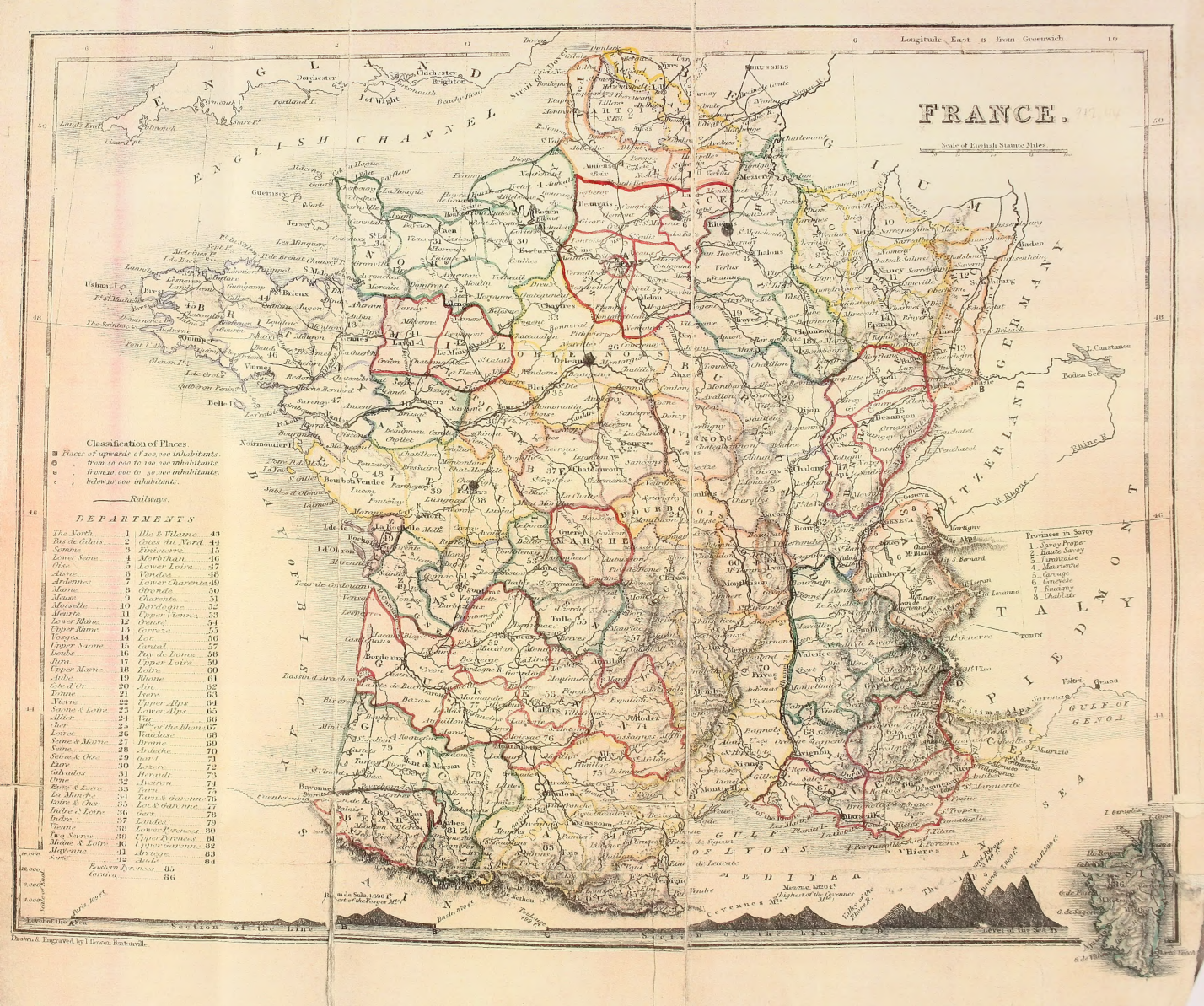
# HISTORY OF FRANCE.

VOL. I.

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FRANCE.
Scale of English Statute Miles
Longitude East & from Greenwich
ENGLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
BRUSSELS
GERMANY
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
PIEDMONT
Classification of Places
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from 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants.
from 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants.
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7 Faucigny
8 Chablais
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Section of the Line D
Level of the Sea
Drawn & Engraved by J. Duncan, Rutlandville

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# HISTORY OF FRANCE.

BY

EMILE DE BONNECHOSE.

TO

# THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

AUTHORIZED TRANSLATION, EDITED BY S. O. BEETON,

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# PREFACE.

NAPOLEON has said, "The history of France must be written in two volumes or in a hundred." The latter task is beyond the powers of one man. Whilst still young I dared to undertake the former; and when, a few years after the Revolution of 1830, I first printed this work, we had not in our language any *précis* of our history continued down to a contemporary period. In writing these volumes, I purposed presenting to my reader, in a compact form, a comprehensive set of events, describing the principal causes and the great men who gave birth to, or who directed them; and to elicit from the confused mass of details the particular character of each epoch. In a word, to exhibit what, through past centuries, France owes to the force of circumstances, to chance, to the progress of time and civilization. This very arduous task was in my first work but very incompletely carried out.

In the succeeding editions of my history, I very much extended the narrative, and more than once I modified either my exposition of facts, or my deductions from them. There is a wide interval between the transient glances of youth and the clearer observation of mature age; the historian, as his view becomes wider and his knowledge deeper, feels the necessity for making his reader acquainted with his progress, that he may share in the narrator's more advanced views as to men and things. Besides, what thoughtful man, living in the agitated times in which we have lived, could be vain enough never to correct his first judgment by the lessons of events and experience? Nevertheless, my opinions as to essential points have not varied; and it will not, perhaps, be useless to make here, in a few words, my profession of principles from the twofold point of view of morals and policy in history.

At the present day, as in the past, I believe that the immutable laws of morals are the same for nations as for individuals; and that it is by the light of conscience illumined by Divine agency that we must judge of the history of entire humanity. At the present time, as formerly, I believe that the upward growths of ideas and of manners, aided by the advances made

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in commerce and industry, and recently by so many admirable discoveries, are tending to make the peoples understand better every day that they are not the natural enemies of each other; that the waves and seas are not placed between nations as eternal barriers to separate them, but as the mighty means of bringing together and uniting them. I believe, contrarily from what was believed in pagan antiquity, that the individual is not made for the State, but the State for individuals; and that the more freely men are allowed to exercise all their rights, under the guidance of religion, of morals, and of law, the more shall we see the State increase in prosperity and in power. I believe, finally, that the best governments are those which elevate the moral and intellectual level of the people, increase the general well-being, and cause the greatest possible number of persons to participate in the benefits of civilization. Such are the truths which the historian, according to my lights, is bound to receive and never to lose sight of.

In the primitive scheme of this work, as in all the subsequent editions of it, I concluded my narrative with the Revolution of 1830. I showed how monarchical and parliamentary government had been introduced among us, and I briefly recounted the first period of its existence. It remained for me to narrate the latter period, and to say how France, after having possessed parliamentary and monarchical liberty during thirty-four years, lost it.

During the first years which followed the Revolution of February, and whilst a return to the fundamental principles of a representative and parliamentary monarchy appeared chimerical, the duty of the historian was to let the heat of political passions subside, and silently to mature his judgment on recent events. He might thus be able to refrain from recalling painful recollections, especially for those men whose errors, no less than whose services, whose honourable character, whose rare talents, France has never been able to forget. But at this day, when the nation seems about to awake, and when so many eloquent and generous voices recall to mind the ideas and the traditions of free government, it is no longer seemly in the historian to remain quiescent. He must remember that history is the guide of peoples, and that to aid them, and to preserve them from shipwreck, it must signal to contemporaries the rocks on which others have struck and broken.

Finally, the more general and ardent the desire to regain lost liberties, the more necessary, at the same time, is the study of the reign which

alone can tell us how those liberties perished. The truth as to this reign has never been wholly told. It has been distorted by its enemies, and often obscured by its friends, whilst by many mere spectators of events as they happened, and by many who have written on this period, after taking therein a more or less active part, the verities have been presented in a very attenuated form. It could not be otherwise. Rarely, indeed, do we resign ourselves to accept equally the honour of success, or the responsibility of disgrace, and it seems a dangerous thing to reveal the wounds of a régime which we aspire to see renewed. Many feel constrained to draw a veil over or keep back the truth, out of a very commendable regard for great misfortunes. More are afraid of causing displeasure—either to actors in the events of yesterday, or to those who may be participators in the events of to-day or to-morrow. Each one makes terms with his recollections. We seek to set up an illusion, and the opinion takes root that the greatest political and social deluge of this century was an effect without any necessary or logical cause,—the simple result of an unfortunate concourse of exceptional and fortuitous circumstances. Thus no one has any very serious reproaches to make against himself. Destiny has so designed, Fatality has done it all.

Is it well that we should write history thus, with posterity before our eyes? Do we know what we are doing by these compromises, these cowardly evasions? We forget the truth spoken by Montesquieu, that "behind great events there are always great moral causes;" and we fail to see that if no one be responsible for the misfortunes we deplore, we must demand an account from these very institutions which we regret, from these very lost liberties which we desire to see recalled. Thus become justifiable in the eyes of many men political indifference, distrust, disdain even, for parliamentary government, and for those liberties to which they attribute all our misfortunes. Such must be the inevitable results of the defaults of history, of interested or generous reticence, of complaisant and fatal frauds. No! if the most essential of our political liberties have perished, the fault lies not in these liberties, nor with the charters in which they are written; the loss is due partly to individuals, partly to causes which will be examined in their place. I shall here indicate but one cause, particularly disastrous under a representative form of government, and I shall call public attention, with many other writers, to the abuses of our administrative system, and to the dangers of excessive centralization—the unhappy legacy of the old régime and of the first Empire.

I wish not to be misunderstood. In pronouncing at this period, with almost the whole of my countrymen, against centralization without limits, I nevertheless acknowledge all the advantages it has lent, during many centuries, to the unity of public power; and I do not forget the most characteristic fact of our history which exhibits France, from the days of Charlemagne down to an epoch approaching our own, ever increasing in power and extent, according as the power of the Sovereign or of the State grew and absorbed within itself all other powers. No one at the present day can deny that which the royal authority, aggrandized and firmly established, has done in consolidating territory, in putting an end to intestine wars, in delivering the people from feudal oppression. I will go further. In a great country like France, formed out of many states for a long period almost strangers to each other, and surrounded by powerful neighbours, a force capable of maintaining the integrity of the soil, of preserving order and peace within, of acting abroad, and extending afar our relations and our influence, is an incontestible necessity, and one which all judicious men are constrained to admit.

But when overleaping every barrier, this same central power, in place of widening the sources of a people's life, hinders and limits them, as was the case in France during the second half of the reign of Louis XIV.; when it contracts or destroys the liberties necessary to the equilibrium of the social forces; when, instead of stimulating the activity, the vigilance, and the energy of every member of the State, it benumbs and paralyzes them; when it tends, by substituting itself for the combined actions of all, to deprive every individual member of the State of the desire to act, this central power becomes, instead of a means of progress, an obstacle and a danger.

During the last century we may discover many points of resemblance between the practices of the French administration and the governments of China and of the Lower Empire; and if there was in the legitimate aspirations of France in 1789 an idea which dominated every other, an idea common to all the three orders of the State, an idea clearly and warmly expressed by all, it was the desire to throw off the yoke of centralized administration. Open the famous records of the period, and at every page we shall see, under one form or another, the same complaints, the same hopes.

The dangers to which excessive centralization gives rise both for governments and the governed have been exposed in our own time by

the most eminent men, and the Emperor himself has admitted the evil by displaying the desire to apply a remedy. Of the consequences of such a system I shall confine myself to the recalling the most pernicious, from the double point of view of morals and of policy. On the one hand, we see face to face with the omnipotence of the State the complete separation from power of every non-official man, and his absolute impotence, whence most frequently result the forgetfulness of the public weal, the entire absorption of the individual in material and private interests, general apathy and abasement of character. On the other hand, we see the inherent instability of institutions, of laws, of interests, and of affairs when the governmental or administrative machine works in such a way that it needs but the touch of a bold and firm hand upon the principal wheel, upon the chief motor, to render all resistance impossible, to establish by coercion a victory over order.

To account for a condition of things rife in revolutions of all kinds, more often under a representative *régime* than any other, and denounced to the preceding generation in austere and indignant language by the illustrious Royer-Collard when passing in review some of the most famous events of the revolutionary, consular, and imperial epochs, he named but a sole cause—administrative centralization—growing and gathering strength under the most diverse forms of government, and planting its foot upon the ruins of every institution where French liberties had found a fleeting refuge. "Monstrous power," said he, "power destructive, among other liberties, of electoral liberty, without which Ministerial responsibility is but a dead letter, and representative government but a fiction and a phantom." Such was the gnawing evil which Royer-Collard pointed out in the state of France under the Restoration, an evil which has existed under every subsequent reign: it has proved a mortal wound to the one *régime* as to the other.

To struggle against an evil so deeply rooted, to cripple the action of this absorbing and limitless power, two methods present themselves: we may restrain it by abridging the number of its prerogatives, or by setting up beside it other powers and other forces. These two means may be essayed simultaneously; to speak truly, they are but one and the same, for to abridge excessive powers is to create salutary checks.

In favour of this view there is the feeling, growing stronger every day, which tells each of us that our revolution has destroyed too much, has broken too many of our traditions, has too far forgotten that nations, no

less than families and individuals, cannot violate natural laws, and consequently cannot, without peril, separate themselves entirely from their past. Further, if it were shown that there was something in the constitution of ancient France the loss of which was to-day much regretted, would it be but acting courageously and sensibly if we sought to recover it—at least, if there were anything to be regained, if all had not been so completely destroyed that not a trace could be discovered?

It is a fact of the highest importance, according to my view, that there exists in France an opinion favourable to this research—to this examination. We feel, and we acknowledge, that the administrative power, at the present day omnipotent and concentrated about the very heart of the State, can only wisely be limited and balanced by other mighty forces, whose component parts should work freely; and already our glances are directed towards that one, of all our institutions, where abides some feeble remnants of the liberties of ancient France—I mean the institution of General Councils of our departments.

Great and legitimate hopes lie in this direction; there lies the germ of a fruitful institution, as is proved by our esteem for these modest assemblies. But this esteem is only a happy sign, a wholesome presage; the call to follow in this track is but faint. What, indeed, in a vast empire can these feeble deliberative, or rather consultative bodies, effect —elected only yesterday, without any grave powers, meeting so rarely, and for so short a time? What a wide interval between them and the ancient meetings in our country of States and of Provincial Assemblies,* the happy attributes of which, before the French Revolution, an eloquent and able pen has recently recalled to our memory. What are they, in fine, compared with those Provincial States which in neighbouring countries—in Belgium and in Holland—are, through their delegates, permanently and successfully acting as the agents of the executive power?

It is not solely as a guarantee of the maintenance of the public liberties that the prerogatives and the authority of our departmental assemblies should be increased; it is desirable they should possess enlarged powers in order that those who take part in their deliberations should be raised in rank thereby; thus the right to sit in them would become the object of a high and legitimate ambition, the sole means perhaps of mitigating the evil which devours us, of arresting that furious

* See the remarkable work of M. de Lavergne, on "The Provincial Assemblies of France previous to 1789."

and disordered movement which precipitates the provinces upon Paris, which each day draws away from the limbs of the social body more blood and more vital strength to throw them upon the heart, where the plethora is mortal.*

Statesmen, celebrated publicists, have understood the necessity of creating or rather of re-establishing throughout the extensive territories of our departments the powerful elements of local forces, and of strong incentives to human activity.

Already in some parts power has been brought together to act on the springs of justice, of military authority, and of public instruction. It remains to give action to this power. This appears possible only by reanimating in a sufficient degree the representative elements of the country, so that the elective assemblies shall represent not simply departments, but vast portions of the soil, called indifferently territorial or seignorial divisions.

I shall dare to go farther; and may my presumption be pardoned to one of the historians of our old France! I shall dare to dispute the right to obliterate some of the names of our ancient provinces, at the risk of wounding that fatal levelling tendency in France beneath which I have always seen, whether under a monarchical or republican form, the most powerful auxiliary to despotism. It has dragged our sires over that dangerous path opened by the author of the "Contrat Social," when out of hatred for privileges they brought down all things to the level of tyrannical unity, and when they thought that in order to be free it sufficed to be equal. The members of the Constituent Assembly at least acted logically: resolved to erase every vestige of the institutions of our country; all powerful in the centre of the State;—it being moreover necessary to their purpose to render all opposition impossible—there were no more effectual means for the execution of their project than those

* I can only give here a few sketches, and it is not the place to create a system. Preoccupied, in the interests of general liberty, with increasing the power of the great provincial elective assemblies, I have not spoken of the cantonal and communal organization. It will be understood that these will form the basis of the institutions destined to moderate the administrative central force, and to balance it. A celebrated writer, Mr. John Stuart Mill, has said: "In many cases though individuals may not do the particular thing so well, on the average, as the officers of Government, it is nevertheless desirable that it should be done by them rather than by the Government, as a means to their own mental education." I invite the reader to peruse the excellent comments of M. Edouard Laboulaye, on the system of Mr. Mill, in his work, "De l'Etat et de ses limites," pp. 53-68.

they conceived and carried out. Perceiving an obstacle to their enterprise in the ancient provincial organization of the country, they extinguished our provinces; they divided them, split them up into scanty fragments, deprived them of all common action, and of all those natural bonds created by heroic names, memorials, and historical traditions. The provinces thus isolated and separated one from the other, it presently needed but the word of a master to prevent their making the least effort without his orders, or of settling for themselves the simplest question or the most trifling affairs. Paris thus became more and more the burning hearthstone of all our interests, of all political contests, and of all ambition; the equilibrium of the body social has been disturbed for the apparent benefit of a single city; on the banks of the Seine there has been concentrated movement and life, whilst almost everywhere else there is nought but paralysis and death.

I am of those who are struck by the perils of such a state of things, and who believe that it is imperative to act against the baleful tendency which dragged our fathers so far. To carry out our purpose, we must show ourselves to be as logical as they were; they have mutilated and divided the limbs of France in order to enfeeble them; we must now restore life to them, reunite them and group them together according to the natural affinities indicated by geography and by history. That which has been overthrown to the vital prejudice of local liberties, the veritable ramparts of all political liberties, we must restore in the highest possible degree, for the advantage of those very liberties to which we afresh aspire, and which an august speaker has rightly called the crowning of the edifice.

Utopia! cry the clever and superstitious admirers of unity. I am aware how strongly prejudice acts against such a work, against any reconstitution of provincial powers. A writer already cited, M. Lavergne, although he has demonstrated better than any one else the action of the provincial assemblies created under Louis XVI., yet seems to me not to have completely comprehended all the bearings of the act which has destroyed our provinces. "This act," he says, "by which appellations derived from a river or a mountain have been substituted for the ancient names of the provinces of France, had neither advantages nor disadvantages, being only revolutionary child's play." No, it is not child's play to substitute for a national name, surrounded by the spell of centuries, a new name which recalls nothing to the mind—to the memory. It is in

this respect that states and bodies are constituted like historical families; in snatching from them their past, their traditions, the honour and renown of their acts, you deprive every one of the high ambition of being allied with them, of the legitimate pride of being an off-shoot from them. Alas, France, so jealous of her honour, of her preponderance, towards foreign nations, is afraid of herself and of her past! Her history, if one of the most humble of those who have written it may be permitted to say so, her history is that of her provinces; we cannot read a page of it without meeting their glorious names, those of her ancient geographical subdivisions, so familiar to the ears of our ancestors, and so rapidly being effaced from our own minds. The French provinces appear not only in our own history but in the history of Europe, in the literature of all the peoples of the world; some of these provinces have conquered kingdoms; they reappear everywhere except in our own official and political language and on our own maps, to the inexpressible astonishment of strangers, but not of ourselves!* This forgetfulness is so great, this sad prejudice so deeply rooted that it is doubtful whether France could of herself open her eyes to the enormity of the injury she has done against herself: a cruel and deep wound which perhaps only a firm will at the summit of the State can close and heal. Come what may, the glory—a pure and lasting glory—will be assured to the prince who, without lessening the proper powers of the State, shall create, or rather re-establish in France, under whatever denomination, numerous centres of interests, of powerful action, and of life; to him who, like the prophet of old, shall say, "Arise!" to these languishing limbs of the State, to these dry bones; to him who shall found in various parts of the empire firm institutions, natural protections of the rights and interests of all, and, to use the words of an illustrious man, "capable, should they be wounded, of uttering a loud and succour-bringing cry of anguish."†

But, as we know, just as the most solid ramparts oppose but a poor resistance if they have not behind them disciplined arms and intrepid hearts,

* That which I believe to be desirable and practicable to save from oblivion the old names of our provinces exists, and has been recently enforced upon a very important point as to territory. The names of Savoy and of Upper Savoy have been given to two new departments of France. What danger can there now be of doing for the interior of the Empire, and for provinces of France centuries old, that which has been done without disadvantage and without fear for a frontier territory of recent annexation?

† Royer-Collard.

so we see the best institutions offer but a weak defence if those who possess them have not the heart to maintain, and are ignorant how to defend them: they always show themselves feeble and clumsy, if they be not surrounded by moral and temporal interests to watch over, by rights and liberties to demand or to maintain; sole means by which all can be gradually brought to comprehend and to practise their duty towards their country. It is thus that the men of our workshops and of our fields may rise to a sense of the public weal, above the too material occupations which at this day absorb, without enlarging, their intelligence.

Among the rights and liberties which every Frenchman has an interest in demanding or in defending, the most sacred are those of conscience and of worship. The noblest minds of our time, belonging to parties the most opposite, but alike animated by love of country and of wise progress, agree in the view that religious liberty is the root and the mother of the most essential of the liberties of modern peoples. Those who are free, and those who aspire to become so; all, Catholics or Protestants, declare the religious sentiment, a firm Christian belief, to be the grand foundation of the liberty, no less than the prosperity of some of the neighbouring peoples, and the most powerful instrument for resisting internal tyranny or foreign oppression.* My voice joins with their eloquent voices in protesting against all trammels imposed upon the free exercise of religious worship; against maintaining by the edicts of authority, a pretended uniformity of belief, too often only an apparent uniformity, the sad product of indifference or ignorance, and which before long conducts a people to the worst of deaths—by moral and spiritual atrophy.

It imports very much less whether men belong to this or that Christian community, than that they hold in their hearts the belief in God and the gospel. The chief, the indispensable thing is, that they should be Christians, and Christians by conviction. In vain during modern days, so different from antique times, shall we seek for a free nation outside Christianity, a truth which is comprised in the grand words of De Tocqueville: "If the people are unbelievers, they must be serfs; if they are free, they must be believers." No perils then in liberty: in throwing off

* I shall cite only three, because in my eyes they are the most eminent representatives of the three distinct religious tendencies—MM. de Montalembert, de Pressensé, and Laboulaye. All three are unanimous on the point.

externally an illegal and tyrannical yoke, men will retain for themselves that of divine law, the most lawful and most sacred of all yokes; and whilst astonishing the world by prodigies of heroism, they will not terrify it by their crimes. Servants of a living God and of the gospel, they will accomplish what anti-Christian France of the eighteenth century could not achieve. Should liberty be wanting to them, they must conquer it, and having conquered it, they must guard it.

Stop here. I thought that a profession of principles, clear and distinct, would not be out of place at the head of a work wherein I have endeavoured to draw from events a moral lesson, and to demonstrate under what conditions a people acquires liberty and preserves it. Of these conditions some are universal and immutable, as I have already shown in another work.* Others necessarily vary according to time, circumstances, and the genius of races. But if it be true that popular liberty consists in a whole people participating in the direction of its own affairs, it is but a delusion if this participation be only imaginary. Popular liberty is only possible in our vast modern states by the voice of representation, and we cannot have a Government representative and free save when representation is sincere and thorough.

The continued violation of this vital condition of free governments necessarily conduces to despotism, or to fresh revolutions; a formidable truth which cannot too strongly be brought to light during the present period when political liberty appears ready to take root in France. I have essayed this work, the more difficult because of the narrow limits of my framework. I have done my task without anger, most often with sorrow, always with a profound feeling of the duties of the historian, of the danger towards unborn generations of ignoring the truth as to contemporary times. It is undoubtedly fitting that all friends of the public weal, to whatever party they may formerly have belonged, should forget their dissensions; it is good that they should mutually pardon each other's errors and defects; but it is needful that they institute a severe scrutiny of these errors and defects. Merely to throw a convenient veil over the past is not to serve but to compromise the cause of those liberties which we love and which we have lost;—is, as I have already stated, to bring back that very evil which has not been able to preserve these liberties from shipwreck.

Free institutions and the great principles which they represent,

* "Histoire d'Angleterre depuis l'origine jusqu'à la Révolution française."

are the highest expression of political genius among the civilized nations of modern Europe. The governments of the monarchs of the stagnant East, of the Cæsars of pagan Rome, of Sultans and of Viziers, are the governments of infant or decrepit peoples steeped in ignorance or brutishness. There is nothing there to imitate, nothing to borrow for the French nation—a viril and Christian nation. The Prince who governs France has already many times expressed the generous desire to increase her franchises. That desire is sincere. I will never admit that an able Prince, knowing his strength, and imbued with the feeling of true greatness, would prefer the enjoyment of absolute power to the honour of reigning over a people truly free; I will not believe that any monarch would not, like one of our old rulers, be more happy and more proud to command Freemen than Slaves, FRANKS than SERFS.

In extending my work to a recent and very celebrated date, in alluding to deep wounds still bleeding, I have not deceived myself as to the perils of the enterprise. Warnings as to it have not been wanting, and friendly voices have been raised, telling me that notwithstanding my efforts to reconcile truth with the respect due to character, to talent, and to misfortune, it would be rashness in me to display perhaps a wide divergence from men very properly highly placed in public esteem: but their acts belong to history, and the time is past when I should be able to pardon in myself the apprehensions of vulgar prudence. I have reached that period of life when duty is endowed in men's eyes with renewed authority, when a single ambition is allowed to reside in our souls—that of being useful to mankind. I have but one thing to ask from men, a very great thing, it is true, and most difficult to obtain from them—their confidence.

I ask it for the historian very much more than for the work, necessarily imperfect. What a field for errors, indeed, the space of twenty centuries! But in soliciting the indulgence of the reader for my faults, I believe that I have never given to any one the right to place in doubt my veracity, my sincerity as a writer. If, notwithstanding all my efforts, I have not been able, in touching upon a contemporary period, to steer completely clear of reefs or rocks, I make bold to allege in my justification the grand and simple words that have run through the centuries, and which every historian worthy of the name should carefully preserve in the depths of his heart—I BELIEVE; THAT IS WHY I HAVE SPOKEN.

EMILE DE BONNECHOSE.

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## FIRST EPOCH.

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# HISTORY OF FRANCE.

## INTRODUCTION.

### I.

#### GAUL BEFORE THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

The vast territory contained between the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Ocean, and which is now almost entirely known as France, originally bore the name of Gaul. In the most remote periods it was occupied by the Celtic race of the Gaëls and by the Iberians. The Gaëls formed the basis of the Gallic population, and drove the Iberians back into Spain. Still, the latter people did not entirely disappear from the soil of France, but partly occupied some southern countries, under the name of Aquitanians or Ligurians.

The Phoceans, a people of Greece, eventually formed important establishments in the south of Gaul; and one of their colonies founded the city of Marseilles, or Massalia.

Another nation, that of the Kymrys,* made an irruption into Gaul about three centuries B.C., the greater part of them settling between the Seine and the German Ocean. These Kymrys are identical with the Belgæ or Belgs mentioned by Cæsar, to whom he attributes a German origin. A portion of the Kymrys went even

* The Kymrys are generally confounded with the Cimbri. This opinion has recently met with learned contradictors; one of whom, M. Roget de Belloquet, in his "Gallic Glossary," an introduction to his "Gallic Ethnology," regards the Kymrys as closely related with the Gaëls, and considers the Cimbri as an entirely different and essentially Germanic nation.

further, and established themselves upon the seaboard as far as the mouth of the Loire, where they received the name of Armoricans, or maritime races. All these tribes are indistinctly designated in history by the name of Gauls. They were generally distinguished for frankness, courage, and generosity: they were hospitable, but intemperate; fond of sumptuous repasts, and ready for quarrels, which frequently ensanguined their banquets. They were divided into a multitude of smaller tribes or clans, constantly engaged in war with each other.

The Gauls originally adored the material forces of nature, thunder, the winds, and the planets; but as they advanced in civilization they worshipped the moral powers, and deified the virtues and the arts. Their best-known divinities are, Hesus, the genius of war; Teutates, the god of commerce and inventor of the arts; and Oginius, the god of eloquence and poetry.

Their priests, called Druids, were divided into three orders: the *druids*, properly so called, who were the interpreters of the laws, instructors of youth, and judges of the people; next, the *vates*, or *ovates*, intrusted with the divinations and sacrifices; and, lastly the *bards*, who preserved in their songs the reminiscences of national traditions, which they were forbidden to record in writing, and the exploits of their heroes.

The priesthood was hierarchical, and had as its head a sole chief elected for life, whose power was unbounded. The ovates and bards lived in public as members of the community; but the druids of the first class dwelt together in profound retreats, where they initiated into their mysteries and sciences the young disciples who aspired to the sacred functions. The novitiate was painful, and sometimes lasted twenty years; but the great privileges attaching to the druids, their exemption from taxation, the respect shown to them, and the authority they exercised, concurred to attract numerous disciples. Their books and precepts were composed in verse, and were learned by heart; for it was an invariable rule with them that no law should be recorded in writing. They taught the immortality of souls, and their perpetual transmigration, until they deserved admission to the celestial mansions. They were versed in natural philosophy. Cæsar, in his "Commentaries on the Gallic War," tells us that they instructed youth in the movements of the stars and the grandeur of the universe, as well as in the nature

of things and the power of the immortal gods, the most revered of whom was Mercury, inventor of all the arts, guide of travellers, and protector of commerce.

There were among them druidesses, or females affiliated to their order, some of whom adhered to celibacy. These women were the object of great veneration: they were supposed to have a foreknowledge of events, and were said to be endowed with the gift of curing diseases and commanding the elements.

At certain periods of the year, and on all solemn occasions, the druids made sacrifices, offering to the gods the fruits of the earth, domestic animals, and human victims. They believed, with the majority of the ancient nations, that human life could alone be ransomed by that of their fellow-men, and that the offering most agreeable to the gods was the blood of criminals. They also sacrificed prisoners of war; and, in default of culprits or captives, a victim was designated by lot: frequently, too, men devoted themselves in order to appease the wrath of the gods. The sacrifices were effected either by fire, which consumed wicker-work monsters in which the priests enclosed the victims or by the sword, upon large stones hollowed out on the surface, and which, laid horizontally on other stones placed in a vertical position, formed altars called *dolmans*. A great number of these are still in existence, and clumsy representations of trees and animals may be seen carved on them.*

The druids attributed a medical and magical virtue to vervain, snakes' eggs, and, above all, to mistletoe, which they plucked with mysterious ceremonies from oaks, trees regarded by them as being under the special protection of the gods. They had their retreats and principal sanctuaries in the depths of gloomy forests, where no one was allowed to fell or lop wood. The people believed these sacred retreats inaccessible to wild animals, impenetrable by the storm, and protected from lightning: the ground in them, it was said, trembled, and abysses opened, from whence darted snakes that clung to the

* In some parts of France, and especially in the west, other druidic monuments are found called *pentvans* or *mencheis;* they are enormous blocks of uncut stones, set up either separately, or arranged in several rows in avenues, as at Carnac, where they form eleven parallel lines covering an immense extent of ground. A third variety of druidic monuments consists of *tumuli*, or conical mounds of earth surmounting a tomb.

trees, which bent and straightened of their own accord, while the whole forest sparkled with fires. The druids kept in these forests the military standards, to which they alone had access; and it is recorded that they were themselves not uninfluenced by terror on entering them.

The power exercised by the druids was not solely religious, but political and social, for they were at the same time priests and magistrates. At a solemn assembly held twice a year on the frontier of the country of the Carnutes (pays Chartrain), which was reputed to be the central point of Gaul, they delivered judgment and had cognizance of nearly all public and private disputes. If any crime was committed, or a quarrel ensued about an inheritance, they decided it; and to them also belonged the right of rewarding and punishing. The most formidable punishment was the interdict, and they pronounced it against any man who proved rebellious or indocile to them. Those whom the druids had interdicted from sacrificing were placed in the ranks of criminals, any appeal to justice was closed to them, and they were shunned as though afflicted with a contagious disease.

Among the Gauls each tribe had, at the first, its special chief, who ordinarily assumed the title of king. These princes, almost absolute in war, were during peace subject, like the rest of the nation, to the despotic authority of the priests, who were for a lengthened period omnipotent in Gaul. Each tribe had also a species of military equestrian corps, composed of nobles or knights. Around these, men assembled—persons of free though inferior condition, who selected from among the nobles a defender or patron, to whom they attached themselves. They escorted him everywhere, followed him to the wars, and, in exchange for the protection and rewards they awaited at his hands, devoted themselves to his person, even more than to his fortune, and were ready to die or live for him. The rank of a noble or knight was estimated by the number of followers who formed his escort. The mass of the population had no participation in public affairs, save in revolutions caused by the rivalry of the knights, priests, and nobles, which were as frequent as the quarrels and wars between the various tribes. Still, in spite of these clannish feuds, the sentiment of a common nationality existed among the Gauls; and at certain periods deputies from all the tribes assembled to watch together over the interests of the whole community.

It was impossible for the numerous tribes, which were more occupied with war than with the cultivation of the soil, to find sufficient resources among themselves. Several of them emigrated *en masse*. Countless hordes left Gaul at different epochs and spread over the adjacent countries and even remote lands, which they ravaged, and where they went to conquer a new country. Among the causes which produced these migrations, the chief, next to want of food, was the temper of the Gauls, to whom repose was disagreeable, and who, rather than remain at home in peace, entered the military service of foreign nations.* Frequently, too, the tribes conquered in civil discords, abandoned their country, and sought fortune far away.

There arose in various parts of the world, nations originating in Gallic colonies: one of these, in Spain, formed, by fusion with the natives, the celebrated nation of the Celtiberians, who offered the most strenuous resistance to the Roman invasion; and others settled in different points of Great Britain, peopling, in the course of time, the entire southern seaboard of that island. The Gauls also burst into Italy on several occasions; one of their tribes, the Umbrians, invading that country about fourteen centuries B.C. and establishing themselves in that portion to which the name of Umbria has adhered. Eight centuries later (590 B.C.) two brothers, Bellovisus and Sigovisus, nephews of a celebrated king of the Bituriges (inhabitants of Berri), each directed the flood of a formidable invasion, one in Italy, the other in Germany. The army of Bellovisus crossed the Alps, being attracted, so it is said, by the delicious fruits of the south; invaded the country to the north of the Po, and founded Milan. Fresh swarms of Gauls came one after the other to settle in the entire northern part of Italy, to which the Romans gave the name of Gallia Cisalpina (or Gaul on their side of the Alps). The principal nations that emanated from these various immigrations were—to the north of the Po, the Insubri and Cenomani, and, to the south of that river, the Boieni, Lingones, and Senones. The last, in the year 390 B.C., descended southward, encountered and defeated a Roman army on the banks of the Allia, captured Rome, and attacked the Capitol. While

* The kings of Egypt, Macedonia, Epirus, Carthage, Syracuse, and the monarchs of Asia, paid a heavy price for the help of the Gauls, whose bravery was so highly esteemed that it was thought impossible to have a good army without them.

Italy was thus a prey of the Gauls, Germany was also troubled by them. Those who followed Sigovisus penetrated as far as Pannonia, between the Danube and the Save, whence, at a later date, fresh bands rushed like a torrent over Macedonia and Greece. Other Gauls founded a colony in Thra , and then invaded Asia Minor, where they established themselves under the name of Galatians. "Gaul," says Etienne Pasquine, "like a large tree, thus extended its branches for a long distance, and the terror of the Gallic name spread over all the countries of the universe."

What Tacitus said of the Britons might equally be said of the Gauls: if they had been united, they would have been invincible. But we have seen how perpetual wars affected the interests of the numerous tribes or clans. They formed great and powerful confederations among themselves for the common defence; but war was waged among these confederations in the same way as among the separate tribes; and the Romans ever had the art of securing the support of one to crush the other. They did not venture across the Alps till they had subjugated Cisalpine Gaul; and they awaited a favourable occasion to extend their conquest further. They were in this matter powerfully seconded, not only by the war which the numerous Gallic tribes waged against each other, but also by the civil troubles and internal dissensions between the various classes. About three centuries before the Christian era, the royal government was abolished in most of the cities of Gaul, in the midst of sanguinary revolutions: the warriors and the druids disputed the authority, and the whole of Gaul was weakened by their divisions.

This intestine contest was still going on when, a century and a half before the Christian era, the Greek inhabitants of Massalia (Marseilles) invoked the assistance of Rome against the enterprises of some Gallic tribes in the vicinity. The Romans responded to this appeal; and, after conquering the Gauls, gave their territory to the city they had succoured. Thirty years later, summoned by the Massaliotes against a neighbouring Gallic nation, the Salic Ligurians, the Romans were again victorious; but on this occasion they retained a portion of the conquered territory, and built, to the north of Massalia, a city originally called Aquæ Sextæ, which is, at the present day, Aix, the most ancient Roman colony founded in Gaul (B.C. 123). Eventually,

the Romans, taking advantage of disputes which had broken out between the confederation of the Hædui and that of the Allobroges and Arverni, gained two great victories over them under the leadership of the consul Fabius. The second battle was fought near the Rhone, and was one of the most sanguinary recorded in history: one hundred and twenty thousand Gauls are said to have lost their lives, either in the waters of the river, or by the sword of the conquerors. A portion of the country of the Allobroges (Dauphiné) was reduced to a Roman province, as was the entire seaboard of the Mediterranean as far as the Pyrenees.*

The Romans founded there, 118 B.C., a celebrated colony, that of Narbonne, and gave the name of Narbonensis to the vast and splendid province which they formed in the south of Gaul. For this name that of Septimania was eventually substituted for the country situated between the Pyrenees and the Rhone; the territory contained between the latter river and the Alps alone retaining the name of Province or Provence.

The Romans did not cross the limits of the colony until about the middle of the first century B.C. They had in the interval to repulse a formidable invasion, that of the Teutons, who rushed, like a torrent which had overflowed its bed, over the Narbonensis. Marius exterminated the invaders in the year 102, near the city of Aix. Forty years later, Julius Cæsar appeared, and sought to acquire, by conquering Gaul at the head of the Roman legions, a sufficient title to reduce Rome herself to serfdom.

* With the Romans, that portion of the Transalpine whose conquest preceded the arrival of Cæsar in Gaul, was *the* Province. Hence their authors are frequently found designating it by the name *Provincia*. At a later date the epithet of Narbonensis was added, when Narbonne had become its chief city. From the Latin *Provincia* is derived Provence, which title, before it was restricted to that portion of the French territory which still retains the name, spread for a long time over the whole of France. Sometimes the province was called by the name of *Gallia braccata*—derived from the breeches, in Latin *braccæ*, which the inhabitants wore; and also in opposition to the Cisalpine, where the Roman garment, the *toga*, was adopted at an early period, whence the Province obtained the name of *Gallia togata*. That part of Transalpine Gaul which still retained its independence was called Hairy Gaul, or *Gallia comata*, the various tribes being remarkable for their long hair, while the inhabitants of the Province wore theirs short, after the Roman fashion. (*Courgeon*, "*Recits de l'Histoire de France*," vol. i., p. 43, note 1.)

## II.

### CONQUEST OF GAUL BY CÆSAR.

IN his immortal work, the "Commentaries," Cæsar has himself drawn the picture of the country, at the period when he arrived in it as Proconsul. "The whole of Gaul," he says, "is divided into three parts, of which one is inhabited by the Belgæ, another by Aquitani, and the third by those whom we call, at Rome, Galli, and who, in their language, call themselves Celti. These nations differ from each other in language, manners, and laws. The Gauls (Celts) are separated from the Aquitanians by the Garonne, from the Belgians by the Marne and the Seine. The Belgæ are the bravest of all these tribes; strangers to the elegant manners and civilization of the Roman Province, they do not receive from external trade those products of luxury which enervate courage; and, moreover, as neighbours of the Germans who live on the other bank of the Rhine, they are continually at war with each other.

"The part inhabited by the Gauls (Celts) begins at the Rhone, and has for its boundaries the Garonne, the ocean, and the country of the Belgæ; it also extends as far as the Rhine on the side of the Helvetii (Swiss) and Sequani (Franche Comté); it is situated in the north. The country of the Belgæ begins at the extreme frontier of Gaul, and is bounded by the lower part of the course of the Rhine; its position is in the north-east. Aquitania is bounded by the Garonne, the Pyrenees, and the ocean."

These three great nations were divided, as we have already seen, into a multitude of independent states, in the majority of which royalty had been abolished for the last three centuries, and which were governed by an aristocratic assembly, called by the Romans the Senate, in which two factions disputed the power. One of the most frequent causes of discord was the choice of alliances which it was necessary to make, in the midst of the general conflagration frequently produced by the rivalry of two tribes. "In Gaul," says Cæsar, "each town, each canton, and nearly each family, is divided into factions: before the entrance of the Roman legions into Gaul, some inclined to the Hædui, and others to the Sequani.

The latter, too weak of themselves, because the principal authority had been for a long time in the hands of the Hædui who possessed the largest number of supporters, had united with Ariovistus, king of the Germans, whom they attached to them by presents and promises. Victors in several battles, in which they destroyed the whole of the Hæduan nobility, the Sequani acquired so much power, that a great number of tribes, formerly allied to the Hædui, went over to their side. They took away as hostages the sons of the chief citizens, imposed on the nation the oath to undertake nothing against them, seized that portion of the territory conquered by their armies, and obtained the preponderance through the whole of Gaul." Such was the internal state of the country when Cæsar appeared there.

The future conqueror first displayed himself to the Gallic nations in the character of a protector. They were menaced by a formidable invasion. Three hundred thousand Helvetians, after burning their own towns, and ruining their own fields, so as to destroy all hope of return, had just invaded the country of the Sequani and the Hædui. These innumerable hordes had already commenced an attack on the neighbouring Allobroges, when, summoned by these nations, Cæsar hurried up at the head of his legions, defeated the Helvetians in three sanguinary engagements, and drove them beyond the Jura, into the deserts they had themselves produced. Deputies from nearly the whole of Gaul (Celtica) afterwards came to congratulate the victorious hero.

Some time later, after the general assembly of the Gauls had been convened, the same citizens returned to Cæsar; and, throwing themselves at his feet, conjured him to deliver them from Ariovistus and his Germans, who, called in by the imprudent Sequani, were now oppressing their own allies and the whole of trembling Gaul. Cæsar alone could save the country from an impending and cruel servitude. The Proconsul responded to their appeal and marched against the terrible Ariovistus. The Germans were defeated, and the *débris* of their dispersed army only halted on the banks of the Rhine, twenty leagues from the field of battle. This was Cæsar's first campaign in Gaul.

The domination of the Germans was succeeded by that of the Romans. Cæsar imposed his will on the country; and the Gauls (Celts)

soon perceived that they had given themselves a master in this formidable auxiliary. They desired a change, some through patriotism, others through inconstancy and levity of character.* They applied to the Belgæ to deliver them from the Romans, just as they had, in the previous year, called the latter to help them against the Germans. The Belgians entered into a league: but Cæsar had made an alliance with one of their most important tribes, the Remi; and, introduced by them into the heart of Belgium, he crushed the confederates on the banks of the Aisne with a frightful carnage, and then exterminated the Meroii (people of Hainault), beyond the Sambre. Of 60,000 combatants scarce 500 escaped, and the name of the nation disappeared. The Adriatici (a people encamped between the Sambre and the Meuse) being, however, still in arms in Belgium, Cæsar stormed Mannes, their principal town, massacred a part of its defenders, and reduced the rest to servitude, no less than 53,000 prisoners being sold as slaves. His lieutenant, Crassus, next subjugated Armorica. Cæsar had only appeared, and already the whole of Gaul seemed conquered. At the news of this extraordinary success, fifteen days' rejoicings were decreed at Rome.

But the resolutions of the Gauls were prompt and unforeseen. In the following year (56 B.C.) Cæsar, who was then in Illyria, learned that the tribes of Armorica were holding as prisoners the military tribunes who had gone among them as friends to procure provisions for the seventh legion, which was in winter quarters in the territory of the Andes (Augenvins). The Veneti,† reassured by the situations of their towns, which were inaccessible by land and defended by an internal sea (the gulf of Morbihan), with whose ports, isles, and shoals the Romans were unacquainted, had given the signal; and their neighbours at once imitated them: the Britons, inhabiting

* Commentaries (Book ii.). Cæsar frequently dwells on these traits of the Gallic character. "It is the custom in Gaul," he writes, "to compel travellers to stop, in order to interrogate them about what they know or what they have heard said. In the towns, the people surround the merchants, question them about the countries whence they came, and urge them to tell what they have learnt. It is on such rumour and reports that they frequently decide the most important matters; and they do not fail to repent of having thus put faith in uncertain news, which is frequently invented to please them."

† Tribes of Morbihan whose capital was Dariorigum, at the present day Vannes.

the island of Britain, also promised them assistance. Cæsar thereupon marched up from Illyria; and, although the Romans were almost strangers to the navigation of the ocean, a fleet was built by his orders at the mouth of the Loire. Thus prepared, the Romans attacked the enemy's fleet, and captured most of their ships, by boarding them: a calm that set in compelled the rest to surrender. The most distinguished of the warriors were put to death; and Cæsar, entering the capital as an irritated victor, caused the senators to be killed by way of example, and sold the whole of the conquered population by auction. While he was thus subjugating Armorica, his lieutenant Sabinus occupied, after several engagements, all the territory between that country and the Seine; and Crassus, being also victorious in the south, between the Loire and the Garonne, and from the latter river to the Pyrenees, the whole of Gaul was again conquered, or held in subjection.

New and innumerable enemies, however, contested his conquest with Cæsar. Germany was agitated on hearing of the disasters in Gaul, and 400,000 Usipetes or Teucteres crossed the Rhine. Cæsar, in spite of it being winter, marched against these barbarians, surprised and checked them at the confluence of the former river and the Meuse, where he exterminated nearly the whole of the horde. He then crossed the Rhine by a bridge, which he constructed in ten days, and descended the opposite bank, which point no Roman general had ever before reached.

Cæsar presently returned to Gaul, and, proceeding to the sea-coast, where Britain offered itself as a prey, he resolved to invade that island the same year, either to isolate the Britons from Gaul, punish them for the assistance they had given the Veneti, or in order to obtain a further title to the admiration of the Romans. He crossed the straits with the infantry of two legions only, and landed in sight of the enemy assembled in arms on the shore. The Romans gained several battles; but a tempest broke up and dispersed a portion of their galleys, and drove ashore eighteen vessels, with all their cavalry on board. Cæsar had never found himself in greater danger; and never did he display more remarkable daring, resource, and boldness. He collected the wrecks of his galleys, and had others built; and, besieged in his camp by the Britons whom his disaster had

encouraged, he repulsed and pursued them, proudly dictating peace, and demanding hostages. But, while speaking as an irritated master, he was preparing to retreat, and soon after re-embarked with his army.

This precipitate departure, in spite of several victories, resembled a flight; and Cæsar consequently returned the following year (B.C. 54), with several legions and a formidable fleet, resolved to make the people of Britain fully feel the power of Rome and his own. Sailing from Portus Itius,* he landed without impediment, sought and pursued the Britons into the interior of the island, fomented divisions among them, attacked, defeated, and subdued them: he imposed an annual tribute on them, received their hostages, and returned with a multitude of captives, and without the loss of a single vessel. Rome derived but slight profit from these two expeditions; and Cæsar, as a great historian remarks, rather pointed out than gave Britain to his successors. Still, he had attained his object, in acquiring the glory which is ever attached to distant enterprises on little-known coasts; and already he had no equal in the Roman world.

The Gallic war, in which up to this time most of the nations had fought separately, appeared to be at an end; but they united, and it broke out again more terrible than ever. The two chiefs of the new confederation, which was first formed in Belgium, were Induciomarus of the Treviri (Treves) and Ambiorix the Eburone (Liège), who arranged to surprise the legions dispersed in their winter quarters. Ambiorix surprised, in a defile, a legion on the march, and exterminated it. This first success inflamed the warlike tribes of the north (Cambresis and Hainault), and they flattered themselves with the hope of surprising a second legion, quartered in their country and commanded by Q. Cicero, brother of the orator. On this occasion the Romans did not suffer themselves to be taken off their guard; but they were shut up in their entrenched camp, which was at once closely invested. Cæsar was a long way off, but he immediately set out, and on arriving by forced marches, with only 7000 legionaries, dispersed the multitude of Gauls, and liberated the camp.

* The site of Itius, which was situated on the seaboard of the country of the Morini (Picardy), is extremely uncertain. Some believe that it is Calais, others Mardik. It is generally thought to be the old port of Wessant, near Boulogne.

Winter suspended military operations, but both sides prepared for a new war.

So soon as spring set in, Induciomarus, the confederate of Ambiorix, marched against Labienus, who was quartered among the Remi; but the barbarian was defeated and his head sent to the general. Cæsar completely crushed the Treviri; and then, marching through the whole forest of Ardennes, fell on the Eburones. It was necessary that their chastisement should be terrible. Cæsar wished to destroy even the name of the guilty nation; and, inviting the neighbouring German tribes to aid him in his vengeance, he left the territory to the first occupant. In a few days this unfortunate people was annihilated, and the whole of northern Gaul appeared, for the time, pacified. In the same year the general assembly of the Gauls, presided over by Cæsar, was held at Lutetia, the capital of the Parisii.

Cæsar, however, only imperfectly attained his object by terrorism. So many frightful executions inflamed in the heart of his enemies an inextinguishable thirst for vengeance, and imparted to the conquered the courage of despair. The barbarities committed in Belgium combined against the Romans all the nations of Gaul. A young Arverucan (Auvergnat) chief, named Vercingetorix, was the soul of the general league. Elected king by his fellow-citizens, he displayed in the contest an activity, an intelligence, and a heroism, which, had he been opposed to any other than Cæsar, would have sufficed to liberate his country.

The Proconsul had recrossed the Alps, his legions were scattered about Gaul, the winter was severe, and the snow impeded any communication between them: the moment to shake off the yoke seemed to have arrived. A solemn oath, taken on the collected standards, bound together all the principal nations of Gaul, and the revolt commenced with the massacre of the Romans quartered in the city of Getabena, now Orleans. The news spread almost instantly to the furthest extremities of Gaul,* and nearly the whole country revolted.

* "The news soon reached all the states of Gaul; for, whenever any remarkable event occurs, they announce it to the neighbouring country by shouts, which are repeated from one to the other. Thus what had happened at Getabena at sunrise was known to the Arvernians before the close of the first evening, at a distance of 160 miles."—*De Bello Gallico*, b. vii.

Vercingetorix took possession of the fortified town of Gergovia (Clermont), whence his emissaries spread among the Gallic tribes, announcing that the hour of deliverance had arrived. His appeal was universally listened to, a supreme council was formed of confederate deputies, and the chief command was entrusted to Vercingetorix, who was speedily surrounded by a numerous and martial army. He divided it into two corps, sent one southward against the Roman province, passed with the other through the country of the Beturiges (Berri), whom he induced to revolt, and prepared to attack the legions scattered through Belgium.

Suddenly it was learned that Cæsar had reappeared in Gaul; and that, after securing the safety of the Roman province, he had crossed the snows of the Cevennes, and was now carrying fire and the sword into Arvernia. Vercingetorix turned back and flew to the defence of his native country, where, however, he wished that the Romans should find only a desert. The Arverni themselves burnt their cities so that they might not fall into the enemy's hands: twenty towns were thus destroyed, and only one, Avaricum (Bourges), the capital of the Beturiges, and one of the handsomest cities in Gaul, was spared. Cæsar soon besieged it, took it by storm, and the whole population was murdered without distinction of sex or age. The conqueror next proceeded with his whole army to besiege Gergovia. Vercingetorix had arrived under the wall of the city before him, and his camp was already set up at the foot of the ramparts. Cæsar attacked it with his accustomed vigour; but Vercingetorix drove the Romans in disorder into the plain, where they were surrounded, and would have been destroyed, had it not been for the immortal tenth legion, which checked the advance of the enemy, and enabled the fugitives to re-enter their lines.

This success inflamed the Gauls with new courage. Cæsar, abandoned by all their tribes excepting the Remi and the Lingones (inhabitants of Langues), raised the siege and retired beyond the Loire into the country of the Senones (Sens), where four legions were under the command of Labienus. The two armies joined, and Cæsar, thus reinforced, descended the valley of the Saône, in the direction of the Roman province.

During this period, a meeting took place at Bibracte (Autun) of all

the Gallic nations, which by common accord had accepted Vercingetorix as their supreme commander. Vercingetorix had moved rapidly forward to intercept the retreat of Cæsar, and came up with him. The principal strength of the Gallic army, consisting of cavalry, was sent against the Roman cavalry; but a corps of Germans in the pay of Cæsar turned the enemy's flank, and the Gallic cavalry and infantry were driven into the river. With the relics of his army Vercingetorix withdrew behind the walls of Alesia, one of the strongest places in Gaul, and Cæsar immediately followed him.*

The siege of Alesia is the most memorable event in the conquest of Gaul. Cæsar undertook it with forces inferior to those of the besieged, and carried it on in sight of 200,000 Gauls, who had hurried up from all points to succour the city, which, being already closely invested, and suffering from the horrors of famine, despaired of deliverance. The conqueror of Gaul never displayed greater vigour, prudence, and genius than upon this occasion. Three deep lines of gigantic circumvallated works, defended by formidable intrenchments, and innumerable caltrops scattered about the trenches, or sharp stakes driven into the ground at regular distances, separated the Roman camp from the city; while other lines, no less formidable, called lines of countervallation, were formed between the camp and the Gallic army outside, running for a distance of 14,000 paces. Notwithstanding these immense precautions, the Roman camp was all but surprised, being attacked simultaneously by the army of the confederates and the garrison; but Cæsar, everywhere present, with a clear head in the most extreme danger, surveyed calmly all the points menaced, and, opposing extraordinary efforts to those of the Gauls, repulsed their double attack. At this moment the corps of German horse which he had in his pay appeared, after making a long *détour*, in the rear of the Gallic army, and fiercely attacked it at the moment when the Roman legions were compelling it to retreat. This final attack, sudden and unforeseen by all but Cæsar, decided the fate

* This town was situated in the territory of the Mandubi. Its site is still undecided, and the question has given rise to numerous and interesting discussions among the learned. Some believe they find Alesia in Alase, to the north of Salins in Franche Comté, while others place it at Alese-Sanite-Reine in Mount Auxois in Burgundy. The latter opinion appears to us the better founded, after a study of the text and of topographical charts.

of the day, and that of Gaul. A panic terror seized on the conquered, who fled in disorder, and fell in thousands beneath the swords of the victorious Romans. Vercingetorix and his army were witnesses of the defeats of those from whom they expected their salvation, and re-entered the city, which was left to itself, without provisions, and incapable of prolonging its defence.

Superior to his fortune, and even to his victors, Vercingetorix sent a deputation to Cæsar, surrendering the fortress to him, and offering himself as a sacrifice to save his adherents. All the chiefs, by the Proconsul's order, were brought before him. Vercingetorix surrendered himself. Wearing his richest armour, and mounted on his war-charger, he went round the tribunal in which the impassive Proconsul was seated, and, stopping in front of the conqueror, silently threw his javelin, helmet, and sword on the ground. Cæsar was pitiless. The hero was thrown into chains and taken to Rome, where he languished in prison for six years: he was eventually brought forth to adorn the triumphal procession of Cæsar, and then died by the hand of the executioner.

Gaul never recovered from the great disaster it had undergone at the siege of Alesia, when, represented by the majority of its tribes, it was, as it were, entirely conquered in one day. A last campaign sufficed for Cæsar to extinguish the smouldering revolt in all parts of the vast territory, and he did so with blood. In this way he completely crushed the Beturiges (inhabitants of Berri), the Carnutes (people of the pays Chartrain), and the Bellovaci (people of Beauvoisis): he passed through the whole of Belgium as a conqueror, and then returned south, grasping and pressing his vast prey in his powerful hands. The last town that resisted him was the small fort of Uxellodunum, in the country of the Cadurci (Quercy), which he took by cutting off the water supply, and barbarously lopped off the hands of all its defenders, whom he sent away in this state, as living testimonies of his anger and his vengeance.

Such was the end of this terrible war, during which, as Plutarch says, Cæsar, in eight campaigns, took by storm 800 towns, subjected 300 tribes, and fought against 3,000,000 men, of whom one-third perished in the field of battle, or were massacred, while another third were reduced to a state of slavery.

Master of Gaul, which was conquered by his arms, but whose inhabitants he knew to be too brave to be held in slavery by rigour, he resolved to win them by entirely different conduct, and rendered their yoke easy. The country was reduced to the state of a Roman province, but Cæsar spared it confiscations and onerous burdens: the cities preserved their government and laws, and the tribute he imposed on the conquered was paid under the title of "military pay." Reckoning on their support for the execution of his ambitious plans, he enrolled the best Gallic warriors in his legions, conquered Rome herself by their help, and gave them in recompense riches and honours. The Roman Senate was opened to the Gauls.*

## III.

### GAUL UNDER THE ROMAN DOMINATION.

The Emperor Augustus, who gave an organization to Gaul, maintained the division of the country into four great provinces, but he changed their limits, and gave the name of Lyonnese or Lugdunensis to Gallia Celtica, which was restricted to the territory contained between the Seine, the Saône, and the Loire; and detached from it on the east a territory to which he gave the name of Sequanensis, and joined to Gallia Belgica. The latter, when thus enlarged, had for its boundaries the Rhine, the Seine, the Saône, and the Alps. Aquitania, hitherto enclosed between the Pyrenees and the Garonne, extended as far as the Loire; and, lastly, Gallia Narbonensis was comprised between the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees, the Cevennes, and the Alps. The entire country was, in addition, divided into sixty municipal circumscriptions, or cities, the principal of which, after Lyons, the seat of the Roman government, were: Trèves, Autun, Nîmes, Bordeaux, Narbonne, Toulouse, Vienne, and Arles. Eventually, under Diocletian, the Roman Empire was divided into four great prefectures: that of Gaul, whose

* Julius Cæsar only admitted into the Roman Senate the principal citizens of Gallia Narbonensis: it was the Emperor Claudian who, in the year 48, passed the celebrated decree by which public offices and the Senate were thrown open to the inhabitants of Gallia Comata. At a later date the title of Roman citizen was given by Caracalla to all the free men of Gaul and the rest of the Empire, which caused a contemporary poet to say of this Emperor:—

"Urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat."

(You have made a city of what was heretofore a world.)

chief city was Trèves, comprised three great dioceses or vicarships, Britain, Spain, and Gaul. The latter was divided for the last time at the beginning of the fourth century, by the Emperor Gratianus, into 17 provinces, containing 120 cities. Each province was governed by an officer of the Empire, and the cities or towns received from the Romans their internal administration and civic organization: they were, in addition, governed by municipal assemblies, called *curiæ*, to which landowners were alone summoned. Occasionally, the deputies of all the provinces met, but these assemblies never had any appointed or regular times of meeting, and they fell into desuetude.

Gaul remained for four centuries subject to the Romans. Everything became Roman there: there were knights and senators, and the druids became priests of the Greek polytheism. There was indubitably a great difference between the civilization of the Northern and Southern Gauls; but the religion,* the civil laws, the municipal government, and administrative system of Rome prevailed from one end of Gaul to the other. All those who possessed politeness, civilization, learning, or culture, piqued themselves on being Roman. The two nations spoke the same language, and the name of Gallo-Romans bears testimony to their intimate fusion. The old national code of laws disappeared, and in the fifth century there was no trace of Gallic institutions in Gaul.

The Gauls transferred to the arts of peace that intelligent activity which they had for so many years fruitlessly expended in war, and Roman Gaul was for a long time flourishing. The axe cut down the druidic forests, which made way for cultivation, and numerous roads facilitated the progress of commerce and industry. New cities were founded, and those already in existence increased in extent and opulence, rivalling the cities of Gallia Narbonensis. Trèves, Mayence, Cologne, Bordeaux, grew and prospered through the favour of an advantageous situation for trade or war; and Lutetia (Paris), reserved for such great destinies, became the residence of the Cæsars. Most of the Gallic towns were adorned with palaces, statues, thermæ, and triumphal arches. At various points of the Gallic territory may still be seen ruins of Greek art, and imposing

* Augustus abolished human sacrifices, and only granted the right of citizenship to those who abandoned the druidic rites.

remains of aqueducts, temples, amphitheatres, and other monuments of Roman architecture. Schools, which soon became flourishing, were established in several cities. Those of Lyons, Autun, and Bordeaux acquired a great reputation, and produced grammarians, orators, and poets; but nearly all who distinguished themselves, and, among others, the poets Valerius Cato and Cornelius Gallus,* and the orators Marcus Cæsar and Domitius Afer, the master of Quinctilian, who lived in the age of Augustus, were descended from the Roman colonies of Gallia Narbonensis. Eventually, Gaul prided itself on having produced, in the fourth century, the poet Ausonius of Bordeaux; and, in the fifth, Rutilius Numatianus, and Sidonius Apollinarius, who was a poet and bishop, and whose letters are a precious heirloom for history.

The Emperors imagined they had annihilated druidism by proscribing the druids, abolishing their faith, and declaring all the Gallic gods Roman: but a faith is not destroyed until another has taken its place, and the paganism of Rome had already lost all power over men's minds. What it was unable to do, Christianity effected; and the last druidic altars fell before the new creed in the recesses of the forests. It was introduced into Gaul, toward the middle of the second century, by some priests of the Church of Smyrna, whom the Bishop St. Polycarp, a disciple of the Apostle St. John, sent to preach the Gospel in the Transalpine countries, placing at their head the illustrious Pothinus, first Bishop of Lyons. The pious missionaries settled in the latter city about the year 160, and diffused there the light of the Gospel.

But Rome, while introducing her civilization into Gaul, had, at the same time, introduced her dissolute manners and sanguinary spectacles, dear to the multitude, but against which the Christians forcibly protested by their language and example. They had thus the whole of Pagan society hostile to them; and, amid the bloodthirsty persecutions ordered by the Emperors, no country counted more heroic martyrs than Gaul, and no Church was more fertilized by their blood than that of Lyons. The persecuting edict issued by Marcus Aurelius against the Christians produced the woes of that Church and its glory. The Bishop Pothinus, ninety years of age, was stoned by the people,

* Valerius Cato, grammarian and poet, was surnamed the Latin Siren. Cornelius Gallus, an elegiac poet, was the friend of Virgil and Augustus.

and died of his wounds; forty-seven confessors perished in the midst of torments, at the hands of the executioner, or were rent asunder by wild beasts.* St. Irenæus, surnamed the Light of the West, collected at a later date the dispersed members of the Church of Lyons, and the word of Christ was borne into the rest of Gaul, toward the middle of the third century, by seven pious bishops, who, leaving Rome for the most glorious of conquests, proceeded to various points of the Gallic territory, and all of them acquired the crown of martyrdom. Among these the most celebrated was St. Denis, who halted on the banks of the Seine at Lutetia: he was decapitated near that city on the Hill of Mars (Montmartre), and interred in the plain which still bears his name. The work of these holy confessors was successfully resumed in the fourth century by St. Hilarius, Bishop of Poitiers, and by St. Martin of Tours, whose words fructified in the west and centre of Gaul, where Christianity, as everywhere else, was propagated by the very efforts intended to annihilate it.

Gaul, subdued by the civilization of Rome as much as by her arms, was, under the first Emperors, tranquil and resigned. A few daring chiefs, such as Julius Florus in Belgium, and Sacrovir in the Lyonnese, tried in vain to rouse the Gallic tribes to revolt. They found themselves abandoned so soon as they took up arms against Rome, and perished by their own hands. But, eventually, Gaul suffered greatly through the disorders of the Empire and the perpetual revolutions that shook it. No law determined the form of accession to the imperial throne: the armies, scattered about the provinces, frequently arrogated the right of electing the sovereign, and victory decided between them. The Gauls took part in these sanguinary quarrels. Thus, on the death of Nero, being influenced by Aquitanus Vindex, they supported Galba, and afterwards Vitellius. On the death of the latter, they dreamed of regaining their independence. Civilis, aided by the prophecies of the celebrated druidess Velleda, collected under his banners the Batavi, his countrymen, and the Belgæ. A Gaul of the name of

* The history of the Church has preserved for us the names of the most illustrious martyrs of this glorious epoch. Not one of them surpassed in courage the slave Blandina, a maiden of delicate complexion, on whom the executioner exhausted in vain all the refinements of the most cruel barbarity, and who, when under torture, answered all the efforts of her persecutors with the words, "*I am a Christian.*"

Sabinus assumed the title of Emperor; the druids then emerged from their forests, and announced that the Gallic Empire was about to succeed the Roman. The insurrection spread, and two Roman legions, allowing themselves be led away, marched against Rome. But Vespasian was reigning, and his lieutenants, under his firm and vigilant authority, made the rebellious tribes and legions return to their obedience. Civilis defended for some time longer his independence in Batavia; but Sabinus, conquered, and deserted by all, hid himself in a vault, where his wife, Eponina, who immortalized herself by her conjugal tenderness and her courage, buried herself with him during nine years. Sabinus was at length discovered; and Eponina, in order to save him, embraced the knees of the inexorable Emperor: unable to obtain his pardon, she resolved to follow him to the grave, sharing his punishment, as she had shared, during his life, his prison and his tomb.

For nearly two centuries Gaul served as the battle-field for the generals who contested the Empire. Already the numerous and formidable tribes, formed into a grand confederation in Germany, had tried, on several occasions, to reach the left bank of the Rhine; and occupied, on the frontiers, the principal strength of the Roman armies. In this incessantly returning peril, and in the midst of the general disorder, the ties that connected the provinces to the Empire became daily relaxed; and toward the middle of the third century Gaul made a new effort to detach itself. The legions of the prefecture of Gaul recognized as Emperor, about the year 260, one of their generals, of the name of Posthumus, of Gallic origin, who was assassinated, and had, during thirteen years, several successors, known in history under the name of the Gallic Cæsars. Tetricus, who was the last of these, weary of power and its dangers, betrayed his army, and surrendered himself to the Emperor Aurelian.

After the voluntary fall of the Gallic chief, barbarous hordes rushed upon Gaul, and ravaged it. Devastated by them on the one hand, and, on the other, crushed with taxes imposed by the various candidates to empire, and exhausted of men and money, the Gallic cities at length fell into the most miserable condition. The fields remained sterile, for want of men to cultivate them; commerce perished; and so great was the desolation of these countries, that a

great number of freemen made themselves serfs or slaves in order to escape the obligation of bearing a share of the public burdens. The serfs revolted toward the close of the third century, and, taking up arms under the name of Bagaudes, burned several towns, and devastated the country. Maximian crushed them; but his victory did not restore life to the Gallic nation, for the decaying Empire imparted its own distress to all the nations it had conquered.

Gaul breathed again, however, during a few years, under the protecting administration of Cæsar Constantius Chlorus, who was called to the imperial throne in 305, by the double abdication of Diocletian and Maximian. After him, Constantine, his son, was proclaimed Emperor by the army, and Christianity began its milder reign. Persecution ceased, and this prince, like his father, made great efforts to restore prosperity to the cities of Gaul, and security to its frontiers; but the dissensions which troubled the Empire upon his death drew down fresh calamities upon it. The barbarians drove back the legions entrusted with the defence of the Rhine, as far as the Seine; and terror reigned in the ruined cities of Gaul, until Constantius, the son of Constantine, sent the celebrated Julian, his son, invested with the dignity of Cæsar, to the help of this unhappy country. Julian, by a memorable victory, gained in 357, near Strasburg, over seven Allemannic kings or chiefs, freed Gaul for some time from the presence of the barbarians. He selected as his residence the capital of the Parisians, which he called his dear Lutetia; * gained the love of the people by his vigilant administration and justice; and employed, with indefatigable ardour, the leisure of peace to repair the ravages of war. But he only offered a temporary remedy for continuous evils, which were too profound to be cured by human hands. Julian himself ascended the imperial throne on the death of Constantius. The period of his elevation to the rank of Augustus was also that of his apostasy. He abjured Christianity, and, in his fury, attempted to destroy it. But the light of the Gospel had already penetrated beyond the Roman world; and Christianity, more powerful than the priests of the Empire, made its irresistible sway felt by the new nations which God had reserved for the over-

* Paris, called Lutetia at that period, was almost entirely confined to the Ile de la Cité; but a suburb already ran along the left bank of the Seine: here stood the Palace of the Thermæ, inhabited by Julian, and the ruins of which still exist, and have retained their name.

throw of the Empire. They completed the work of destruction commenced by civil discords, the want of industry, indolence, misery, the cowardice of the multitude, and the corruption of the higher classes. All that was condemned to perish was overthrown by the barbarians; but they stopped before the Christian Church, which they found erect and established, and which subdued themselves.

## IV.

### INVASIONS OF THE BARBARIANS—DESTRUCTION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

406—476.

THE nations that destroyed the Roman Empire were three in number: the Gothic nation,* the Tartar nation, or Huns, and the Teutonic nation. They were subdivided into a great number of peoples.

These invasions were at the outset neither voluntary nor simultaneous, but solely the consequence of other invasions. Thus, the emigration of the Goths in the second century drove back the Germans on to the frontiers of the Empire; and two hundred years later the arrival of the Huns in Europe forced upon it a portion of the Goths themselves. Up to the Christian era, the Goths and Tartars were unknown to the Romans; but this was not the case with the Teutonic nation, which occupied, so early as three centuries B.C., the vast space contained between the Rhine, the Danube, the Oder, and the German Ocean. All the men of this race called themselves Germans—

* This great people, whose traces are still visible throughout Europe, had settled on the shores of the Baltic; but were driven thence by the invasion of an Asiatic people led by Odin into the northern countries of Europe toward the second century. The Goths halted on the shores of the Euxine, and there divided into two groups, which derived their name from their geographical position, the *Visigoths*, or western Goths, and the *Ostrogoths*, or Eastern Goths. In the middle of the fourth century the invasion of the Huns into these countries took place. The Visigoths then emigrated, and, casting themselves upon the Roman Empire, did not cease to ravage it till the period when Ataulf, brother of the terrible Alaric, founded in Southern Gaul and Spain the monarchy of the Visigoths (412).

The Ostrogoths, after enduring the yoke of the Huns, went, under Theodoric the Great and with the assent of the Emperor Zeno, to reconquer Italy from the Herulians, and established there, in 493, the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, which perished beneath the blows of Belisarius and Narses in the years between 534 and 553.

A portion of the Goths had remained in the desert. The name of Gepidæ (laggards) was given to them. They were exterminated in the sixth century by the Lombards, at that time their neighbours.

*wehr-männer*, a word in their language signifying men of war. In the end, the general denomination of Germany was applied to all the regions which they occupied. This people, however, had been divided, long prior to the Christian era, into two great factions, the Suevi and the Saxons, who were separated by the Hyrcinian forest, situated in the centre of Germany.* These were the Germans, who, before invading the Roman Empire, sustained its attacks, for so lengthened a period, in their gloomy forests.

Two great historians, Cæsar and Tacitus, have depicted these barbarians for us. The former shows us a pastoral people living on milk and the flesh of their flocks; with no other worship than that of the stars, without any permanent political government, and led into action by chiefs temporarily elected, who were arbiters of life and death. The most noticeable thing we find in Tacitus, when we seek in his History the deep and imperishable traits that characterized in his day the majority of the German peoples, is a manly feeling of human dignity, and a love of individual independence, tempered in warlike minds by devotion to the chief and respect for noble blood. What in the highest degree attracts attention in their customs is the division of power between the prince and the people, the sanction of the laws by popular assent, and the trial of accused persons by assessors freely elected. Still, these forms of civilization were blended in the Germans with great barbarity; and Tacitus tells us that, as the reward of their services, they received from their chiefs copious repasts and took part in sanguinary orgies; that they only lived for war and the chase, and performed superstitious rites of the most horrible kind, amid the cries of the human victims sacrificed by them on these occasions. Such was the nation destined to expel the Roman conquerors from the soil of Gaul, and to found a new and great people by the admixture of Germanic and Gallic blood.

All the Teutonic tribes did not participate in this work, although

* The Teutonic people established to the south and west of the Hyrcinian forest, had received the name of Suevi, derived from the verb *sckoveben*, meaning, to be in motion. The Suevi, in truth, were constantly on the move, and made perpetual efforts to invade neighbouring countries. Those Teutons, on the other hand, who dwelt to the north of the forest, being less nomadic than the others, were known by the name of Saxons, a word derived from *sitzen* (*sass* in the preterite), to be seated, or at rest. This great division of Germany subsisted up to the second century of the Christian era, the period when the three great Germanic confederations were formed.

many of them invaded Gaul at different points. A small number of clans maintained themselves in the country, after a conquest which was for a long period slow, and limited to the northern frontiers. But before we observe the future masters of Gaul crossing in turn the Yssel, the Rhine and the Meuse, and thus advancing step by step as far as the banks of the Seine, it is important that we should notice the events which, in the second century of the Christian era, had modified the state of the German tribes.

The great emigration of the Goths from north to south had just overthrown central Europe; and a part of the Suevi, expelled by them from the country of the lower Danube, went up toward the sources of that river, between the Hyrcinian forest and the Rhine. This country received from them the name of Suevia or Suabia; they formed there a confederation of the relics of several peoples of different races, who adopted the general title of Allemanica, or collection of men of all descriptions (*Allemänner*). The territory of this southern confederation extended between the Rhine and the Hyrcinian forest, from the Maine up to the Helvetic Alps.

The peoples of Northern Germany, living to the north of the Hyrcinian forest, or the Saxons, were also shaken by the Gothic migration, although their territory remained intact. A part of these tribes, nearest to the Scandinavians, being subjected by the sons of Odin, themselves adopted the Odinic worship: they formed a body under the general denomination of Saxons, and this aggregation was joined by the Angles, who inhabited a country called Anglia, to the south of the Cimbric Chersonese. Such was the origin of the Anglo-Saxons, the future conquerors of Great Britain, who established themselves on the shores of the Elbe, the Baltic, and the German Ocean. Formidable pirates, they spread devastation along the coasts of Gaul, Great Britain, and Spain, as early as the third century.

Pressed between the imperial armies and several powerful confederations of nations of their own race, the Central Germans, settled between the Weser and the Rhine, also recognized the necessity of uniting for the common defence; and, toward the middle of the third century, a new confederation was formed in the countries comprised between the two rivers, under the name of Francs (Franken), a German word, whose meaning approaches to that of *ferox*, and

signifies proud and warlike. These tribes, worthy of their name, were in fact the most celebrated among the barbarians for their bravery, and it is from them that the French have derived their name. With the exception of the Frisons, who maintained their independence, they included in their confederation all the peoples established between the Rhine and the Weser, and in this number were the Bructeri, the Teucteri, the Chamavi, the Catti, the Angrivarii, and the Sugambri. The Franks are mentioned in history for the first time in the year 241; and a few years later, in 256, a horde of this nation traversed Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees, ravaged Spain, and spread as far as Africa. The Emperor Probus transported a colony of Franks to the shores of the Euxine; but they soon grew weary of their exile, and, seizing a few barks, they audaciously skirted the coasts of Asia, Greece, and Africa, passed between the Pillars of Hercules, faced the perils of the sea, and, following the coast as far as the German Ocean, they re-entered by the mouths of the great rivers the countries whence they originally came.

Thus, in the third century of our era, three formidable confederations closed Germany, from the shores of the Baltic to the sources of the Rhine and the Danube, against the imperial armies and fleets—the Saxons in the north, the Franks in the west, and the Allemanni in the south, while the Goths were encamped on the left bank of the Danube.

All these nations, between which the Roman Empire of the West was eventually divided, did not attack it at the outset with the intention of destroying it. Impelled by violent and irresistible causes to cross its frontiers, they were all eager to have their conquests legitimated by imperial concessions and treaties which incorporated them with the Empire, whose powerful organization and superior civilization filled them with astonishment and admiration. Their kings gladly assumed the Roman titles of patricians, consuls, and chiefs of the militia, dignities with which several of them were invested by the Emperors, as allies of the Empire; and their highest ambition was to be united by marriage with the imperial family.

At this period all the frontiers had received numerous military colonies of barbarians, hired, under the name of Letes, for the service of the Imperial Government, which attached them to

it by the concession of lands, called "letic lands." "The emperors," Procopius tells us, "could not prevent the barbarians entering the provinces; but the barbarians, on their side, did not consider they actually possessed the land they occupied, so long as the fact of their possession had not been changed into right by the imperial authority."

The Franks were among the barbarians who also received great concessions of territory in Gaul long before the epoch assigned to their first invasion by a number of historians. Repulsed from the banks of the Weser by the Saxons, two of the principal tribes of the Frank confederation, the Angrivarii first, and then the Catti, emigrated in the third century, and drew nearer to the banks of the Yssel, the frontier of Batavia. The Romans gave these Franks the name of Salics, or Salii, according to all appearance from that of the Yssel (Isala), on whose banks they had been encamped for a long period.* This people, by favour of the civil wars and revolts which agitated Northern Gaul at the end of the third century, crossed the river, and established themselves in Batavia. The Emperor Maximian, after attempting to expel them from the Empire, saw that it would be more advantageous to have their help in defending it; and, about the year 587, he allowed the Salic Franks to settle, as military colonists, between the Moselle and the Scheldt, from Trèves (Augusta Trevirorum) as far as Tournay (Turnacum).

A few years later, two other Frank tribes, the Bructeri and Chamavi, crossed the Rhine in order to support the claims of the usurper Carausius to the imperial throne. Constantius Chlorus and

* Archæologists have supplied different etymologies for the word *Salic*. I have adopted the one which appeared to me most probable. "M. Guerard has proved," says M. de Petigny, "that the Salic land was only the glebe attached to the manor or house, whose name is *Sal* in all the German dialects, and which, as it could not be divided, did not form part of the inheritance of the daughters." Still, M. de Petigny does not believe, and I agree with him, that we can come to the conclusion that the Salic Franks derived their name from this usage, which was common to them with the other tribes of Germany. "Let us not forget," he says, "that the name of Salii was given them by the Romans: now, the Romans were extremely ignorant of German customs, and would not have sought the designation of a colony of expatriated Germans in a custom which was not even special to them. Is it not more natural to think that the Belgian Franks were called after the name of the country which they had quitted, in order to settle on Roman territory? This country was the right bank of the Yssel, where they had lived for upwards of a century before entering Batavia. The Latin name of the Yssel was Isala."

Constantine his son contended against them for a long time, and the Emperor Julian, after conquering them, allowed them to found a military colony between the Rhine and the Meuse. These Franks were called Ripuarii, from the Latin word *ripa*,* because they settled along the banks of the Rhine, one of the two great rivers which served the Roman Empire as a barrier against the barbarians.

The Salic Franks and Ripuarian Franks occupied nearly the same respective positions in the fifth century. At this period the Empire was divided between the sons of the great Theodosius, Honorius reigning at Rome, and Arcadius at Constantinople. Gaul formed part of Honorius's share, and under this weak prince the Western Empire gave way on all sides. A multitude of causes had hastened its dissolution, and anarchy was rampant in the State. The barbarians advanced to plunder that which they were badly paid to defend. In vain Rome humiliated herself so deeply as to become their tributary, endeavouring to stop by presents these fierce men, against whom she could no longer effect anything by her arms, or the majesty of her name: the work of destruction commenced, and in spite of a few fortunate days for the Roman arms, the invading flood never halted till it had swallowed up the Empire, and even Rome herself.

The Suevi and Vandals † burst into Gaul in 406, and from that date up to 476, the epoch when a barbarian chief deposed the last emperor, Italy and Gaul were one vast scene of carnage and desolation, in which twenty nations of different origin came into furious collision.

The Suevi and Vandals were followed by the Visigoths, who, after ravaging one half of the two Empires, and sacking Rome, tore from the Emperor Honorius, who was invested in Ravenna, the concession of the southern territory of Gaul, situated to the west of the Rhone. The Western Empire was dismembered on all sides. The island of Britain had already liberated itself from the yoke of the Romans, and the Armorican provinces of Western Gaul rose

* Ripuarios a ripâ Rheni sic vocatos, et primum a Romanis ad defensionem limitis adversus Germanis constitutos fuisse, nullus dubitat.—*Præf. Eccardi ad Legem Rip.*

† This most barbarous of the barbarous nations was of Slavonic origin. Their hordes wandered about Germany for a while, and eventually joined the Suevi in invading the Empire. After crossing Gaul, the Vandals established themselves in Spain, and in the fifth century passed over to Africa, where Belisarius exterminated them.

in insurrection. About the same period, the Burgundians, a people of Vandal origin, crossed the Rhine, and in 413, founded, on Gallic territory, a first Burgundian kingdom, between Mayence and Strasburg.* The chroniclers of the eighth century, copied by all subsequent writers, have selected this epoch (418) for a new invasion of the Salic Franks, under a chief whom they have named Pharamond, and whose existence is most uncertain. Contemporary writers did not allude to him; and we have seen the Franks established in the north of Gaul in the third century, where they remained almost stationary up to the fall of the Empire.†

Valentinian III. succeeded Honorius in 424, and reigned in sloth and indolence at Ravenna, to which city the seat of the Western Empire had been transferred. Ætius, who had been brought up as a hostage in the camp of the Visigoth conqueror, Alaric, commanded the Roman armies. This skilful general, the last whom Rome possessed, had fought with success, and had subjugated several barbarous tribes established in Gaul, the Franks, Visigoths, and Burgundians. But at this moment other barbarians poured over that country. The Huns, a Scythian people, the most cruel and savage of all, left the shores of the Euxine and followed Attila. Their multitude was innumerable. Guided by the instinct of destruction, they said of themselves that they were going whither the wrath of God called them. They entered Gaul, and fired and devastated everything before them as far as Orleans. They threatened Paris, and the Parisians attributed the salvation of their city to the prayers of Sainte Génévière. Still, the Romans and Visigoths, allied under the command of Ætius and Theodoric,‡ compelled the Huns to retreat: Alaric fell back into Champagne, and

* *Questions Bourguignonnes*, by Roget de Belloquet. This work, which the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres has crowned, offers opinions as profound as they are ingenious, about the origin and existence of the Burgundians in Germany and Gaul. The author has added a map of the first kingdom of Burgundy.

† Concerning the true or supposed existence of Pharamond, and the authenticity of the passage in the Chronicle of Prosperus, the sole record of the fifth century, in which Pharamond is mentioned, consult the learned and judicious dissertation of M. de Persigny, in his *Etudes sur l'Epoque Merovingienne.*

‡ This Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, and successor of Vallia, must not be confounded with the great Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who, a few years later, was destined to conquer Italy.

there, near Châlons-sur-Marne, on the Catalaunian plains, a frightful battle took place in the year 451, which was won by Ætius, and followed by a most awful carnage, in which it is said that 300,000 men perished. Merovæus, chief of the Franks, joined the Romans and Visigoths on this sanguinary day, and contributed greatly to their victory by his exploits.

Gaul remained the scene of bloodthirsty struggles between the different tribes that occupied the country, and each moment of repose was followed by a new and frightful crisis. Majorienus, proclaimed emperor in 457, had chosen, as his lieutenant in Gaul and master of the militia, Syagrius Ægidius, who belonged to one of the great families of the country, and was distinguished by the most eminent qualities. The exalted dignity of master of the militia was the object of the ardent ambition of the barbarian chiefs, established in the Empire by the title of colonists, letes, or confederates; and the latter respected the person invested with it as the delegate of the Emperor, whose supremacy they recognized. An example of this was seen in the time of Ægidius, in a fact worthy of attention, and which has, for a long time, been misunderstood. Merovæus, king of the Salic Franks, having died in 458, was succeeded by his son Childeric, who was proclaimed king in spite of his extreme youth, and soon afterwards dethroned and expelled by the people who had raised him on the shield. The Franks, no longer possessing a prince of the royal race, voluntarily subjected themselves to the Gallo-Roman, Ægidius, master of the militia, and recognized him as their chief. Ægidius, having been declared an enemy of the Empire by the Roman Senate, the Franks recalled Childeric, placed him again at their head, and helped in the overthrow of Ægidius. Childeric, at a later date, was himself invested with the dignity of master of the militia, and fought with glory for the Empire, against the barbarians who were rending it asunder.

The Empire subsisted for a few years longer, a prey to frightful convulsions. On one side were effeminate princes, indifferent to the public calamities, succeeding each other on the throne; chiefs who rose rapidly, and fell as rapidly, by assassination or revolt; an army, composed of a multitude of men of all nations, who recognized no country,

whom cupidity alone attached to the Empire, and who ravaged it, when more was to be gained by pillage than by mercenary service; and an ignorant and wretched people, who knew not what laws to obey, who were exhausted by the Emperors, plundered by the armies and barbarian hordes, and who would have long ceased to be Romans, had they known to whom they could submit with security. On the other side, were new and ferocious nations, whose independent and haughty temper contrasted with the effeminate character of the Romans; tribes which, though differing in manners, language, and worship, as well as origin, seemed to have come to an understanding to hurry from the confines of the world, and rush together on the Empire as their prey.

Between this worn-out society and these new races, the Christian Church rose, acquired strength, and won over a multitude of men, to whom the world only offered suffering, and who eagerly embraced the hope of a happier existence in a better world. The Church received them all into its bosom, without respect of rank or fortune, giving its dignities to the most learned and the most able. The Church alone was, in the West, the depository of some learning; and laboured to produce a new civilization out of the chaos into which Europe threatened to fall. Alone it stood erect and constituted, while everything was crumbling away around it; and when the Roman magistracy disappeared in Gaul, the title of "defender of the city" passed to the bishops, and the ecclesiastical dioceses were everywhere substituted for the imperial dioceses.

The Empire terminated its painful agony between the years 475 and 480. The last prince elected by the Senate of Rome and the Emperor of Constantinople, and who, by this double title, had been legally recognized as Emperor of the West, was Nepos, proclaimed Augustus at Rome in 474. An officer of barbarian origin, Orestes, formerly secretary to Attila, placed by Nepos at the head of the imperial troops, drove him from the throne, compelled him to fly, and raised in his stead a son of his own by his marriage with a Roman lady of illustrious race. This son, named Romulus, was recognized as Emperor by the Senate of Rome; but his election was not confirmed by the Court of Constantinople: he only received the shadow of

power, and was called in contempt by the sobriquet of Augustulus. He was overthrown a year after his election by another barbarian officer of the name of Odoacer.

Gaul, upon the fall of the Empire, was divided between the Visigoths under Euric, in the south; the peoples of Armorica, in the west; the Germans and Burgundians, in the east; and the Franks, in the north. The latter, still divided into two nations, the Salic and the Ripuarian, occupied nearly the same territory they had conquered, and the possession of which had been confirmed to them in the two previous centuries. The Ripuarian Franks, who occupied the two banks of the Rhine, extended on the French side of that river as far as the Scheldt. The Salic Franks occupied, between the Scheldt, the German Ocean, and the Somme, a territory which they had conquered under their King, Clodion, toward the middle of the fifth century. They were divided into three tribes or small kingdoms, the principal cities of which were Tournay (Turnacum), Cambray (Cameracum), and Thérouanne (Theruenna). The chiefs or kings of these tribes all belonged to the royal race of Clodion, and his son Merovæus. The tribe of Tournay had acquired the first rank and predominant influence under King Childeric.

A portion of Gaul, between the Somme and the Loire, had remained Roman, and maintained itself, for some time after the fall of the Empire, independent of the barbarians. This rather extensive country was governed at that time by the Roman general Syagrius, son of the celebrated Ægidius, the ex-master of the imperial militia.

The Anglo-Saxons, at this period, having invaded Great Britain, and established themselves in that island, a great number of the old inhabitants emigrated and settled at the extremity of the western point of Armorica, where they were kindly welcomed by the natives, who had a community of language and origin with them. French Brittany derived its name from these expatriated Britons. About the same period, a colony of Saxons, expelled from Germany, established themselves in Lower Normandy, in the vicinity of Bayeux; while another colony of the same people, hostile to the Britons, occupied a part of Maine and Anjou.

Such was the state of Gaul when, in 481, Clotwig, better known by the name of Clovis,* son of Childeric, and grandson of Merovig or Merovæus, who gave his name to his dynasty, was elected king or chief of the Salic Franks established at Tournay.

* Among most of the barbarian nations the proper names of men and women nearly always indicate some distinctive quality. *Merowig* or *Merwig*, is formed of the two words *mer*, great, and *wig*, a warrior. *Clotwig* is derived from *clot*, celebrated, and *wig*, warrior ; *Clothild* or *Lothild*, from *lot*, celebrated, and *hild*, a boy or girl. The barbarian names are generally harsh or difficult of pronunciation, and they have been transformed by use into softer names. Thus, for instance, of *Merowig*, the French have made Mercvée ; of *Clotwig* or *Chlodowig*, Clovis ; of *Brunehild*, Brunehaut ; of *Theodorik*, Thierry ; of *Gundbald*, Gondebaud ; of *Karle*, Charles ; of *Leodgher*, Leger ; of *Rodulf*, Raoul ; of *Atlrick*, Alaric, &c.

# FIRST EPOCH.

## REIGN OF THE MEROVINGIAN AND CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTIES.

481–986 (FIVE CENTURIES).

# BOOK I.

## GAUL UNDER THE MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY, 481–752.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE REIGN OF CLOVIS.

#### 481–511.

THE success of the Franks in that part of Gaul which had remained subject to the Romans, was partly due to the state of oppression into which the Imperial Government had plunged the people, who, crushed by taxation, impatient to break the yoke, and forced to sustain continual struggles, were yet deficient in resolution and vigour to defend themselves. Other causes favoured their rapid progress in the countries occupied by the Visigoths and Burgundians. These hordes, whose invasion of Gaul had been violent and accompanied by great ravages, had been rapidly softened by the influence of a superior civilization: the Goths, more especially, assumed Roman manners, which were those of the civilized inhabitants of Gaul, and sought to acquire the politeness, arts, and laws of the conquered, whose religion, however, they did not adopt. They were attached to the Arian heresy, while the nations they had conquered were maintained in the orthodox, or Catholic, faith by their bishops. The latter, children of Rome and inheritors of the administrative power of the Roman magistrates, bound to recognize as their pattern and head the bishop of the Eternal City, to regulate their faith by his, and to contribute by the unity of religion to the unity of the Empire, still laboured, at the period of the conquest, to retain under the authority

of Rome, by the bond of religious faith, countries in which the bond of political obedience was severed.

The Visigoths and Burgundians did not recognize the authority of the bishops, who had greater hopes of a nation still pagan and free from prejudices, as the Franks were at that time, than of tribes who, already converted to Christianity, refused to acknowledge their creed or take them as guides. The Goths and Burgundians, besides, at the moment when they were attacked by the Franks, had lost some of their primitive energy, and had made no progress in the military science of the conquered races; but the Franks, on the contrary, had retained all the savage vigour of the inhabitants of Germany, and nothing had softened their natural ferocity, or their spirit of independence. When they were conquered, fresh migrations of Germanic tribes incessantly arrived to repair their losses; when they were conquerors, they had all the superiority which is produced by the boldness of success and the thirst of pillage, peculiar to warlike tribes that have nothing to lose and everything to gain.

Clovis, elected chief of the Franks, soon seconded the wish of the bishops of Gaul by espousing Clotilda, daughter of Childeric, king of the Burgundians, the only woman of the Germanic race who at that period belonged to the Catholic communion.

The first enemy he attacked was Syagrius, the Roman general and governor of that part of Gaul still independent of the barbarians, whose capital was Soissons: Syagrius was vanquished, and the Franks extended their limits up to the Seine. Clovis next marched against the hordes of Allemanni, who were invading Gaul to wrest their conquests from the Franks, and fought an action at Tolbiac. Defeated in the early part of the day, he promised to adore the God of Clotilda if he gained the victory: he triumphed, and kept his vow. He was baptized by St. Remi, bishop of the city of that name. "Sicambrian, bow thy head!" the prelate said to him; "burn what thou hast adored, and adore what thou hast burned." Three thousand Frank warriors imitated their chief, and were baptized on the same day: it was thus that the Roman Church gained access to the barbarians. Clovis at once sent presents to Rome, as a symbol of tribute, to the successor of the blessed Apostle Peter, and from this moment his conquests extended over Gaul without bloodshed.

All the cities in the north-west as far as the Loire, and the territory of the Breton *émigrés*, opened their gates to his soldiers. The bishops of the country of the Burgundians soon sent a deputation to the conqueror, supplicating him to deliver them from the rule of the Arian barbarians; and Clovis, on their solicitation, declared war against the Burgundian King Gondebaud, the murderer of Clotilda's father, and made him his tributary. Gondebaud, when conquered, promised to become a convert to Catholicism; and most of the towns on the banks of the Rhine and the Saône were united under the authority of the Church of Rome.

Six years later, Clovis meditated fresh conquests, and turned his attention to the fair southern provinces occupied by the Visigoths. He assembled his warriors on the Field of Mars, and said to them, "I am grieved at the thought that these Arians possess a part of Gaul: let us go, with God's help, and, after conquering them, possess their territory."* War was at once decided on. Clovis obtained for this expedition the consent of the Eastern Emperor Athanasius, and was supported by the Burgundian King Gondebaud. He negotiated with the Catholic bishops of the provinces occupied by the Visigoths, kept his troops under strict discipline, and offered himself to the Catholic population of the country as a liberator and avenger. Then, marching southward, he terrified Alaric II. by the rapidity of his progress. This prince called to his aid his father-in-law, the great Theodoric, King of the Visigoths, who at that time was governing Italy with glory;† and not daring, before the junction of their armies, to engage in a decisive action with the Franks, retreated before them. Clovis, however, hurrying on, came up with Alaric's army near Vouillé, three leagues to the south of Poitiers, and

* Gregory of Tours (*Historia Francorum*, I. 2). This work, which contains the annals of Gaul from the year 417 to 591, is one of the most interesting memorials of the national history. It is written in Latin, like all the ecclesiastic MSS. of that period.

† Theodoric had entered into an engagement with the Emperor Zeno to penetrate into Italy, wrest that country from Odoacer, and govern it in the name of the Emperor of the East. He therefore set out with his people, and, in 489, met the army of Odoacer on the banks of the Isonzo. He conquered it, and invaded Lombardy, where Odoacer, after a few successes, followed by numerous reverses, perished by assassination. Theodoric from that time governed Italy wisely, and tried to re-establish there Roman law and civilization.

attacked it. Alaric lost his life in the engagement; the Franks were victorious; and, before long, the greater portion of the country occupied by the Visigoths, as far as the sources of the Garonne, obeyed Clovis. Carcassonne checked his victorious army. A portion of his forces, under the command of his elder son, Thierry, marched into Arvernia (Auvergne), in concert with the army of the King of the Burgundians; and the combined armies subjugated the whole country as far as Arles, the capital of the Visigothic Empire, to which they laid siege. In the meanwhile, the Ostrogoths of the great Theodoric were approaching, and the Franks and Burgundians, retiring before them, raised the siege of Arles and Carcassonne. Peace was finally concluded, after a battle gained by the Ostrogoths. A treaty insured the possession of Aquitaine and Novempopulania (Gascony) to Clovis; Theodoric, as the price of his services, claimed the province of Arles up to the Durance; the Burgundians kept the cities to the north of that city, with the exception of Avignon; and the monarchy of the Visigoths was reduced to Spain and Septimania, of which Narbonne was the capital, having, as its nominal head, a child of the name of Amalaric, son of that Alaric II. who was killed at Vouillé, and grandson and ward of Theodoric. The latter remained, in reality, and up to his death, the absolute sovereign of the two great divisions of the Gothic Empire on either side of the Alps.

The Franks, thus checked in the south by the Ostrogoths, marched westward, and arrived at the country of the Armoricans, whose great towns submitted, and consented to pay tribute: the Breton *émigrés* alone defended the nook of land in which they had taken refuge, and managed to retain their independence.

The campaign in Aquitaine added greatly to the military renown and power of Clovis, who received, at this period, the consular insignia from the Emperor Athanasius, then reigning at Constantinople, and who had approved his expedition against the Goths. Clovis proceeded to Tours in the year 510, in order to inaugurate his consulate in the most venerated sanctuary of Catholic Gaul, in the presence of the tomb of St. Martin. He made his solemn entry into the city on horseback, with a diadem on his head, attired in the chlamys, and scattering gold pieces among the mob: he proceeded in this way from

the basilica of St. Martin to the cathedral, to thank Heaven for his victories; and from this day he was called Consul and Augustus.

Clovis, upon this occasion, made considerable donations to the churches of his states, both in money, derived from the immense possessions of the treasury, and lands taken from the imperial domains, which the barbarian kings seized in all the conquered provinces. The basilica of St. Martin obtained the greater share of his liberality, and he even gave to it his war-charger.

On his return from his warlike expedition into Aquitaine, Clovis fixed his residence at Paris, in the ancient Palace of the Thermæ, formerly occupied by the Cæsars. His attention was then turned to the north of Gaul, which was occupied by tribes of his own race, and divided between the puissant kingdom of the Ripeware or Ripuarian Franks, which extended along the two banks of the Rhine, and the kingdom of the Salic, or Salian Franks, who were enclosed between the Scheldt, the Somme, and the sea. Clovis held beneath his authority two-thirds of Gaul; but was still unrecognized by the tribes of his own nation, with the exception of the Salic tribe of Tournay, at the head of which he had gained all his victories. Tournay, where he had alone succeeded in propagating Christianity, had become an episcopal see. The Salic Franks of the two other kingdoms, Cambray and Therouanne, and the Ripuarian Franks, had remained attached to paganism.

Clovis resolved to subjugate them all. Religion had neither repressed his ambition, nor softened his ferocity; and he employed cunning and violence to attain success. He had had as his companion in his last exploits, Chloderic, son of his ally, Sigebert, King of the Ripuarians; and he inflamed the ambition of the young prince by language as flattering as it was perfidious. Chloderic, urged to parricide, went to join his father, who was hunting at the time on the right bank of the Rhine, and, surprising him in the wilds of Germany, assassinated him there; after which he hastened to Cologne, seized the treasury, and had himself proclaimed king. Clovis, constituting himself avenger of the murder he had provoked, procured the assassination of Chloderic; and then, setting out with his army, seized Verdun, and penetrated into Cologne. Taking advantage of the stupor into which the loss of their

chiefs, and his sudden march, had plunged the Ripuarians, he affected to be horrified by the crime, and solemnly declared that he was innocent of the blood of Sigebert and Chloderic, whose deaths, he said, would expose the Ripuarians to great evils, unless they accepted his protection, and placed themselves under his laws. His words, backed by the presence of a victorious army, were listened to; and the Ripuarians raised Clovis on the buckler, and proclaimed him their king. He then marched against the Salic tribes of Courtray and Therouanne, whose chiefs, Cararic and Raghenaher, had maintained their independence, and subjugated them, rather by the aid of treachery than by the force of arms. Cararic and his son were surrendered to him without a blow; Raghenaher, deserted on the battle-field, was thrown into fetters by his own soldiers, and his brother Ricaire shared his fate. Both chiefs were brought before the ferocious conqueror. "Unhappy man!" said Clovis to Raghenaher, "dost thou thus dishonour our blood? a Salian allow himself to be chained! was it not better to die?" And, so saying, with one blow of his axe he cut off his head. Then, turning to Ricaire, Clovis said, "Why didst thou not defend thy brother better? he would not have endured this shame;" and, raising his blood-stained axe, laid him also dead at his feet. At the first, he did not prove so terrible in his treatment of Cararic and his son. They promised to enter the Church, and he contented himself with cutting off their hair as a sign of degradation. Cararic, however, unfortunately uttered the imprudent words, "Of what use is it to cut off the foliage of a green tree? it will grow again." These words, revealing a threat, the significance of which Clovis was not slow to comprehend, were a decree of death to father and son: both of them were massacred, as well as another son of Cararic, named Rignomer, who had taken refuge in the city of Mans.

After all these murders, the barbarous king exclaimed, "Wretched man that I am! I have no relations left; all have revolted against me, and all have perished. Is there not any member of my family still in existence to console me in my old days?" This lamentation, the chroniclers say, was only an artifice employed by Clovis in order to assure himself that no scion of his race was left whom he might fear and put out of the way. But this pitiless desire was already fulfilled, and of

all the descendants of Clodion and Merovig, Clovis henceforth remained alone with his children.

If the chroniclers have told the truth in attributing Clovis' lamentations to interested calculation, which they do not condemn, we may be also permitted to believe that remorse had something to do with them. The Church, doubtless, was most indulgent to Clovis, for it was greatly indebted to him; and a portion of the clergy applauded the extermination of princes of the royal blood who were still attached to Paganism.* Still, such sanguinary deeds struck the people with horror, and the public cry found an echo in the consciences of a few holy priests, and in that of the culprit. Shortly after the murder of Raghenaher and Cararic, Clovis went to Tournay, where the Bishop St. Eleutherus resided, and proceeded to the church to pray. The bishop, who awaited him on the threshold, said, "O King, I know why thou comest to me!" and when Clovis protested that he had nothing to say to the bishop, St. Eleutherus replied, "Speak not so: thou hast sinned and darest not confess it!" At these words the monarch, deeply affected, confessed that he felt himself guilty, shed tears, and begged the pious prelate to implore from Heaven the pardon of his crimes.

Everything in the history of Clovis shows that his religious actions were inspired as much by the ardour of a sincere faith as by policy; and that he carried out his mission as chief and representative of the Catholic party in Gaul, because he was himself attached to the Church of Rome. He constantly mixed up religious undertakings with his warlike expeditions. In the later part of his life he went to Orleans, where he had convened a general council of the bishops of the provinces over which his authority extended. Those of the provinces recently conquered from the Visigoths were present, and one of them, the Bishop of Bordeaux, presided over the council, which cemented an intimate union by mutual concessions between the Catholic clergy and the King of France. Clovis confirmed the gift of immense domains to the Church, which he established on the solid basis of freehold property; he respected the right of asylum in holy places; he recognized the privilege of the clergy to be only

* Prosternebat enim quotidie Deus hostes ejus sub manu ipsius et augebat regnum ejus, eo quod ambulabat recto corde coram eo et faciebat quæ placita erant in oculis ejus.—(*Greg. Tur. Hist., Lib.* II.)

tried by their ecclesiastical superiors, and liberated their property from any seizure by the fiscal authorities. In return for such great concessions, the council decided that no freeman should receive holy orders without the King's permission, and no serf without his master's knowledge. The King limited the right of asylum, prohibited the bishops from excommunicating persons who might plead against them, and, lastly, the assembly submitted all its decisions to the monarch's approval. "We have answered," the bishops said, "the questions on which you have consulted us, and the articles presented to us by you, in order that, if your judgment approve of what we have decided, the decrees passed by so venerable an assembly may be strengthened for the future by the assent of so great a king." * The council completed its labours by drawing up canons which regulated the administration and division of the property and revenues of the Church, and settled the share of the inferior clergy, schools, the poor, and the infirm.

After the closing of the Council of Orleans, Clovis, on returning to Paris, busied himself with the propagation of Christianity among the Frank tribes which he had recently subjected in Northern Gaul; and it is supposed that the same period should be assigned to the Latin edition which he issued of the Salic law, or, more correctly, of the customs of the Salian Franks, while modifying them so as to render them more in harmony with the new situation which he had made for his people in Gaul.

The work of Clovis was now accomplished, and in the course of the same year (511) he died at Paris, after bestowing fresh largesses on the clergy, and dividing his states between his four sons, Thierry, Clodomir, Childebert, and Clothair, who were all recognized as kings.

In order to form a just estimate of the character of this king we must carry back our thoughts to the age in which he lived. We are bound to remember that there were two men in Clovis—the barbarian chief and the Christian neophyte; and if, on one hand, we are surprised to find in some of his actions so many vestiges of barbarity, we are, on the other, astonished at what he did to elevate his people and himself to a higher stage of belief and civilization. An imposing and terrible grandeur marked his exploits as well as his misdeeds.

* Concil. Auril., Epist. ad Chlodoveum regem.

He joined to the lively intellect that conceives, the strong and active will that executes; and God, who allowed him to combine the talents of the warrior with those of the politician, set upon him, at an early age, the seal of the conqueror. He was the instrument employed by Providence to lead the powerful nation of the Franks to Christianity, and to effect the fusion of the barbarous nations with the civilized peoples of the Roman world,—a fusion which could alone be effected by means of religion, and which was not complete until the conquering people had adopted the faith of the conquered. The population of Gaul being subjected to the Church of Rome, Clovis, the disciple of the same Church, was, on that account, better able to subjugate it than were the Arian kings of the Burgundians and Visigoths, who had separated from the Church. He understood his situation and the part he was called on to play. It was, above all, as chief of the religious party and defender of the national faith that he offered himself to the native tribes and Catholic clergy of Gaul: he restored the shaken authority of the Church from the shores of the German Ocean to the Pyrenees, and from the shores of the Atlantic to the forests of Germany. Rome, grateful to Clovis, decreed him the glorious title of "Elder Son of the Church," and he transmitted it to all his successors.

# CHAPTER II.

## FROM THE DEATH OF CLOVIS TO THAT OF DAGOBERT I.

## 511–638.

### I.

### THE CUSTOMS OF THE FRANKS.—STATE OF GAUL UNDER THE MEROVINGIANS.

Before continuing the history of the Franks under the race of Clovis, it will be advisable to take a glance at their religion, laws, and customs, and to explain the relations of the conquerors to the conquered.

Royalty among the Franks was at once elective and hereditary: the title of king, in the German language,* merely signified chief, and was decreed by election. On the death of a king, the Franks assembled for the purpose of choosing his successor: and we have seen that they chose him from one family, that of Merovig, and that, when they had nominated him, they consecrated him by raising him on a buckler, amid noisy shouts. The chief mission of the ruler they gave themselves was to lead them against the foe, and to pillage: he received the largest share of the booty, frequently consisting of towns with their territory, which constituted the royal domain, and the treasure with which the king recompensed his *antrustions* or *leudes*, the name given to the comrades in arms of the prince, who devoted themselves to his fortunes and swore fidelity to him. These leudes formed a separate class, from which the majority of the officers and magistrates was selected. The following anecdote will instruct us as to what were the limits and extent of the royal power. After the battle of Soissons, Clovis wished to withdraw from the division of the booty a precious vase, claimed by St. Remi. All his warriors consented, except one, who, breaking the vessel with a blow of his

* *König*, a king, derived from the verb *können*, to be able, or powerful. This word still exists among the Scotch, in the modified form of "canny," while we have perverted it into "cunning."—L. W.

axe, said, brutally, to the King, "Thou shalt only have, like the rest, what chance gives thee!" Clovis concealed his passion; but the following year, while reviewing his troops, he stopped before this soldier, and tore from him his weapon, which, he said, was in a bad condition. "Remember the vase of Soissons!" said the King, and cleft his skull with a blow of the battle-axe.

When a king died, his sons inherited his domain; and being richer than their companions in arms, were in a better position than other persons to secure suffrages. It was thus that the supreme authority was handed down from father to son in the race of Clovis, at first by election, and then by usage, which in time became law.

The sons of Clovis, having all been recognized as kings, each took up his abode in the chief city of his dominions, so that there were from this time four capitals, Paris, Orleans, Soissons, and Reims.* All these capitals, residences of kings, were chosen to the north of the Loire, in a rather limited space, because the countries in which they were situated were alone considered the land of the Franks. The provinces to the south of the Loire were still filled with reminiscences of the Romans. The great cities, far richer and more populous than those of the north, and brilliant with the relics of imperial grandeur, struck the barbarous Franks with a stupid astonishment. They found themselves uncomfortable amid the ruins of the civilized world, and hence they only sojourned there with repugnance. They left their administration to the municipal bodies and the bishops, and contented themselves with occupying the country by bodies of troops, which kept it in obedience by the terror which they everywhere inspired. The Church was, at that time, the sole power that contended against barbarism, and the only curb on the ferocious passions of the conquerors; who, prior to Clovis, had no other faith but that of the Scandinavian Odin, and had only learned to expect in another life the thoroughly sensual joys of the Walhalla, a palace which they believed to exist in the clouds, and where, blending festivity with combats, they promised themselves, as the supreme felicity after death, to quaff beer or hydromel out of the skulls of their enemies. When, following the example of Clovis, they were converted in a mass to Christianity, without being instructed in it, the majority of them remained igno-

* Metz was soon after selected as the capital in the place of the last-named city.

rant of that which was sublime and spiritual in the religion they had embraced. Coarse and rude, they required an external faith, which terrified them by carnal menaces, and captivated them by the majesty of its spectacles; and therefore we can easily conceive that Catholicism triumphed over the rival creeds. In fact, the images of saints, the relics of martyrs, the renown of the miracles which were said to be effected by them, and the pomp of the ceremonies, struck the imagination of the barbarians with astonishment and respect. The civil power of the bishops; the external and visible hierarchy of the clergy, whose head was at Rome, in the Eternal City; and, above all, the great name of Rome, respected even by her conquerors, gave the Catholic clergy a power over this untameable population, far greater than the priests of any other Christian Church could have obtained. The clergy, besides, were distinguished at this time by great virtues, and made energetic efforts to combat the unbridled passions of the people and the kings. The barbarism was, however, still so great that men treated God as they would have liked themselves to be treated, hoping to disarm His justice and turn away His wrath by giving Him gold, jewels, horses, and estates, with which they enriched the Church, and enabled the clergy to maintain their necessary ascendancy over the converted conquerors.

At the moment when the Franks invaded Gaul, there were numerous monasteries in that country, the most ancient of which was Marmoutiers, near Tours, founded by St. Martin, who introduced cenobitic life into Gaul. The following ages witnessed the foundation of a great number of other pious establishments, among the most useful of which we may distinguish those of the illustrious order of the Benedictines, founded in Italy in the sixth century by St. Benedict, and which soon spread its numerous ramifications over the whole of Europe. The adepts of this order were subjected to the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience; and St. Benedict had also prescribed for them prayer, study, manual labour, and the instruction of youth. No religious order contributed more than this one to the progress of letters and the sciences. It was necessary, amid the perpetual scenes of fighting, pillage, and crime, that the unhappy should find somewhere an asylum against violence; and when the soil was bristling with armed men, whose only thought was to destroy each other, it was important that

large associations, animated by a pious and intelligent zeal, should devote themselves to the fatiguing task of draining marshes, clearing land, collecting the information contained in the scattered manuscripts which had escaped so many devastations, and in opening schools, and handing down to posterity the knowledge of contemporary facts. Such was the laudable occupation of the first inhabitants of monasteries, and it was thus that they deserved the respect and gratitude of the nations.

The authority of the kings was purely military, and the legislative power belonged to the entire nation of the Franks, who assembled under arms in the month of March or May, whence these *malls*, or national *comitia*, have been entitled "the assemblies of the field of March" and "the field of May." They took place regularly every year in the early period of the conquest; but when the Franks, after becoming landowners, were rapidly scattered over the soil of Gaul, they neglected to assemble, the kings ceased to convoke them regularly, and the legislative power passed into the hands of the monarchs, their officers, and the bishops. Each city was administered by its own municipality, under the direction of the bishop, who was elected by the people and the clergy of his diocese.

Justice emanated from the people. All the freemen in each district, designated by the name of *armans* or *rachimbourgs*, had the right of being present at the courts, where they performed the duties of judges, under the presidency of the royal officers, men, counts, or centurions. No subordination existed between the several courts, and no appeal was admitted. Each of the tribes that occupied the soil of Gaul retained its own laws. The Gallo-Romans continued to be governed, in their civil relations, by the Theodosian code; * the Salian and Ripuarian Franks and the Burgundians each had a special code.

The law which the Salic Franks obeyed, and which obtained from them the name of the *Salic law*, was not drawn up till after the conquest; but it was based on maxims long anterior to the invasion of Gaul by the Franks. This law, moreover, established offensive distinctions between the races of the Franks and Gallo-Romans. The reparation for the heaviest crimes was estimated in

* This was the name given to the collection of Roman laws drawn up by order of the Emperor Theodoric II., and promulgated in 438. This was the first official code.

money; and, by consenting to pay a certain sum, any man could with impunity commit robbery, murder, or arson. In this species of composition the law always valued the life of a Frank at double that of a Roman. Churchmen, however, were respected, and enjoyed several privileges. Under the sons of Clovis, the penal laws became more severe, and the penalty of death was substituted in certain cases for fines. The law of the Ripuarian Franks, promulgated by Thierry I., established compensation for offences on principles similar to those of the Salic law. The law of the Burgundians, called the *loi Gombette*, after Gondebaud, its first author, was more favourable to the old inhabitants than the laws of the Salic and Ripuarian Franks; and, resembling in this point the law of the Visigoths, it established no distinction between the Romans and the conquerors, for crimes committed on the person.

All the laws of the barbarians prove that these nations had an unbounded faith in the immediate and constant intervention of the Divinity in human interests. Some established as judicial proof the oath of the friends and relatives of the accused person or the debtor; others the issue of a duel between the parties; while others, again, prescribed the ordeal of fire and water. The accused was obliged to seize a red-hot iron bar, or plunge his hand into boiling water: his arm was then carefully wrapped up, and, at the expiration of a certain number of days, if the burn left traces the unhappy man was punished as guilty; but, if no traces were left, his innocence was proclaimed. They believed that the judgment of God Himself was thus obtained, just as it was by the duel.

In Gaul, after the conquest, a distinction was made between the freemen (possessors of independent estates or owners of benefices) the colonists, and the slaves or serfs. The first among the freemen, whether Franks or Gallo-Romans, were the leudes, or companions of the kings, and possessors of the royal favour; after the freemen, or owners of the soil, came the colonists, who cultivated it in consideration of rent or tribute; and, lastly, the serfs, some of whom were attached to the person of the master, and others to the soil, with which they were sold and handed over like cattle.

The clergy, as we have seen, formed a separate and very powerful class. All the public offices which, to be properly filled, required

learning and knowledge, were given to the clerks or churchmen, owing to their superior instruction; and in this way they found means to increase the wealth which they derived from the liberality and piety of the faithful.

The territorial estates were divided, among the barbarians, into two chief classes, *allodia*, and *benefices*, or *fiefs*. The allodia were estates free from any charge, and belonging entirely either to the conquerors or the conquered among the Franks: by virtue of the Salic law, they could not be inherited by females. The benefices were lands which the kings detached from the royal domain in order to reward their leudes. The possession of benefices entailed the obligation of military service; and, being only held for life, they could be recalled. The offices of dukes and counts, possessed by the first lords, were not transmissible by right of inheritance to their children. But, after a time, the bravest warriors, enriched by the royal favour, formed a dangerous aristocracy: they became more powerful in proportion as the royal authority grew weaker, and, their claims having increased with their power, they rendered their domains and titles hereditary in their families. This usurpation on the part of the nobles was one of the principal causes of the downfall of the Merovingian dynasty.

## II.

### GAUL UNDER THE SONS OF CLOVIS.

Fratricidal wars and frightful crimes marked the reign of the descendants of Clovis. The sons of that prince divided his states among them with barbarous ignorance, and this clumsy division was the source of sanguinary quarrels.

Thierry resided at Metz, the capital of Eastern France; Clothair at Soissons; Childebert at Paris; and Clodomir at Orleans. The last three also shared among them the lands and cities conquered in Aquitaine. At this period a great number of German tribes formed an alliance with the Franks, whose confederation extended to the Elbe. The Frisons, Saxons, and Bavarians were included in this league; the Thuringians, allied with the Varnians and Herules, had spread along the banks of the Elbe and the Neckar, where they had formed a new monarchy. Sullied with fearful atrocities, they resisted the

Franks, who marched against them under Thierry and Clothair, and defeated them in two battles, assassinated the Thuringian princes, put a part of the nation to the sword, and attached Thuringia to the monarchy of the Franks.

Sigismund, son of Gondebaud, who assassinated Chilperic, the father of Queen Clotilda, was reigning at this time in Burgundy. Forty years had elapsed since the murder, but the widow of Clovis swore to take vengeance for it, although the murderer was no longer in existence. She resolved to make the son expiate the father's crime; and, collecting her sons together, she made them promise to avenge the death of Chilperic, their grandfather. Clodomir and Clothair at once entered Burgundy, gained a battle, made King Sigismund a prisoner, and threw him down a well with his wife and children. Gondemar, brother of the conquered king, became his avenger. He defeated Clodomir's army at Véséronce, on the banks of the Rhone, killed Clodomir, expelled the Franks, and was recognized as king by the Burgundians, over whom he reigned till the year 532. Clothair and his brother Childebert then attacked him, conquered him, and took possession of the kingdom.

These two princes sullied their character by a frightful crime after the death of their brother Clodomir, King of Orleans, who had left three children of tender age, who were being brought up by their grandmother Clotilda. Clothair and Childebert coveted the inheritance of their nephews; and, in order to get them into their power, promised to have them crowned. The children went in high glee to join their uncles, followed by their servants and tutors; but all at once, they were separated from them, and the servants were thrown into dungeons. Clothair and Childebert then sent to Clotilda, their mother, a pair of scissors and a dagger—directing her to choose between a monastery and death for her grandchildren. "Sooner death!" replied the heart-broken woman. The kings, on receiving this answer, proceeded straight to their nephews. Clothair murdered two of them with his own hands, and their servants were also massacred. The third son of Clodomir, of the name of Clodoald, escaped from the fury of his uncles, became a monk, and founded the monastery of St. Clodoald (Saint Cloud).

Thierry I., the eldest of the sons of Clovis, died in 534, after

ravaging Auvergne, which had tried to shake off his yoke. His son, Theodebert, succeeded him.

The empire of the Goths was at this period beginning to decline. The great Theodoric was no longer alive. This prince had governed Italy, Spain, and Southern Gaul: he had reconquered from the Franks a large portion of the provinces taken from the Visigoths after the battle of Vouillé, and had striven to re-establish in his states the laws, customs, and manners of the Roman Empire; but he had no son to whom to hand down his immense kingdom. He had only two daughters, Amalasontha and Theodegotha, and by them two grandsons, Athalaric and Amalaric, between whom he divided his empire. Athalaric had the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy, with the provinces of Gaul up to the Rhone and the Durance. Amalaric, the son of Alaric II., and Theodegotha, reigned over the Visigoths in Spain and Gaul, from the base of the Pyrenees as far as the Lot and the Rhone. This prince resided at Narbonne, and espoused Clotilda, daughter of Clovis. Clotilda was a Catholic among an Arian people. Outraged by the populace, she was treated still more cruelly by her husband. Her blood flowed: she staunched it with a veil, and a faithful servant conveyed to the Frank kings this blood-stained veil as an appeal to their vengeance. Inflamed with fury at the sight, Childebert set out, and led an army of Franks to the frontier of Septimania,* where he defeated the Visigoths. Amalaric fled in terror to Barcelona, and perished there by assassination. Childebert gave up Narbonne to pillage, and then returned to Paris, loaded with the spoils of the rich province; but as he neglected to secure the possession, it reverted to the Visigoths eventually. The Franks, a few years later, crossed the Alps, and advanced into Spain, as far as Saragossa. This fortress arrested them, and they recrossed the mountains, without obtaining any serious or durable result from the expedition.

The race of Theodoric ceased, at about the same period, to reign in Italy, where his grandson Athalaric died young. The Ostrogoths, after his death, and that of his successor, Theodatus, the second husband of his mother, Amalasontha, selected as their ruler Vitiges, the most skilful of their generals. They were at that time engaged in a war

* The name of Septimania was beginning to prevail over that of Narbonensis Prima, given by the Romans to the country which was afterwards called Languedoc.

with Justinian, the Emperor of the East, who asked the support of the Frank king, Theodebert I., son of Thierry I., against the Ostrogoths. Theodebert, equally appealed to by the latter to help them against Justinian, passed the Alps at the head of a numerous army, and received gold from both sides: then, breaking his engagements, he made a frightful carnage of both armies, ravaged Lombardy with fire and sword, burned Genoa and Pavia, and extorted Provence from the Ostrogoths; whose empire, already tottering, finally succumbed beneath the attacks of Belisarius and Narses, the illustrious generals of Justinian.

Theodebert was meditating an invasion of the Empire of the East, when he died in 548, leaving the throne to his son Theodobald, who only reigned seven years. On the death of the latter, Clothair, his great-uncle, seized his kingdom: his other grand-uncle, Childebert, jealous of this usurpation, set up against Clothair his son Chrammus, and at first supported him with his army, but himself soon fell ill at Paris and died. Clothair inherited his kingdom, pursued his own rebellious son, and had him burned alive, with his wife and daughters. He had now succeeded his three elder brothers, and held under his sway the whole of Roman Gaul, in which were comprised Savoy, Switzerland, the Rhenish provinces, and Belgium. Septimania alone remained to the Visigoths: Clothair's authority extended beyond the Rhine, over the Duchies of Germany, Thuringia, and Bavaria, and the countries of the Saxons and Frisons. He made no use of this colossal power, and the only memorial that remained of the two years during which he governed the monarchy of France alone, was the murder of his son. Clothair was taken ill a year after this horrible execution, and, amazed at the approach of death, exclaimed, "Who is this King of Heaven who thus kills the great kings of the earth?"

This princely murderer of his family had among his wives a princess of the name of Radegonde, daughter of the last King of Thuringia, who, owing to her rare education and holy and noble life, presents, on the throne, a remarkable contrast to the barbarous manners and almost general ignorance of her age. Having voluntarily left the royal residence for a cloister, she founded near Poitiers the celebrated convent of Saint Croix, where she divided her leisure between the cultivation of letters and the duties of piety and un-

bounded charity. She died there in 589, and her tomb may still be seen.*

## III.

### GAUL UNDER THE GRANDSONS OF CLOTHAIR I.—RIVALRY OF FREDEGONDE AND BRUNHILDA.—EPISODE OF GONDEVALD.

Clothair I. left four sons—Caribert, Gontran, Chilperic, and Sigebert—who divided his states among them. Caribert lived but a short while, and left no male child: from his death dates a fresh division between the three surviving brothers, which it is important to understand thoroughly. The vast country situated between the Rhine and the Loire was divided in two, as if a diagonal line were drawn from north to south, from the mouths of the Scheldt to the environs of Langres, near the sources of the Saône: the part situated to the west of this line was named Neustria (Neuster: west)—and the other part, to the east, was named Austrasia (Ostro: east). Neustria fell, in the partition, to Chilperic, and Austrasia to Sigebert. Burgundy formed the third great division of Gaul, and fell to the share of Gontran. Vast countries, afterwards conquered, were regarded as appendices of the Frank Empire, and it was arranged that a separate division should be made of them: these were Provence, Aquitaine, and Gascony. The first was attached to Eastern France, Austrasia and Burgundy, and was divided between Sigebert and Gontran; the second was divided into three parts, reputed equal, each of which formed a small Aquitaine; and lastly, Gascony was divided between Chilperic and Sigebert, to the exclusion of Gontran. The German provinces, governed by dukes nominated by the kings, were scarce taken into consideration in this division; they were allotted, with Austrasia, to Sigebert, who, in order to watch over them better, transferred his residence from Reims to Metz, which he made his capital. The three brothers made a strange convention with regard to the city of Paris: owing to its importance, they promised that neither should enter it without the consent of his brothers. This celebrated division of the inheritance of Clothair I. was made in the year 567, and from this

* We refer our readers to the interesting history of Sainte Radegonde in M. Augustin Thierry's charming *Récits Mérovingiens.*

moment commenced the long and bloody rivalry between Neustria and Austrasia.

Chilperic and Sigebert distinguished themselves by their fratricidal hatred; and were surpassed in audacity, ambition, and barbarity, by their wives, whose names acquired a great and melancholy celebrity.

Sigebert had married Brunhilda, daughter of the King of the Visigoths; and Chilperic, surnamed the Nero of France, jealous of the alliance contracted by his brother, put aside the claims of his mistress, Fredegonde, in order to espouse Galswintha, sister of Brunhilda. He had, at this period, three sons by his first wife Andovera, whom he repudiated, and imprisoned at Rouen. Shortly after his second marriage, he had Galswintha strangled, at the instigation of Fredegonde, and took the latter for his wife. Brunhilda swore to avenge her sister, and the enmity of the two queens caused streams of blood to flow.

After an unsuccessful war against his brother Sigebert, the King of Neustria submitted, asked for peace, and accepted a treaty, which he violated almost immediately afterwards by taking up arms again. Sigebert marched on Paris, which city Chilperic had seized, laid the environs of the city waste, took it by storm, and forced his brother to shut himself up in Tournay with his wife and children. The Austrasian army invested the latter town, and Sigebert declared that he would kill Chilperic; but he wished first to have himself elected King of Neustria, and designated for this solemnity the royal domain of Vitry, near Douai. Germanus,* Bishop of Paris, tried in vain to move Sigebert by exciting the pity of Queen Brunhilda, who was even more ardent for vengeance than her husband. He addressed the King himself in these words: "King Sigebert, if thou wilt renounce the thought of killing thy brother, thou shalt be victorious; if thou hast another thought, thou shalt die." Sigebert persisted in his fratricidal projects. He proceeded to Vitry, where he was raised on the buckler, and proclaimed King of Neustria in the assembly of the Franks; but, in the midst of the rejoicings, two young emissaries of Fredegonde stabbed the King with poisoned knives. He died, and his army dispersed: Chilperic regained his crown and Paris, into which city he entered as a victor.

* The Church canonized him, and he is known by the name of St. Germain.

The widow of the assassinated King Sigebert, Brunhilda, was still in that city with her two daughters and her youthful son, Childebert. By order of Chilperic she was arrested and kept as a prisoner, with her children, in the old imperial Palace of the Thermæ; but Gondebaud, an Austrasian noble, contrived the escape of young Childebert. The royal child was let down in a basket from a window of the palace; and a faithful servant placed him behind him on a horse, and carried him to Metz, where Childebert II. was proclaimed King of Austrasia in 575.

King Chilperic then sent Brunhilda, with her two daughters, in exile to Rouen, where she was joined by Merovic, the son of Chilperic and the unfortunate Andovera, and himself exposed to the furious hatred of his formidable mother-in-law, Fredegonde. Merovic conceived a violent passion for Brunhilda, which she returned; and they asked for the nuptial blessing at the hands of Bishop Pretextatus, who united them in secret, and thus drew down on himself the implacable vengeance of Fredegonde. Chilperic, speedily informed of the marriage, took umbrage at it, and hastened to Rouen, where he separated the couple. Brunhilda regained her liberty, and fled into Austrasia; but Merovic was arrested by his father's orders, underwent the tonsure, was ordained priest, in spite of his protests, and in defiance of the canons of the Church, and exiled to the monastery of St. Calais, near Mans. While being taken by an armed body to the place of his exile, Merovic, escaping from his guardians, took refuge in the Basilica of St. Martin of Tours, where the celebrated Bishop Gregory at that time occupied the episcopal see. The right of asylum in churches was, in this utterly barbarous age, the sole safeguard of the oppressed against the violence of the princes. Bishop Gregory maintained this dangerous right in all its rigour, and dared, for a long time, to defend Merovic against his father's arms; but the young prince at length grew weary of his voluntary seclusion in a church, and, quitting it, with an escort of horsemen, he tried to join his wife, Queen Brunhilda, in Austrasia. But the latter, during the minority of the youthful Childebert, her son, was herself living with him under the formidable guardianship of the Austrasian leudes; and was powerless to protect her husband against them. They repulsed Merovic, and the fugitive prince was constrained to continue

his vagabond route through Neustrian Gaul, pursued by the implacable anger of his father and Fredegonde. At length, surrounded on all sides, and on the point of falling into their hands, he committed suicide, and his servants perished in frightful tortures. Fredegonde was not, however, sufficiently avenged; and her fury fell even upon the prelate who had dared to bestow the nuptial blessing. The Metropolitan of Rouen, Pretextatus, was, in her eyes, guilty of a crime, and she had him assassinated at the foot of the altar. Only one child, of the name of Clovis, by Chilperic's first marriage, survived Merovic. Fredegonde conspired his ruin. She accused him of witchcraft and casting spells on her own children: his young wife was handed over to the hangman, and Clovis was stabbed to death at Noisy.

Nothing checked the Merovingian princes in the transports of their unregulated passions and fury: as barbarians, who had attained the enjoyment of Roman luxuries and civilization before they had put off their savage instincts, they set no bounds to their desires, and the premature end of their race could be foreseen. One day, when Chilperic was residing at his palace of Braine, two Gallic bishops, Salvius of Alby, and Gregory of Tours, were walking together round the palace: suddenly Salvius stopped, and said to Gregory, "Dost thou see anything over this building?"

The Bishop of Tours replied, "I see the belvedere which the King is having built."

"Dost thou not perceive something else?"

"No! but if thou seest aught, tell it to me!"

Salvius sighed, and continued, "I see the sword of the wrath of God suspended over the house."

Chilperic, after his re-establishment on the throne, set no bounds on his ambition and cupidity. He invaded the states of his brother Gontran during a war that prince was waging against the Lombards, and was supported in his aggression by the people of Aquitaine, a portion of whom were the subjects of Gontran. An army of Aquitanians, under the command of Didier, Count of Toulouse, marched upon Burgundy; but Gontran had, as leader of his troops, a great captain, the Patrician* Mummoles; who, after exterminating the

* The Patrician was, after the King, the first dignitary among the Burgundians.

Lombards, attacked the Aquitanians, destroyed their army, and recaptured all the places which Chilperic had seized. Six years later, a new invasion of the Neustrians into Burgundy was repulsed, and Chilperic perished soon after, being assassinated in the forest of Chelles by the orders of Fredegonde. Of all the male children he had by this sanguinary woman, only one, a child of the name of Clothair, survived him. His mother undertook the guardianship of him, and, being menaced simultaneously by all the enemies whom her crimes had aroused against her, she placed herself, with her son, under the protection of King Gontran, the best—or, speaking more correctly, the least cruel—of the sons of Clothair I., and who was surnamed "the Good," less on account of his merits, than from a comparison with the other princes of his race.

Brunhilda was at this period disputing the guardianship of her young son, Childebert II., with the nobles of Austrasia. She united to a vast and active genius indomitable passions, and wished at once to punish Fredegonde, her rival, and retain her authority over the Austrasians, who, neighbours of Germany, the cradle of their ancestors, were the most undisciplined nation in Gaul. Brunhilda was fond of Roman civilization: she desired to establish in her son's states the centralization of the monarchical power, and the system of the Roman government in levying the public imposts. But the Austrasian nobles endured with impatience the yoke of the royal authority; the Roman system of taxation was especially odious to them; and they regarded imposts as a disgraceful tribute which should only be paid by the vanquished: they, therefore, formed a league against Brunhilda, and became her most dangerous enemies. The Frank kings had, up to this time, been accustomed to set one of their leudes over the officers of their house, as steward of the royal domains: this officer, who had the title of majordomo, was at a later date called "mayor of the palace of the kings," and was merely their first domestic. But, after the death of Sigebert, the Austrasian nobles, jealous of Brunhilda's authority, elected one of their number mayor of the palace; and added to his functions that of presiding over them and watching the youthful King. Brunhilda tried in vain to oppose the haughty aristocracy, who claimed a share in the guardianship of her son: she

therefore restrained herself till Childebert was of the age to govern by himself, and inspired him with a profound dissimulation.

It was not alone in Austrasia that a reaction was visible against the descendants of Merovic. Royalty was no longer in Gaul what it had formerly been in the savage forests of Germany. A multitude of causes had concurred to produce this change: the conquest of vast countries; the possession of numerous domains and large treasures, the fruit of immense spoils; the rarity of the national meetings, owing to the dispersion of the conquerors over the land; and, lastly, the traditions of the majesty of the Roman Empire and the absolute power of the Emperor,—all this fed the ambition of the descendants of Clovis. They believed themselves the legitimate successors of the Cæsars, and gradually usurped an arbitrary and despotic authority over their own comrades in arms and the Frank aristocracy.

The aristocracy resisted; they had lost their strength by becoming dispersed, and re-acquired it by becoming landowners. Hitherto floating, they had become fixed; they had acquired perpetuity with property: a multitude of freemen resorted to them for their support against the exactions of the treasury and royal officers; and this patronage spread in spite of the prohibitions of the kings. The Church itself, though it had at first favoured the progress of the royal authority, grew weary of a despotism which no longer respected its immunities and privileges, and the bishops leagued themselves with the principal leudes.

A formidable conspiracy was entered into against the Kings of Austrasia and Burgundy. The aristocracy desired a king who would be a passive instrument in their hands, and turned their attention to a natural and unrecognized son of Clothair I., of the name of Gondevald. The latter, fearing the suspicious jealousy of the kings his brothers, had sought a refuge at Constantinople, at the court of the Emperor Maurice. No other man was better adapted, by his name and character, to serve the projects of the ambitious nobles of Gaul. An Austrasian lord, whom his treachery has rendered shamefully celebrated, Gontran Boson, was sent by the leudes of Burgundy and Austrasia to Gondevald, to seduce him by the lure of a brilliant share of the inheritance of Clothair I., his father. He at the same time

flattered the Emperor Maurice with the hope of recovering a portion of his imperial rights over Gaul by favouring the enterprise of Gondevald; and the latter quitted Constantinople with immense wealth which he received as a present from the Emperor. But the treasures which, in his idea, were destined to aid his success, paved the way for his ruin. They tempted the cupidity of the traitor Boson, who stole them, and, returning to Austrasia, purchased his pardon of King Childebert.

Gondevald, however, was enthusiastically received in the south of Gaul. The Aquitanians and Provençaux, among whom Roman civilization had been best preserved, impatiently endured the barbarous yoke of the Franks; and, attempting to liberate themselves after the death of Chilperic, the insurrection spread the furthest in those parts of Aquitaine subjected to the Kings of Neustria and Burgundy. The most powerful men in those countries espoused the cause of Gondevald; and he had at the head of his armies Didier, Duke of Toulouse, Bladast, Duke of Bordeaux, and the famous Patrician Mummoles, who, formerly a general of Gontran, had become his enemy. Gondevald announced himself as heir of Clothair I. in those parts of Aquitaine dependent on Neustria and Burgundy; but he respected the claims of Childebert II. in Austrasian Aquitaine. Bordeaux, Toulouse, and other large towns, opened their gates to Gondevald, and the larger portion of Gaul to the south of the Loire was gained over or conquered. Deputies then proceeded to King Gontran, and summoned him to give Gondevald the share of the kingdom belonging to him; "otherwise," they said, "he will come with his army, fight with you, and God will judge whether he is the son of Clothair or not." Gontran, in answer, had them tortured; but, terrified by the progress of the revolution, he invited his nephew Childebert II. to join him against Gondevald, and drew him into the alliance by adopting him as his heir.

On the approach of the formidable armies of Burgundy and Austrasia, defections commenced in Aquitaine, Duke Didier setting the example. Gondevald, abandoned by a great portion of the Aquitanians, was compelled to seek a refuge in the town of Comminges, where he shut himself up with Mummoles, and a band of valiant warriors. This town, built on a scarped rock, was defended by nature, by formidable ramparts, and above all by the genius of

the invincible Mummoles. The besiegers saw that they could not subdue the victor of the Lombards by force of arms, and after uselessly employing force, they attempted successfully to seduce him. Mummoles promised to deliver up Gondevald; and, proceeding with the principal chiefs to the prince, said to him, "Leave the city, go to your brother, and be not afraid." Gondevald saw that he was lost; and replied, with a torrent of tears, "I came to Gaul on your entreaties. I came with immense treasures: they have been taken from me; and, excepting the aid of Heaven, I placed all my hopes in you. Let God be the judge between you and me!"

Mummoles and the chiefs were inflexible. They led Gondevald out of the town, and surrendered him to Ollon, Count of Bourges, and to Gontran Boson, who had despoiled him of his treasures. "Eternal Judge!" exclaimed the unfortunate prince, "Avenger of innocence! avenge me on those who have surrendered me, an innocent man, to my enemies!" He went toward the army of the besiegers, arrayed on the plain. "Here," said Count Ollon, "is the man who calls himself the son and brother of kings!" and, at the same moment, he ran his spear through him. Endeavouring to rise, he was hurled down again, and killed by a fragment of rock thrown by Boson. Thus perished Gondevald, after a harsh experience of the inconstancy of men, and the most extreme vicissitudes of fortune.

This treachery was of no advantage to the traitors. The Austro-Burgundian army penetrated into the town, which they fired; and inhabitants, priests, and soldiers all perished, by the sword, or by fire. Mummoles was not spared: his rebellion had effaced his services, and Gontran ordered that he should be put to death. This powerful chief perished by assassination, in the midst of the army which had gained the victory solely through him; and with him vanished the great conspiracy which had made the King of Burgundy tremble on his throne. Shortly afterwards, at an assembly held at Andelot, the traitor Gontran Boson was condemned by the two Kings, and a price set on his head. The house of a bishop, in which the proscribed man had taken refuge, was burnt like the lair of a wild beast. Boson came out of it, sword in hand, and expired on the threshold, transfixed by a cloud of arrows: when dead, he stood erect, fixed to the wall. Such was the mode in which royal decrees were carried out:

acts of justice were not distinguished from those of violence; but were as barbarously executed as the crimes they were intended to punish.

The two princes, uncle and nephew, then formed a new compact in the solemn assembly of Andelot. The common interests of the kingdoms of Burgundy and Austrasia were regulated there, and the survivor of the two Kings was recognized as the heir of the other. After this, King Childebert, encouraged by his successes in Aquitaine, the support of Gontran, and the genius of his mother, Brunhilda, shook off the yoke of his leudes, and put several of them to death. A conspiracy against his life was detected. A powerful lord, the ferocious Rauking, who had agreed to kill him with his own hand, was summoned to the presence of Childebert, and found him surrounded by his guards: the King had the intended assassin killed in his presence. On another occasion, he invited his court, and Magnovald, the most formidable of the nobles, to witness a combat of animals, and while the bull was expiring in the arena, a warrior cleft the head of Magnovald with his axe.

While the youthful Childebert was signalizing his reign in Austrasia by bloodthirsty acts, old King Gontran was terminating his in Burgundy by reverses. His armies were defeated in Septimania, or Languedoc, by the Visigoths, and fell back in Novempopulania before the Vascons, the ferocious mountaineers of the Pyrenees. The old King died in 593, and Childebert, his nephew and adopted son, succeeded him. By his succession to the throne of Gontran the strength of Austrasia was doubled; and Queen Brunhilda, thinking the moment favourable to avenge herself on her old enemy, the Austrasian army marched against Neustria, where the youthful Clothair II. reigned, under the direction of his mother, Fredegonde, and Landeric, mayor of the palace. Fredegonde anticipated her rival. She occupied Soissons, and offered battle in the plains of Truccia, near Château Thierry. Childebert's army was suddenly seized with a panic at the sight of a moving forest apparently marching against them. It was the Neustrian army, the soldiers of which carried in front of them leafy branches, for the purpose of concealing their numbers. The Austrasians took to flight, and Childebert accepted a peace, which could only be a short truce. He survived his defeat only a few years, and died, after undertaking some

other warlike expeditions, in 596, leaving two sons of tender age, Theodebert and Thierry.

At this time the three kingdoms of the Franks recognized as Kings three boys. Clothair II. reigned in Neustria, Theodebert II. in Austrasia, and Thierry II. in Burgundy—the first under the guardianship of Fredegonde, the two others under that of their grandmother Brunhilda. The implacable hatred of these two queens rekindled hostilities; and in a great battle fought at Latofao, near Sens, by Fredegonde and Landeric, against the sons of Childebert, the Austrasians and Burgundians took to flight. Fredegonde entered Paris victoriously; reconstituted the old kingdom of Neustria in its integrity; and died, after triumphing over all her enemies, either by the sword or by poison.

The enterprises of Brunhilda were much more difficult than those of her rival had been, and her genius constantly encountered invincible obstacles. The nobles of Austrasia, for a time subdued by Childebert, tried to render themselves independent during the childhood of his son, and combined once again against the despotism of Brunhilda. The young King himself, as weary as they were of his grandmother's yoke, was their secret accomplice. In order to save her life, the old Queen left the palace of Theodebert and Austrasia as a fugitive, and sought an asylum in Burgundy, where she was received with great honour by her other grandson, King Thierry, and the Burgundian nobles. It is said that she had recourse to crime, and corrupted the morals of the young prince in order to subject him the better to her will. Irritated against Theodebert, who had seconded or permitted the violence to which she had been exposed in Austrasia, Brunhilda deferred taking vengeance on him till she had satiated her hatred of the son of Fredegonde. Excited by their grandmother, the two brothers, Theodebert and Thierry, formed an alliance against Clothair II., and the united Austrasian and Burgundian armies came up with the Neustrians at Dormeille, in the country of Sens. Clothair was conquered, and the carnage was awful. The chroniclers of the age tell us that the exterminating angel was seen waving his sword of fire over the two armies. Two years later, Brunhilda, at the head of the Burgundians, gained another victory over the Neustrians at Etampes. Clothair had all but fallen into

her hands, when she learned that Theodebert, King of Austrasia, had treated at Compiègne with their common enemy, whom he had it in his power to crush. This peace saved the son of Fredegonde, but filled with rage the heart of Brunhilda, who from this moment only thought of punishing Theodebert. She armed Thierry against his brother, and, after a sanguinary war that lasted several years, between the Burgundians and Austrasians, the two armies met on the already celebrated plains of Tolbiac. The contest was horrible: the combatants, Fredegarius tells us, were so crowded that the dead had no room to fall, but stood erect one against the other as if still living. Theodebert was conquered, and fled; but fell into the hands of his brother, who put his young son to death before his eyes, while Theodebert himself was murdered by the orders of his implacable grandmother. Thierry died suddenly in the following year.

The priests alone, at this period, raised their voices to brand so many crimes, and their pious courage frequently exposed their lives to danger. The crimes of Fredegonde drew from Pretextatus, Bishop of Rouen, a few Christian and bold remarks; and she had him assassinated at the foot of the altar. Other Gospel teachers reproached Brunhilda, who was nearly sixty years of age, for her shameful debaucheries; and one of them, St. Didier, was stoned by her orders. Another, of the name of Columbanus, who enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity, refused, in the presence of Brunhilda, to bless the King's bastards. He broke the festive cup offered him, and poured the wine on the ground, in reprobation of the royal conduct. He was exiled: the people flocked round to bless him, and his progress to the frontier was a triumph.

Thierry left four sons, of whom Sigebert, the eldest, was scarce eleven years of age. Brunhilda undertook to have him crowned alone, and to maintain the unity of his father's states by evading the custom of division. This attempt excited a rebellion, and the nobles summoned to their aid Clothair II., King of Neustria. Clothair was already on the Meuse, and marched upon the Rhine. Brunhilda proceeded to Worms with her great-grandsons, and sought support from the Germans. A portion of the Austrasian leudes had already passed over into Clothair's camp: the others flocked round their King in order to betray him more easily. The most distinguished of the conspirators were

two powerful Austrasian lords, whose children became by intermarriage the stem of the second royal dynasty of France. They were Arnolph, afterwards canonized as Bishop of Metz, and Pepin of Landen (a town in Hainault), or the Old One. They both, under the authority of the celebrated Warnacharius, Mayor of the Palace in Burgundy, aided the success of the famous plot whose object was the overthrow of Queen Brunhilda and her race.

The combined Austrasian and Burgundian armies met the Neustrians on the banks of the Aisne in Champagne. The conspirators then declared themselves. Clothair II. was hailed as king by all the Franks, and three of Thierry's sons were surrendered to him. He had the young King Sigebert murdered, with one of his brothers: he exiled another to Neustria, but the fourth escaped him, and never reappeared. Lastly, the haughty Brunhilda herself fell into the hands of the son of Fredegonde, who avenged himself as his mother would have done. Brunhilda—daughter, wife, sister, and mother of kings—was abandoned for three days to the executioners; then carried semi-naked round the camp on a camel, and exposed to the outrages of the soldiery, after which she was fastened alive to the tail of a wild horse, which tore her into fragments. She had been for forty-eight years the terror of her enemies, and eventually succumbed because she tried to impose on a semi-savage nation the government of an advanced civilization. The coarse minds of the Franks did not comprehend the advantages derived from the unity of a vast empire; and, even had they done so, they would have refused to sacrifice their individual ambition and fierce independence for them. Brunhilda was fond of the arts: she repaired several Roman roads, and restored many fine monuments. In her religious zeal she lavished immense sums on the clergy, and built a prodigious number of churches and monasteries. All that this queen did received from her a gigantic stamp. Her long reign was sullied by many crimes, but it did not pass away without a certain grandeur and some amount of glory.

After the death of Brunhilda, Clothair II. united under his sceptre the entire Frank monarchy, and was soon able to discover that the unity of his vast empire was only apparent. The nobles of Austrasia, in overthrowing Sigebert, had thought much less about raising Clothair than aggrandizing themselves. They wanted a prince to reside among

them, that they might direct him as they thought proper; and they forced the King to share his throne with his son Dagobert, and give them the latter as their sovereign. Dagobert, who had scarce emerged from infancy, reigned under the guardianship of Arnolph, Bishop of Metz.

The most celebrated event in the reign of Clothair II. was the council, or synod, of Paris in 615. In the midst of the chaos into which the Frank conquest had plunged Gaul, everything was in disorder and gloom except the Church, which had alone retained, through tradition, literary associations and ideas of public order and regular government. The bishops were generally respected and feared by the kings, in spite of the violence to which several of them were exposed; and, in various instances, they combined with the lay nobles to place a check on the foolish and barbarous authority of the Merovingian princes. They held, during the sixth century, numerous councils; and in the one which assembled in Paris in the reign of Clothair II., two aristocracies came together, that of the bishops and that of the lords. The famous edict which this assembly promulgated forms an epoch in history; for it marked the success of the reaction of the nobles against the kings, by shaking the system of arbitrary government which the latter had tried to found. By this edict canonical elections were established; the clerks remained independent of secular justice; the treasury was prohibited from seizing successions *ab intestato* and raising the taxation; and the judges and officers of the king were rendered responsible. The edict further ordered the restitution of the benefices taken from the leudes, protected rich widows, nuns, and virgins, from the caprice and violence of the princes; and punished any infraction of its provisions with death. One of the chief articles settled that the judges, or counts, should be always selected from the landowners of the parts where their jurisdiction would be exercised; and from this time, the dignity of count belonged nearly always to the richest proprietor in each county, and the royal choice had narrow limits. We know but little more about the reign of Clothair II. Sanguinary wars broke out between him and his son Dagobert, whose independence he was compelled to recognize; and his life was extinguished in the midst of civil troubles. He died in 628, before he had been able to secure the establishment of his second son, Caribert.

## IV.

### REIGN OF DAGOBERT I.

The sceptre of Dagobert extended over the three great kingdoms of the Frank monarchy—Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy; from which he detached Aquitaine, that is to say, the territory between the Loire, the Rhone, and the Pyrenees, and gave it to his brother Caribert. The latter soon died, and his eldest son was assassinated, it is said, by a faction devoted to Dagobert, who resumed possession of his brother's states; but left Aquitaine, under the title of duchy, to the two remaining sons of Caribert, Boggis and Bertrand, reserving, however, all the royal rights over them. The unity of the Frank monarchy was thus once again restored.

If a Merovingian king could have arrested the fall of his dynasty, Dagobert would have had this glory. He followed in the track of Queen Brunhilda, and supported himself against the nobles by appealing to the Gallo-Roman populations, who detested their tyranny: he made terrible examples in Austrasia and Burgundy, and kept the factions in obedience by the terror he inspired. Not one of the kings descended from Clovis caused his power to be more respected, or displayed greater magnificence. The bishops, leudes, and foreign ambassadors, crowded his court; and the spoils of a portion of Europe, gold, silk, precious stones, were displayed in his country palaces, and in his royal residence of Clichy, near Paris. The splendour of Dagobert nearly equalled that of Eastern potentates. In the early part of his reign, he did not allow his mind to be weakened by the luxury with which he surrounded himself, and devoted his time to useful occupations. He it was who had the Salic and Ripuarian laws revised and written, as well as those of his Allemannic and Bavarian vassals. In the end, however, he gave way to debauchery and cruelty; he forgot the claims of justice, and imposed heavy tributes on his people. At the same time, his arms were not successful. The Windi, or Venedes, a Sclavonic nation, having been liberated from the yoke of the Avarians by the Frank Samo, elected him as their king, took possession of a portion of Bohemia, and established themselves in the valley of the Danube, which was at this period the great commercial route between Northern Gaul and Constantinople and Asia. A large

caravan of Franks was plundered and massacred by this people. Dagobert demanded satisfaction; and, being unable to obtain it, summoned the Franks to take vengeance. War was proclaimed in all his states, and among his northern and western vassals; and the Germans and Thuringians, united with the Franks and Lombards, marched against the Windi. These armies perished in the desert countries, and the power of the Franks was shaken through the whole of Germany.

Dagobert, from this time, confined his attention to keeping his own subjects in obedience. The Austrasians, ever ready to revolt, forced him to share his throne with his son Sigebert, three years of age, and give him to them as king. Dagobert confided the child to Duke Adalgesil; but he demanded, and obtained, that Pepin of Landen, and other Austrasian lords, should remain at his court as hostages. He also had another son, of the name of Clovis, designated and recognized as King of Neustria and Burgundy. The bishops and nobles of Austrasia, *constrained*, as a contemporary historian states, *by their terror of Dagobert*, swore to sanction the dismemberment of his empire. This prince, in the last year of his reign, repulsed an invasion of the Vascons, repressed a revolt in Aquitaine, and made a treaty with the Bretons, who recognized his supremacy.

In spite of the reverses of his arms against the Windi, and numerous causes of internal dissolution, Dagobert remained to the end of his reign powerful and feared. He combined, like many of the princes of his race, a great fervour for religion, and a superstitious devotion, with licentious tastes. He made immense gifts to the clergy, and covered France with churches and monasteries. He gave his confidence to the referendary Audouen, and the jeweller Eligius, the master of the royal mint. These two men, better known by the names of St. Ouen and St. Eloi, were both canonized, and their memory has become popular. Dagobert died in 638. He had displayed great generosity to the monastery of St. Denis, whose basilica he covered with gold and precious stones, and where he was buried with great pomp. This king, despite all his vices, surpassed in merit the majority of the princes of his family. When he died, a century and a half had elapsed since the elevation of Clovis to the throne of the Franks, and this period, marked by so much devastation and so many crimes, was the most memorable during the reign of the Merovingians.

## CHAPTER III.

SLOTHFUL KINGS.—DECAY AND END OF THE MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY.—FROM THE DEATH OF DAGOBERT I. TO THE DEPOSITION OF CHILDERIC III.

638–652.

### I.

THE FIRST SLOTHFUL KINGS.—GOVERNMENT OF EBROUIN, MAYOR OF THE PALACE IN NEUSTRIA.

After the death of Dagobert I., the Merovingian family only offers us phantoms of kings, brutalized by indolence and debauchery, and whom history has justly branded with the title of *rois fainéants*. Through their very nullity they had an additional title to the throne in the sight of those who reigned in their name. By the side of royalty grew up the magistrature of the Mayors of the Palace, who, during some of the later reigns, had already several times substituted their authority for that of the monarch. They took advantage of the weakness of the Merovingians to usurp *de facto* the entire power. Elected by the leudes, they had for a long period been supported by them in governing the sovereigns; but, when their power was thoroughly established, they crushed the nobles, in order that there might be henceforth no other authority than their own. They then transmitted their office to their sons, and it was eventually regarded as the appanage of a family, in the same way as the sceptre seemed to belong by right to the race of Clovis.

Dagobert, when dying, had recognized Ega as mayor in Neustria, and Pepin of Landen in Austrasia; and had confided to them the guardianship of his two sons, Sigebert III. and Clovis II., between whom his states were divided. Ega died, and Erkinoald succeeded to his office. The childhood and character of the two kings contributed

to a great extent in establishing the power of the mayors of the palace.

Sigebert III., who was entirely devoted to religious practices, lived like a monk in his Austrasian states, and restricted the exercise of his authority to the care of enriching the churches and building monasteries: he died in the flower of his age. Clovis II., on the contrary, only saw in the royalty of Neustria and Burgundy the fatal facility for satisfying his shameful taste for debauchery. Still, his nominal authority extended over the entire monarchy of the Franks, and Austrasia also recognized him as king. The mayor had been succeeded by his son Grimoald. The latter, on the death of Sigebert III., had tried to get the sceptre into his family. He had the youthful Dagobert, son of Sigebert, conveyed to Ireland, concealed the place of his retreat, and dared to place the crown on the head of his own son; but the Austrasian nobles revolted against an authority which was independent of their choice. They put Grimoald and his son to death, and recognized as their master the weak Clovis II., King of Neustria, who very shortly after followed his brother Sigebert III. to the grave, and left his sceptre and empty royal title to Clothair III., his elder son.

The famous Ebrouin, gifted with great talents, and of an inflexible character, was at that time mayor of the palace. Still, he did not succeed in long maintaining the apparent unity of the monarchy. The Austrasian lords required a king who, like his predecessors, should be subject to their influence. They summoned the youthful Childeric, second son of Clovis II., greeted him as King of Austrasia, and gave him for guardian the Mayor Wulfoald.

The nobles had been unable to establish a regular aristocratic government in any one of the three kingdoms forming the monarchy: their power had only tended to render them more and more independent. Ebrouin saw in the progress of their individual authority a step toward general anarchy. He was jealous of the excess of their power; and, either through policy or personal ambition, he wished to remain sole master in Neustria and Burgundy. His despotism caused all the nobles to revolt. The celebrated Bishop of Autun, Leger, of whom the Church has made a saint, placed himself at the head of the insurgents in Burgundy, and gave the example of an obstinate resistance. Ebrouin at first subdued the rebellion, but

the death of Clothair III. shook his power. He did not dare convene the nobles, according to custom, in a national *mall*, in order to elect a successor to this prince, who died childless; and he proclaimed as king, of his own authority, the youthful Thierry, third son of Clovis II. This violation of the old customs of the kingdom armed the nobles against Ebrouin. The lords of Neustria and Burgundy were no more willing than those of Austrasia to see the mayors usurp the right of election to the throne, and they offered the crown of the two kingdoms to Childeric II., King of Austrasia.

Ebrouin, abandoned by all, took refuge in a church. His life was spared: he was forced to take the tonsure, and was imprisoned in the monastery of Luxeuil. Thierry III. was led as a prisoner into his brother's presence, and confined by his orders at St. Denis.

Childeric II. removed his residence from Metz to Paris. This prince combined with the brutal passions of his degenerate race, the energetic character of his ancestors. Constrained, at first, to subscribe the conditions imposed on him by the nobles who had crowned him, he no longer observed them when he felt his strength. He combated the leudes with severity, and shut up Bishop Leger in the same monastery of Luxeuil, into which the latter had thrown Ebrouin. Misfortune reconciled for a time these two great enemies. They formed a conspiracy against the rash Childeric, who had dared to inflict on one of his leudes, of the name of Bodolus, a dishonourable punishment reserved for slaves. Bodolus and the conspirators surprised the King, while hunting in the forest of Bondy, near the royal mansion of Chelles. Their vengeance was atrocious, for they murdered him, with his wife and children. Ebrouin and Bishop Leger came out of captivity together, and became once more deadly foes. Ebrouin eventually gained the victory over his formidable rival, whom he deprived of sight, and then had him tried by an episcopal synod, and condemned to death. Taking from prison the weak Thierry, a useful and blind instrument of his despotic will, he obtained the support of the masses against the nobles, and exercised for a long time an uncontrolled power. He set everything to work to break up the hereditary aristocracy. He brought the benefices into circulation again; he tore the estates of the treasury from the powerful families that had long regarded them as their patrimony: he divided them among new men,

thus interesting a numerous class of poor tenants in the defence of his work.

Still, a formidable cloud collected against Ebrouin in Austrasia. After the death of Childeric II., this country was again separated from the kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy. Young Dagobert, son of Sigebert III., was recalled from the monastery where he lived concealed, in Ireland. This young prince, who was greedy and cruel, wished to make victims of the authors of his fortunes, and his rashness was only paralleled by his violence. Imitating the last King, Childeric, he met with a similar fate, and was assassinated by the nobles of Austrasia, without leaving an heir.

Among his murderers were several partizans and relatives of the old mayor, Pepin of Landen, whose male posterity had become extinct with Grimoald and his son, but whose family for a long time retained great influence. A daughter of Pepin, of the name of Legga, had married the son of the great Arnolph, Bishop of Metz. She had a son by him, who received the name of his maternal grandfather, and whom historians, in order to distinguish him from Pepin the Old, have surnamed Pepin of Heristal, from the name of a celebrated estate on which he lived on the banks of the Meuse. This young man, during the interregnum which followed the death of Dagobert, was recognized as one of the chiefs of the aristocracy of the dukes and counts of Austrasia. The nobles triumphed in this country, and were crushed in Neustria and Burgundy. A multitude of exiles from these two kingdoms demanded vengeance of the Dukes of Austrasia upon Ebrouin, and a fresh and terrible collision took place on the plain of Latafao, which had already been fatal to the Austrasians. Neustria was once more victorious. Ebrouin triumphed: but he was unable to cull the fruits of his victory. A lord, of the name of Ermanfroi, who had been proved culpable in his office, and threatened with death, anticipated Ebrouin, by cleaving his skull with his axe, and fled to Austrasia, where Pepin of Heristal overwhelmed him with honours. The historians of the age, mostly deadly enemies of Ebrouin, display him to us as very pitiless and perfidious; but his memory was honoured in some popular legends. "He violently repressed," we are told in them, "all the iniquities that were committed on the face of the earth. He chastised the misdeeds of

proud and unjust men, and caused peace to reign: he was a man of a great heart, although he was too cruel to the bishops." * Ebrouin, though he had no sceptre or crown, had reigned for twenty years with a power that no king had exercised before him.

## II.

### CONTINUATION OF THE SLOTHFUL KINGS.—STRUGGLE BETWEEN AUSTRASIA AND NEUSTRIA.—MAYORALTY OF PEPIN OF HERISTAL.

The feeble Thierry was still reigning in Neustria, when Waratho, and after him Berthair, succeeded Ebrouin in his office. The reins of government, on slipping from his powerful grasp, were relaxed in their feeble hands. Civil discord agitated Neustria: hope was rearoused in the banished lords. They renewed their applications to Pepin of Heristal, and the other dukes of Austrasia, and another revolution was resolved on. Pepin announced himself as the avenger of the Frank nobles and priests despoiled by the mayors of Neustria, and was proclaimed commander-in-chief. He encountered the Neustrian army at Testry, in the county of Vermandois, gained a great victory, and made King Thierry a prisoner. Having then assured himself that no one was more fitted than this weak prince to play the part of a puppet king, he recognized him as monarch of Neustria and Austrasia, and governed in his name as mayor of the palace, after destroying the rulers of the party opposed to the nobles. After the death of Thierry, Pepin crowned in succession his two sons, Clovis III. and Childebert III., and then his grandson, Dagobert III.; but he was the real military chief, and sole grand judge of the nation of the Franks. He restored the old national customs, which had been unregarded by Ebrouin.

The great *mallum* or annual assembly, which had fallen into desuetude, was regularly held on the calends of March, and all the members of the nobility were convened to it. The King proceeded thither in a chariot drawn by oxen, wearing the royal insignia, and with his long hair floating down his back. He seated himself in the midst of the assembly, on a golden throne, where the monarch in effigy granted an audience to the foreign ambassadors, and gave them the answers which had been dictated to him. He uttered a few remarks touching

* Legends of St. Projectus of Auvergne, and St. Martial of Limoges.

peace, war, and the duties of government towards churches and orphans; and then, returning as he had come, was sent by Pepin to one of the large royal farms, where he was guarded with honour and respect.

This grand scene took place annually: it testifies to the prestige which the memory of Clovis still exercised over the Franks, and to what an extent popular respect attached to the blood of Merovic. This superstitious worship of a degenerate race is a thing difficult to understand in our days; and we do not know which to feel more surprised at—the boldness of the mayors who, in the presence of a people to whom the name of Merovingian was sacred, thus humiliated the last representatives of this family; or the cowardly imbecility of the latter, who were all recognized as kings, though not one of them took advantage of these solemn occasions to be so in reality.

The empire of the Franks began to be broken up after the battle of Testry. The princes of the Saxons, Frisons, Allemans, Bavarians, and Thuringians, hitherto vassals of the Merovingian kings, considered themselves the equals of Pepin when they had contributed to his victory. Pepin contended against them, and, almost to his death, had to sustain long and sanguinary wars on all the northern frontiers, while the peoples of Burgundy and Provence shook off his yoke in the south. Those of Aquitaine rallied under the celebrated Eudes, Duke of Toulouse, and descendant of the Merovingian Caribert, brother of Dagobert I., to whom they gave the title of king, and rendered themselves almost independent of the Frank monarchy.

Pepin had two sons, Drogon and Grimoald, by his wife Plectrude, and a third, of the name of Charles, by his concubine, Alpaïde. He gave the duchy of Champagne to his eldest son, who died in 708, and during his own lifetime invested his second son, Grimoald, in the office of mayor of Neustria. An implacable hatred subsisted between the mothers of Charles and Grimoald, who became deadly foes. Pepin grew old; he fell sick, and was all but dead, when his son Grimoald was murdered almost in his presence. He collected all his strength to avenge him; he sprang from his death-bed, destroyed all the authors of the murder, and shut up his son Charles, whom he suspected of being an accomplice, in Bologna: then he established Grimoald's son Theobald, who was hardly five years of age, as mayor of the palace. This energetic act exhausted his strength. "He died in 714," the

annals of the Franks tell us, "after commanding for twenty-seven years and six months the whole Frank people, with the kings subject to him—Thierry, Clovis, Childebert, and Dagobert."

## III.

THE LAST SLOTHFUL KINGS.—END OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN AUSTRASIA AND NEUSTRIA. — INVASION OF THE MUSSULMANS. — GOVERNMENT OF CHARLES MARTEL.

Pepin left at the head of the monarchy two boys—one king, the other mayor—under the guardianship of the aged Plectrude, the grandmother of Theodebald. The Neustrians grew indignant at such a yoke. They revolted against Plectrude and her son, and chose Raginfred as mayor of the palace: then, allying themselves with the Frisons and Saxons, they attacked and disarmed Austrasia. Pressed on all sides, the Austrasians in their turn deserted Plectrude and her son. They took out of a monastery the youthful Charles, the natural son of Pepin, who was endowed with heroic qualities, and enthusiastically recognized him as king. Still, the name of the Merovingians possessed a certain prestige; and on the death of Dagobert III. both factions elected a pretended member of this degenerate race as king, Chilperic II. in Neustria, and Clothair IV. in Austrasia. They nominally reigned, while the two real masters of these states, Raginfred and Charles, prepared for war, and marched against each other. The victory could not be long undecided. The Franks of Austrasia, which country bordered Germany, had lost none of their warlike energy. The advantages they derived from the conquest were a powerful lure for the German tribes in their vicinity, and successive immigrations naturally kept up in the Austrasian nation a more energetic military spirit, and more warlike habits, than in Neustria. Charles, at first defeated, took refuge in the Ardennes, and, assembling veteran bands, placed himself at their head: he surprised the Neustrians, committed great carnage among them, pursued them, and by the memorable victory of Vincy, near Cambray, gained in 717, the whole of Neustria became his conquest. The Neustrians, vanquished but not subjugated, summoned to their aid Eudes, King of Aquitaine, and offered him the sceptre. The Aquitanians regarded the Franks

of the Rhine as far more barbarous than those of the Seine. They had cause to fear lest the ferocious bands of Charles might wish, like those of Clovis in former times, to taste the fruits of the south. They consequently united with the Neustrians, and marched against Charles, who defeated them near Soissons, and pursued them up to Orleans. Clothair IV., the puppet King of Austrasia, had just died. Charles, the victor over the Neustrians and Aquitanians, had Chilperic II., the imbecile King of Neustria, recognized as sovereign of the whole empire of Clovis; and on his death, which took place two years later, he gave him Thierry IV. for a successor, and reigned alone in his name.

The Austrasians, or Ripuarian Franks, triumphed after obstinate wars, and the battles of Vincy and Soissons were the last efforts of the Neustrians. The seat of the Frank Empire was eventually transported to the Meuse and the Rhine; and this was necessary in order to arrest and draw back the devastating tide of new Germanic emigrations.

A more terrible foe menaced the empire of the Franks. Only a century previously, Mohammed had founded a new religion in Arabia; and already his armies, electrified by religious fanaticism and a spirit of conquest, had invaded Asia, Africa, and Spain, and were advancing into Gaul. Never, since the days of Attila, had a more formidable invasion menaced Europe. The torrent crossed the Pyrenees, and first dashed down upon Septimania. Narbonne succumbed, and the fall of that city decided the fate of the country, where the Arab rule was substituted, as in Spain, for that of the Visigoths.

The Mussulmans next menaced Aquitaine, and the other possessions of King Eudes. This prince, whom Charles had conquered at Soissons, held beneath his sway in Southern France several countries which, up to this time, had not formed part of the duchy of Aquitaine, and among others the country of the Waskes, or Basques, better known by the name of Gascons. This valiant race, who dwelt in Upper Navarre, and were descended from the ancient Iberi, had occupied for two centuries the two watersheds of the Pyrenees, where, for a long period, they defended their independence against the Visigoths and Franks. Toward the middle of the sixth century, they made an irruption into Gaul, and settled in a portion of Novempopu-

lania, which received from them the name of Gascony. At the close of the following century, King Eudes, either by victories or treaties, annexed it to Aquitaine, and the two peoples formed but one at the time when Eudes, attacked by the Saracens, gained a great victory over them on the plains of Toulouse. He defeated them a second time, but, being beset by new legions of enemies, he purchased a peace of one of their generals of the name of Munuza,* by giving him in marriage his daughter Lampagia. Munuza went away, and soon after perished in a civil war against Abd-ul Rahman, Vali, or chief, of the Mussulmans in Spain: his wife, daughter of King Eudes, fell into the power of the victor, who, in his turn, invaded Aquitaine.

Eudes was still carrying on the war in the north of his states, against the invincible Charles, chief of the Franks, when he was menaced in the south by the enemies of all the Christians: he saw his army destroyed by the Mussulmans before Bordeaux, that city burnt, Aquitaine pillaged, and its inhabitants massacred. Feeling that he was too weak to contend against all these foes, and constrained to submit either to the Franks or Arabs, his religion dictated his choice. He proceeded as a fugitive to the martial court of Charles, recognized him as his suzerain, and obtained at this price the help of the Franks. Charles made a warlike appeal to all the warriors of Neustria, Austrasia, and Western Germany; and the formidable army thus raised encountered that of Abd-ul Rahman, in October, 732, on the plains of Poitiers. The destinies of the human race were about to be staked on this famous field: the army of the Franks was the sole barrier capable of arresting the Mohammedan invasion, and it was soon to be known whether the world would become Mussulman or Christian.

For seven days the two armies observed each other without fighting. At last, the Mussulmans, whose number the chroniclers estimate at several hundred thousand, deployed on the plain; and, on a signal from Abd-ul Rahman, his light cavalry commenced the action with a cloud of arrows, and dashed like a whirlwind on the army of the Franks. The latter, motionless on their powerful horses, and

* The Arabic name of this famous chief was Ebn Abimuça; according to others, Abi Nessa.

defended by their heavy armour, for a long time opposed a wall of iron to the repeated charges of the Saracens, and remained firm in close and serried masses. All at once, the battle-cry was raised in the rear of the Arab army; it was the cry of King Eudes and the Aquitanians, who had turned the enemy's flank, and had fired his camp. A portion of the immense army of Abd-ul Rahman faced the Aquitanians, and disorder, the effect of surprise, opened the ranks of the Arabs. Charles, in his turn, gave the signal: the wall of iron broke, the heavy masses of Germans fell on Abd-ul Rahman's squadrons, and the war-axe and broad-swords of the Franks cropped down entire ranks. Abd-ul Rahman, vainly endeavouring to rally his soldiers, fell, in the midst of his picked troops, pierced with lances, and crushed beneath the horses' hoofs. The Arabs sought a refuge in their ravaged camp. Night having set in, Charles arrested the pursuit; and on the morrow, at daybreak, the Franks saw, in the distance, only a blood-stained plain covered with corpses: darkness had protected the retreat of the Mussulmans, and the Christian cause was gained.

The Arabs evacuated Aquitaine after their disastrous defeat at Poitiers; and this day, for ever memorable, on which it was said that Charles had hammered the Saracens, gained him the glorious surname of Martel, which posterity has retained.

One of the results of this famous campaign was to restore the great province, or kingdom, of Aquitaine and Gascony to the monarchy of the Franks by the oath of vassalage which King Eudes had made to his liberator.* But in delivering the southern provinces from Mohammedanism, Charles neither saved them from pillage, nor arson, nor massacre: devastation marked the passage of his army, and sullied his victory, for which the Aquitanians did not feel grateful to him; and a profound enmity subsisted between the more civilized nations of the south and the northern barbarians. Charles Martel turned his arms against several tribes of Gaul that had ceased to obey the unworthy successors of Clovis. He subjugated the Burgundians, penetrated into Septimania, and, by the capture of two famous cities,

* Several chronicles, among others the *Annales du Metz*, say that *Charles returned home after subjugating Aquitaine*, that is to say, that Eudes fulfilled the engagements imposed on him by his oath, and doubtless renounced the title of king, the sign of his past independence, and only bore that of Duke of the Aquitanians. See *Hist. de France*, by Henry Martin, years 732, 733.

Arles and Marseilles, completed the subjugation of Provence to the monarchy of the Franks.

Under his government the perpetual progress of the clergy in power and wealth was arrested, or, more correctly speaking, suspended, in Gaul. The army constituted the sole strength of Charles; and, in order to attach it better to him, he ventured to seize the estates of the Church, and distribute them among his warriors. He did not assume the name of king, but he appointed no successor to Thierry IV., son of Dagobert III., whom he had crowned upon the death of Chilperic II. His most dangerous enemies were the Frisons, Allemans, and Saxons, who were constantly attracted to the Rhine by the success of the previous invasions. Charles succeeded in driving them back by sanguinary and repeated expeditions, and restraining them by the terror of his name. Death surprised him in 741, when he was undertaking an expedition into Italy, to succour the Pope against the Lombards; but, before expiring, he divided his authority between his three sons, Pepin, Carloman, and Griffo.

Pepin and Carloman dispossessed their brother, and divided the paternal heritage between them; but they soon saw that Charles Martel had not handed down to them with his power the prestige attaching to his formidable name; and, in order to support their authority, they drew from the monastery the last of the Merovingians, who was proclaimed King of the Franks, by the name of Childeric III. The two brothers then contended successfully against the Allemans, the Bavarians, the Saxons, and Aquitanians. Carloman soon felt a disgust of terrestrial grandeur; he became a monk, and entered the monastery of Mont Cassin. Pepin, under the title of Mayor of the Palace, remained sole master of the Frank monarchy. He maintained at this period intimate relations with the Holy See, and gained its gratitude by offering to defend it against the Lombards, and favouring with all his power the success of the missions sent by the Pope into Saxony and Frisia, to convert these still pagan and savage countries to Christianity. At length he grew weary of reigning without sceptre and crown on the steps of the throne; and, having asked the Pope for the title of king, he obtained it, and was crowned in 752 by St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany. He then assembled the general comitia at Soissons, and, relying on his own power, the name of his

ancestors, and the Papal sanction, he was elected King of the Franks. Childeric returned to his cloister, which his race never left again; and Pepin founded a second royal dynasty, which was called the *Carlovingian*, after his father's name.

The power of the Merovingian kings had attained its apogee under Dagobert I. The Frank Empire had at that time for its boundaries the German Ocean, the Atlantic, the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, the Upper Danube, and the Rhine. The various nations inhabiting this vast territory recognized the authority of the Merovingian kings, some as being directly subject to them, others as tributaries.

The imperial divisions into provinces only existed in the ecclesiastical order. For this ancient partition of the territory new divisions had been substituted, determined by the successive conquests of the barbarians, and the good pleasure of their chiefs, and which nearly all have ethnographical denominations, that is to say, borrowed from the different nations that had conquered the soil, or occupied it, such as Frisia, Burgundy, Gothia, Vascony, &c. Some, however, derived their name either from the astronomical or geographical situation of the country, as we have seen in the case of Neustria and Austrasia; or from the configuration of the soil, like Champagne (country of plains). Provence (*Provincia*) and Aquitaine (*Aquitania*) alone retained their Roman names.

The great divisions of the Frank Empire directly subject to the Merovingian princes, were—*Neustria* (the country of the West) and *Austrasia* (country of the East), whose limits, as already described, varied but slightly during the whole existence of the dynasty; *Burgundy*, which also comprised *Provence*, and extended from the southern frontier of Austrasia as far as the Cevennes, the Mediterranean, and the Alps; and *Aquitaine*, enclosed between the Atlantic, the Loire, and the Garonne. Dagobert ceded this great province to his brother Caribert, and after him to his two sons, in order that it might be held by them and their descendants, with the title of a duchy. Aquitaine thus remained for a long time excluded from the states which dimly recognized the authority of the Merovingian kings or of the mayors of the palace.

Round these great states were others governed by separate chiefs,



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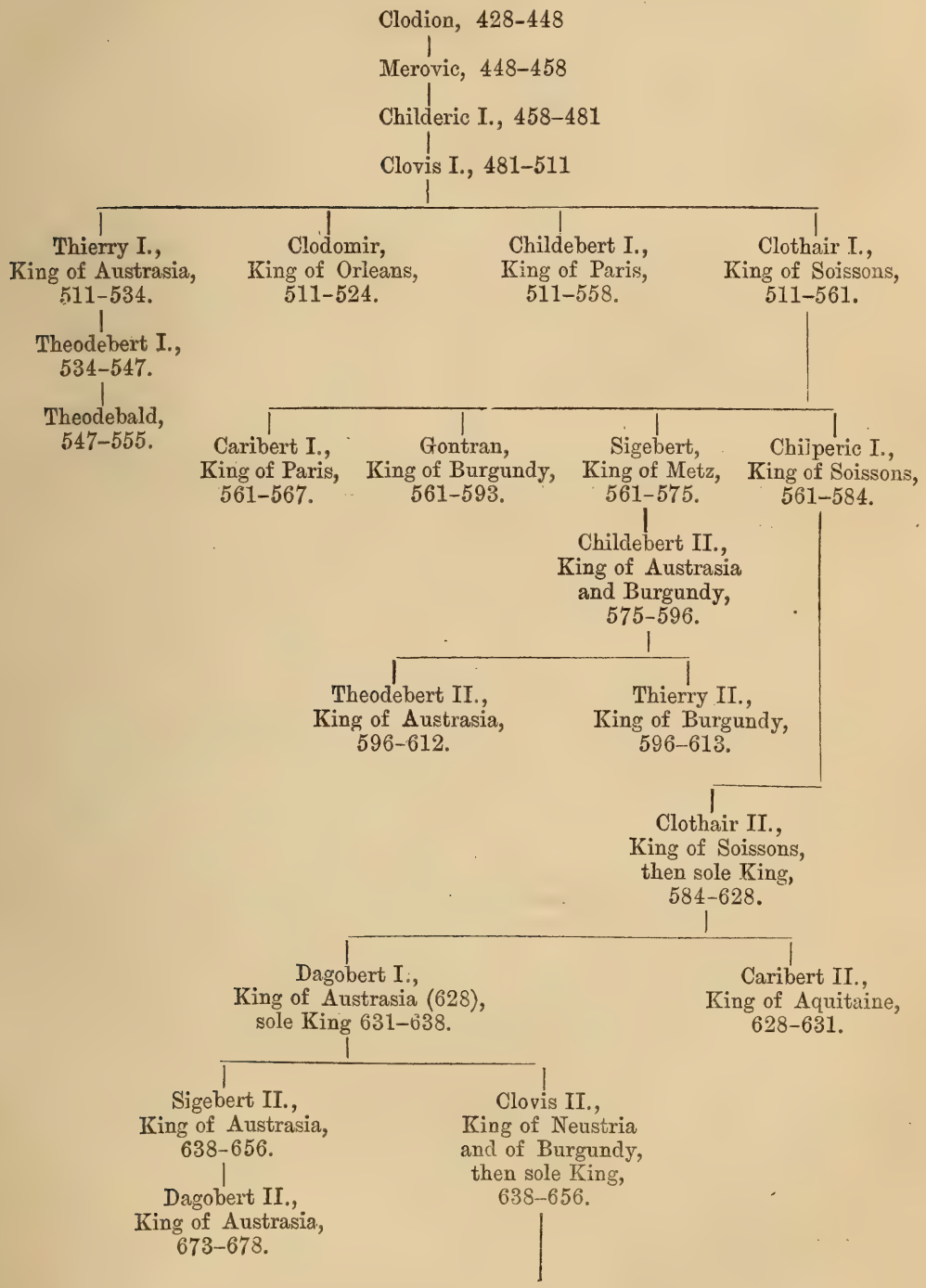
who frequently gave the Frank kings no other sign of submission beyond a slight tribute. These countries were—to the north of Austrasia, between the Rhine and the Weser, *Frisia* and *Thuringia;* to the east, *Allemania* and *Bavaria;* and to the west of Neustria, *Brittany.*

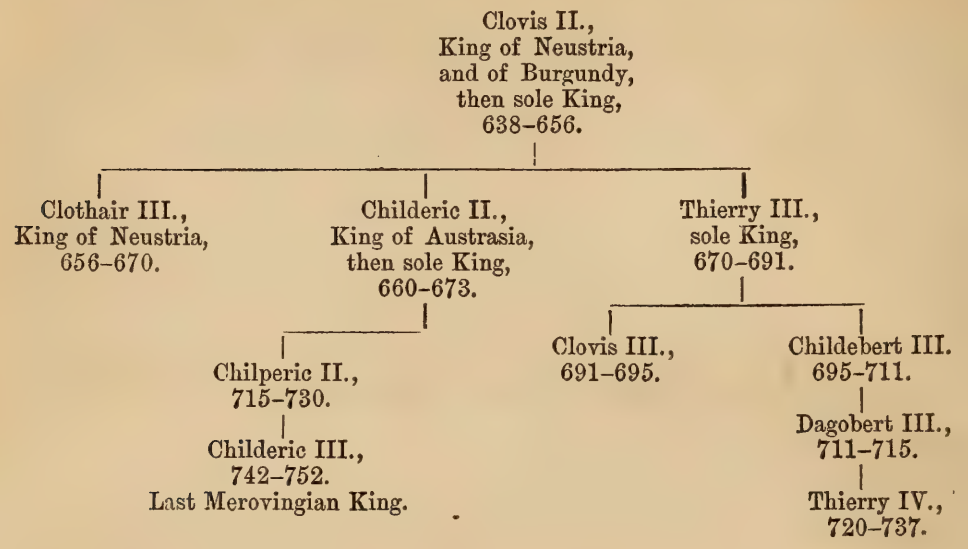
Two countries to the south of Aquitaine still contended for independence: they were *Septimania* (Narbonensis Prima), covered with fortified places, and which, defended by its geographical situation between the Rhone, the sea, and the Pyrenees, could not be torn from the Visigoths; and *Vasconia* or *Gascony.* This country, which occupied a portion of *Novempopulania* (Lower Languedoc), again formed, on the death of Eudes, a nearly independent state, which sustained, as we shall see in the reigns of the descendants of that prince, long wars against Pepin and Charlemagne.

The territory subject to the Merovingians was divided, as concerns the administration, into *duchies* and *counties*, whose limits were more or less extended according to the will of these princes. The dukes and counts nominated by them were their principal military and civil officers. These were the Dukes of Auvergne, Aquitaine, Touraine, Poitou, Burgundy, Provence, &c. The counts were intrusted with the government of the old municipal cities, and also with the administration of the *paoi*, or districts forming their territories. The subdivision of the counties into *hundreds*, or *tithings*, dates from the sixth century. Bodies of one hundred and of ten families were certainly formed under the authority of a civil and military officer; but the regular organization of hundreds and tithings was only introduced under the Carlovingians.

The Church alone retained the old Roman division into provinces and cities much as the Empire had formed them. An ecclesiastical province corresponded with each of the seventeen civil provinces. Each old metropolis was the see of an archbishop, and the one hundred and twenty cities or territorial districts were so many dioceses. In the fifth century the Viennaise had been divided into two provinces, that of Vienne and that of Arles. The number of archbishoprics was thus raised to eighteen. These ecclesiastical divisions of old Gaul existed, with but slight modifications, up to the fourteenth century.

## Genealogical Table of the Merovingian Kings.






His death was followed by an interregnum of five years, after which Childeric III. was crowned.

# BOOK II.

## GAUL UNDER THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY, 752–987.

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## CHAPTER I.

### PEPIN AND CHARLEMAGNE.

### 752–814.

### I.

#### REIGN OF PEPIN THE SHORT.

THE race of Pepin the Short and Charlemagne, before commencing the second French dynasty, had been for more than 150 years in possession of everything that attracts and merits human respect. It was distinguished by illustrious birth, and the triple lustre of great services, virtues, and the most exalted dignities. Several of its members had occupied, with glory, the episcopal see of Metz, and were canonized, and we have seen Austrasia growing in power under the two great ancestors of this family, Pepin the Old or of Landen, and Pepin of Heristal. Their services were surpassed by the great deeds of Charles Martel, the vanquisher of the Mussulmans, who transmitted his name to all his descendants, and whose son, celebrated in history by the name of Pepin the Short, was the first king of his race.

Pepin was the first to grant the Pontiff of Rome the right of disposing of crowns. The Lombards at that time possessed the whole northern part of Italy, and there King Astolph was contesting with Pope Zachariah the government of the city of Rome. Zachariah

required a powerful supporter, and, counting on the help of Pepin if he could render him favourable to his cause, he declared that the throne belonged to the man who performed the duties of king, even though he did not occupy it. The most respected authority at the time was that of the Church: and Pepin, feeling the necessity of giving an imposing sanction to his usurpation, received for his coronation the ceremonies employed at that of the Jewish kings. This example was followed by his successors.

Stephen II. succeeded Zachariah as Pope. Menaced by the Lombards, he went to Pepin and implored his support. The King treated him with the greatest honours, and the Pontiff consecrated him a second time, with his two sons, Charles and Carloman. In the sermon which Stephen preached on this occasion, he implored the Franks never to elect a king from any other family but that of Pepin, and excommunicated those who might be tempted to do so. From this time the papal power daily made rapid progress. The Popes soon believed themselves masters of the world: they demanded the obedience of the sovereigns whom they crowned and deposed according to their caprices; and streams of blood were shed in supporting or combating their arrogant claims.

Stephen had implored Pepin's assistance against Astolph, King of the Lombards. The Frank monarch collected an army, led it to Italy, was victorious, and ceded to the Pope the Exarchate of Ravenna.*

Pepin successfully waged long and sanguinary wars with the Bretons, Saxons, Saracens, and Aquitanians. The latter, more especially, offered him a furious resistance. Their vast province, as we have seen, had been several times detached from the monarchy of the Franks. The families of the conquerors who settled there had adopted the manners and language of the population, who were of Gallic or Roman origin, and spoke a corrupt Latin. The Aquitanians, more civilized than the Franks, ever detested the latter as barbarians. The revolution which, by elevating the Carlovingians, had surrounded the throne with new Austrasian or Germanic bands, gave their government, in

* The name of Exarchate had been given to this territory because Ravenna was for a long time the residence of the *exarchs* or viceroys of Italy. The celebrated *Pentapolis* (five cities), composed of Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Smigaglia, and Amona, formed part of the exarchate.

the eyes of the Aquitanians, an even more savage appearance, and redoubled the horror with which it inspired them.

Still, after the defeat of the Saracens at Poitiers, Duke Eudes remained at peace with Charles Martel, whose suzerainty he had recognized. He died in 735, leaving Aquitaine to his elder son Hunald, and Gascony to his second son Otton. Hunald despoiled his brother of the greater part of his states, and resolved to rend the bonds that subjected him to the Kings of the Franks. He, therefore, waged war against Carloman and Pepin, the sons of Charles Martel, with the greater energy because he was a Merovingian, and regarded them as usurpers of the rights of his family. In 745, however, when Pepin invaded Aquitaine at the head of a formidable army, Hunald ostensibly submitted, laid down his arms, and swore fidelity to the Frank kings. This humiliation to the enemies of his race concealed other thoughts, which were aroused in him either through the decline of his strength, or the pride and hope which he had in his son Guaifer. This young prince possessed all the qualities that constitute a hero, and Hunald saw in him the only man capable of defending Aquitaine against the Franks. He resolved to abdicate, and, after placing Aquitaine in the valiant hands of his son, he bade him farewell, put on a monk's robe, and shut himself up in the monastery of the Isle of Ré, where his father Eudes lay interred.

The war was suspended for several years between Guaifer and Pepin: both observed each other and collected their forces before attacking. Guaifer had opened his states to Greffo, Pepin's brother, who had rebelled against him, but he only kept him a short time. The war between the Franks and Lombards was still going on. Greffo resolved to go to Italy and join King Astolph; he left Guaifer and perished on his journey. Pepin, after bringing the Italian war to a successful end, resolved to conquer Septimania, before attacking the son of Hunald. He subjected that country, which was weary of the Saracen yoke, recaptured Narbonne, and annexed the whole province to the Frank monarchy, after which he invaded Aquitaine. Then commenced a nine years' war, marked by frightful devastations. Pepin ravaged Berri, Auvergne, and the Limousin with fire: Guaifer requited it by ravages on the Franks; but, at last, having lost Clermont, Bourges, and his principal towns, he levelled the walls of all the

others. He perished soon after, assassinated by his countrymen. With him the name of Merovingians became extinct in history, and the grand-duchy of Aquitaine was again attached to the crown of the Franks.

Pepin bestowed great largesse on the clergy, and through his whole life displayed the greatest deference to them. He frequently assembled the *comitia* of the kingdom, to which he always summoned the bishops, seeking to interest them in the success of his enterprises. He was of short stature, whence his *sobriquet:* but is said to have possessed great courage and prodigious strength. History gives us an instance which should perhaps be placed amid fables, but which, at any rate, depicts the manners of this barbarous age. Combats of wild animals were the chief amusement at the court of the Frank kings. Pepin was present at one of these, in which a lion attacked a bull. The latter was all but defeated, when Pepin pointed to the savage combatants, and shouted to the members of his suite, "Which of you will dare to separate them?" No one answered. Pepin leaped into the arena and cut off the heads of the animals. "Well," he said to his lords, as he threw away his blood-dripping sword, "am I worthy to be your king?" In truth, it was sufficient at that day to be brave and strong in order to merit the throne. Pepin combined with these two qualities moderation and prudence. He asked the advice of his nobles in dividing his estates between his two sons Charles and Carloman, and died in 768, after a reign of seventeen years.

The assembly of nobles and bishops had recognized Charles as king of the west, and Carloman as king of the east.

The first expedition of the two brothers was directed, by mutual agreement, against Aquitaine, where an insurrection had been brought about by the aged Hunald, who, to avenge his son Guaifer, emerged from the monastery in which he had lived for twenty-three years. His efforts were powerless, and Hunald, betrayed and conquered, sought refuge with the King of the Lombards.

Ambition soon armed Charles and Carloman against each other. The death of the latter, which event took place in 770, stifled the germs of civil war, and Charles usurped the states of his brother, to the prejudice of his nephews. The latter, with their mother, found an asylum in Lombardy. The whole nation of the Franks from this

moment recognized the authority of Charles, for whom his victories and great qualities acquired the glorious surname of Great or *Magnus*, and who is only known in history by the name of Charlemagne.

## II.

### CHARLEMAGNE.

During a reign of forty-six years this prince extended his frontiers beyond the Danube, imposed tribute on the barbarian nations, as far as the Vistula, conquered a portion of Italy, and rendered himself formidable to the Saracens. He first went into Italy, on the entreaty of Pope Adrian I., and marched to assist him against Didier, King of the Lombards, whose daughter he had himself married and repudiated. He made this king a prisoner, and put an end to the Lombard rule in Italy, which had lasted for two hundred and six years. Arigisus, son-in-law of King Didier, continued, however, to defend himself in his duchy of Benevent. Charlemagne, during this expedition, went to Rome, where he humbly presented himself to the Pope, whom he had saved, kissing each step of the pontifical palace. He believed himself called to subject to Christianity the barbarous nations of Europe, and when persuasion did not avail to the triumph of the faith, he had recourse to conquest and punishments.

The Saxons formed at this period a considerable nation, divided into a multitude of small republics. They were idolators, like the northern tribes. Their colonies had possessed England for a long time past, and had formerly also subjugated some districts in northern Gaul. Their assemblies were held annually on the banks of the Weser. At one of these, in 771, a priest of the name of Libuin invited them to be converted, while threatening them with a great king of the west. The Saxons took no heed of his words, and wanted to massacre him: they burnt the church of Daventer and all the Christians in it. Charlemagne heard of this and marched against them. A great man of the name of Wittikind commanded their army, but his heroism was of no avail. The Saxons were conquered and subjected. Charlemagne, after putting down several revolts, held a celebrated assembly at Paderborn, where he obliged all the Saxons to receive baptism, and divided their principalities among abbots and

bishops. Hence dates the origin of the ecclesiastical principalities in Germany. Wittikind took refuge with a northern king.

After conquering the Saxons, Charlemagne turned his arms against the Saracens. This people, in subjecting Spain, had taken to that country civilization and learning. Civil wars began, in the eighth century, to shake their power there. The Mussulmans were divided between the family of the Abassides, who resided at Bagdad, and that of the Ommiades, who governed Spain. The latter country, however, was agitated by factions, and one of them entreated the aid of Charlemagne against Abd-ul-Rahman, lieutenant of the Caliph Ommiades. This great man seized the opportunity which was offered him of driving back Islamism beyond the Ebro, and thus extinguishing a formidable focus of troubles and revolts on his own frontiers: he therefore sent two powerful armies into Spain. Saragossa was the point selected for their junction; for the Arab Emir who commanded that place had promised to surrender it to the Frank monarch. Charlemagne's expectations were deceived: Saragossa did not open its gates, and was besieged to no effect. The whole province, on which he had reckoned to help him, rose against him. The principal object of this famous expedition proved a failure: other cares, moreover, recalled Charlemagne, and he ordered a retreat. The defiles of the mountains were held at the time by the Basque nation, who resided in Vasconia, a country governed by Duke Wolf II., son of Guaifer, and grandson of Hunald. This prince had inherited the hatred of his race for the family of Charlemagne, and when he saw the Frank army, on its retreat, entangled in the defiles of Roncesvalles, he had it attacked by his mountaineers, who rolled stones and rocks down on it. The disaster was immense: the rearguard was destroyed to the last man; and here, too, perished the famous Paladin Roland, who is hardly known in history, and so celebrated in the romances of chivalry.

Charlemagne completed, in the following year, the conquest of Saxony, which had again revolted and defeated his lieutenants. He subjected it once again in 782, and, in order to keep it in check by a terrible example, he beheaded, on the banks of the Aller, four thousand five hundred Saxon prisoners. This cruel deed exasperated their countrymen. Wittikind had reappeared among them; they were twice defeated and cut to pieces at Detmold, near Osnaburg, and remained

quiet for several years. Wittikind laid down his arms in 785, and proceeded to Attigny-sur-Seine to do homage to the King of the Franks.

The Frisons, the Bretons of Armorica, and the Bavarians next revolted: they attacked Charlemagne simultaneously, and tried his power. Tassillon, Duke of Bavaria, was son-in-law of King Didier, and brother-in-law of Arigisus, Duke of Benevent. He summoned the Avarians and Sclavons to his assistance, and, in accordance with Arigisus, rose against the Franks: but he was conquered without a contest, accused of treason at the assembly of Ingelheim, condemned to death, and eventually confined in the monastery of Jumièges. The nationality of the Bavarians was destroyed, as that of the Lombards had been. The duchy of Benevent, protected by the mountains of the south, alone escaped the conqueror.

Charles had given Aquitaine, with the royal title, to his son Louis, under the guardianship of William Shortnose, Duke of Toulouse. Three other great provinces were equally subject to the authority of the young king. They were—on the east, Septimania or Languedoc, conquered by Pepin the Short; on the west, Novempopulania or Gascony; and lastly, on the south, the marches of Spain. This name was given to the provinces conquered by the Franks beyond the Pyrenees They were divided into the march of Gothia, which contained nearly the whole of Catalonia; and the march of Gascony, which extended as far as the Ebro into Arragon and Navarre. The latter provinces had for their chiefs Saracen lords who, according to circumstances, obeyed in turn the Frank king and the Arabic sovereign. This vast kingdom of young Louis', bordered by the Loire, the Ebro, the Rhone, and the two seas, was attacked in 793 by the Saracen general Abd-ul-Malak, who defeated Duke William at the passage of the Orbrin, made a great carnage in the Christian army, and returned to Spain with immense booty. Charlemagne deferred taking his revenge: he was occupied with Church matters, the opinions of the faithful being divided at the time between the second Council of Nicæa, which, in 787, had ordered the adoration of images, and the Council of Frankfurt, which condemned them in 497 as idolatry. Charlemagne energetically supported the decision of the last-named council, and defended it against the Pope in a treatise divided into four books, which were

called the *Caroline Books.* Adrian, who adopted the opinion of the Council of Nicæa, however, avoided the expression of any view, and evaded the question in order not to offend his powerful protector.

Charlemagne next turned his efforts against the Avarians, indefatigable horsemen inhabiting the marshes of Hungary. After several disastrous expeditions had been undertaken to subdue them, Pepin, his son, penetrated into their country at the head of a Lombardese and Bavarian army, and seized their famous fortified camp called Ruy, in which they had collected for a number of years the spoils of the East. Pepin carried them off, and his father distributed them among his favourites and the nobles of his court.

The Saxons had joined the Avarians in this war; they had burnt the churches, murdered the priests, and returned in crowds to their false gods. Charlemagne then adopted against them a system of extermination; he established himself with an army on the Weser, ravaged Saxony with fire and sword, carried off a large number of the inhabitants, either as prisoners or hostages, and transported them to the western and southern countries. But the Saxons were not finally subdued till the year 804, after thirty-two years of fighting, revolt, and massacres. Charlemagne, in order to watch and restrain them the better, transferred his usual residence to Aix-la-Chapelle, which he made the capital of his empire.

Leon III. succeeded Adrian I. in 795 upon the pontifical throne. Priests conspired to drag him off it. Wounded and imprisoned by them, he escaped and fled to Spoleto, where he implored the help of Charlemagne, who made a last journey to Italy for the purpose of restoring Leon his crown. Charles, on Christmas day, was on his knees and praying in the Cathedral of St. Peter: the Pope went up to him and placed the imperial crown upon his head. The people straightway saluted him with the name of Augustus; and from this moment Charlemagne regarded himself as the real successor of the Roman Emperors of the West. He adopted the titles and ceremonials of the court of Byzantium, with which he kept up regular relations, and, in order to establish the empire in its integrity, the only thing remaining was for him to espouse the Empress Irene, who, after having her son assassinated, was reigning at Constantinople. Such was Charlemagne's

wish, but he was unable to accomplish it, for Irene was dethroned and died in exile.

Charlemagne, after his coronation as Emperor, had but insignificant wars to wage, and on attaining the supreme dignity, he also reached the end of his most difficult enterprises. He received in his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle the homage of the independent princes of the Veneli and Dalmatians, who ruled at the other extremity of Europe; and such was the ascendency of his name and fortune that he saw several nations voluntarily range themselves under his laws.

During the last eight years of his reign he promulgated decrees and instituted numerous administrative, ecclesiastical, judicial, and military institutions, which were all intended to strengthen the social order, and maintain all parts of his immense empire in union and peace. He convened, at the field of Mars, in the year 806, an assembly of the nobles of his kingdom, in order to arrange with them the partition of his states between his three sons, Charles, Pepin, and Louis. To the first he assigned the northern part of Gaul with Germany; to the second he gave Italy and Bavaria with his conquests in Pannonia; the third had Aquitaine, Burgundy, and the marches of Spain. This division, consented to by the nobles and the people, was sanctioned by the Pope.

The last years of Charlemagne were saddened by domestic sorrows. He had to blush at the irregularities of his daughters, and lamented the death of his two eldest sons, Charles and Pepin. The first left no children, the second had a son, Bernard, to whom the Emperor granted the kingdom of Italy. He next wished to have the last of his legitimate sons, whom death had spared, Louis, King of Aquitaine, recognized as his successor, and summoned him to the great September assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle. There he presented his son to the bishops, abbots, counts, and lords of the Franks, and asked them to recognize him as emperor. All consented. Then, desirous that his son's power should devolve on him from God Himself, he laid on the altar a crown resembling his own, and after giving Louis an affecting exhortation about his duties to the Church, his subjects, and relatives, he ordered him to take up the crown and place it on his brow.

Charlemagne was attaining the close of his glorious career. He devoted the last months of his life to devotional works, and divided

his time between prayer, the distribution of alms, and the study of versions of the Gospels in different languages. He directed this task up to the eve of his death. He was attacked by fever toward the middle of January, 814. He languished for some days; then, feeling death at hand, he received the sacraments at the hands of Hildebald, his chaplain, and, arranging his limbs *for the eternal rest*, he closed his eyes, repeating, in a low voice, "*In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum*," and expired. He had entered into his seventy-second year: he had reigned for forty-seven years over the Franks, forty-three over the Lombards, and fourteen over the Empire of the West. He was interred at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the Church of St. Mary, which he built.

The exploits and conquests of this great monarch, too often stamped with the barbarism of the age, are not his greatest titles to the admiration and respect of posterity. What really elevates him above his age, is the legislative spirit, and the genius of civilization, both of which he possessed in an eminent degree. Charlemagne undertook to substitute order for anarchy, learning for ignorance, in the vast countries that obeyed him, and to subject to the laws and a regular administration, so many nations, still savage, strangers to each other, differing in origin, language, and manners, and with no other link among them than that of conquest.

The principal and permanent division which he established in his empire was the county, a division generally responding to the old Roman districts called cities. The counts or principal officers of the state, held all the civil, judicial, and military attributes. Below them were the hundredmen, also called *viquiers*, or vicars; they were called *hundredmen*, because their authority extended over a canton, or territory originally occupied by one hundred families. The Emperor had the permanent officers and magistrates watched by a certain number of high functionaries, called *royal envoys* or *missi dominici*, who corresponded directly with him; they were intrusted with the duty of inspecting the various counties, and presiding over the provincial assemblies.

In addition to these assemblies, at which local interests were discussed, two great national assemblies were convened annually. These meetings, whose origin dated back to the old customs of Germany, had fallen into desuetude under the last Merovingian kings. They

acquired a new authority on the accession of the second race, which was raised to the throne by the Austrasian armies, in which the Germanic element prevailed. These assemblies were almost sovereign after the reign of Charlemagne. But this prince was always able to direct them; they were inspired with his genius, and generally restricted themselves to sanctioning his wishes. At this epoch they were, besides, but the shadow of the great *malls*, at which the great nation of the Franks formerly assembled. The influence of Gallo-Roman civilization, the distances to be covered, and the inequality which was established among the conquerors themselves, modified the composition of these great assemblies, from which the public were soon excluded. "It was the custom," writes Archbishop Hincmar, "to hold two assemblies annually. The first took place in the spring. The general affairs of the kingdom were regulated at it; and no event, unless it was an absolute necessity, caused any change in what had been settled. At this assembly came together all the nobles (majores) both ecclesiastics and laymen (dukes, counts, and bishops): they formed decisions, and submitted them for adhesion to the members of the second class (minores—the vicars, hundredmen, and royal officers of inferior rank), who were merely consulted." Hincmar goes on to tell us that "the other assembly, at which the general gifts of the kingdom were received, was solely composed of the most important members of the previous assembly, and the king's councillors. At it were discussed affairs for which it was necessary to make provision—war, truce, administrative measures, &c. At both these assemblies the king submitted for deliberation the articles of law, called *capitula*, which he had himself drawn up, with the inspiration of God, or which had been found necessary in the interval between the two assemblies. Messengers of the palace served as intermediators between the assembly and the prince; still, if the members expressed the desire, the king would go to them, remain as long as they pleased, and they gave him their opinion on all sorts of matters in a most familiar way, questioning him, and recommending each to inform himself of all that was going on within and without the empire during the period before the next meeting." *

* Epist. ad Proceres regu. pro instit. Carolomanni regis et de ordine palat. ex Adalardo. (Hincmar, *Opera*, Vol. II., pp. 201-205.)

A part of the ordinances to which Hincmar alludes by the name of *capitulars* has been handed down to us, and, in spite of their confused language, they bear testimony to the wisdom of their author. His genius embraces everything. He provides with equal intelligence for the greatest interests of his people and the administration of his private domains. His chief attention is directed to the clergy, whom he provides for by tithes, in order to compensate them for the spoliations of Charles Martel. He prescribes to ecclesiastics subordination, the obligation of self-instruction, the transmission of their learning to the people, the reformation of abuses, and a prohibition of appearing in arms and fighting. It was a small thing to make wise laws, but their execution had also to be provided for. Charlemagne succeeded in effecting this by means of his envoys. We have seen that they corresponded directly with the Emperor; he was also informed of everything, and his authority acted simultaneously at each point of his vast estates.

Charlemagne understood that the most efficacious method of civilizing a nation is by instructing it; he consequently sought to restore a taste for letters and the arts. He encouraged the laborious tasks of the monks, who preserved the celebrated writings of antiquity by transcribing them; he even obliged the princesses, his daughters, to occupy themselves in this task. He founded and supported schools in a multitude of places; he frequently inspected them himself, and examined the pupils. He established one in his own palace; and the following words, addressed by him to the young students who frequented it, have been recorded:—"Because you are rich, and sons of the first men in my kingdom, you believe that your birth and wealth are sufficient for you, and that you have no need of these studies, which would do you so much honour. You only think of dress, sport, and pleasure: but I swear to you I attach no weight to this nobility and this wealth which attract consideration to you; and, if you do not recover most speedily by assiduous study the time you have lost in frivolities, you will never more obtain anything from Charles."

He employed of preference in affairs of state those persons who were distinguished by their acquirements. A library had been formed by his care in his palace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and, during his meals, he had esteemed works read to him or conversed with learned men. His

secretary, Eginhard, who has left us curious details about this reign, was one of the most learned men of his time; and Charlemagne spared nothing to attract to his court men of letters and clever professors. Among those who enjoyed his favour, the most celebrated is the Saxon Alcuin, a prodigy of learning for the age in which he lived.

The principal occupation of those who applied themselves at that time to letters was poetry, the study of grammar, theology, the Scriptures, and the Church Fathers. Interminable controversies were carried on about the honours which ought to be paid to images; these disputes occasioned long wars in the East, and several times shook the throne of Constantinople. Geometry, astronomy, and medicine were cultivated, but charlatanism and superstition disfigured the two last sciences. Exalted men or scamps asserted that they could read the future by examining the planets; and this false science, studied under the name of astrology, was long held in honour. People were beginning to occupy themselves with sculpture, painting, and goldsmith's work; and among the fine arts architecture was cultivated. Charlemagne enriched his residence at Aix-la-Chapelle with precious marbles from Ravenna, and the spoils of several other Italian cities; he also erected numerous buildings, and the vestiges of the edifices of that age display far more solidity than elegance in the processes of the art.

Among the inventions of this century we must mention paper made of cotton, organs played by water, and Turkey carpets. Clocks with wheels also began to be known in the West; the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid, one of the greatest princes the Mussulmans ever had, sent a very remarkable and valuable one to Charlemagne. The Church chants contributed greatly to the solemnity of the service; people went regularly to the divine office in the daytime, and some at night too. Charlemagne decided that the Gregorian Chant should be used in all the churches of his empire; and the custom established in the eighth century of reckoning the years by the Christian era, or from the birth of the Saviour, became general in his reign. This prince, who was ignorant himself, but worthy, through his genius, of sharing in everything that was great and useful, seconded mental efforts of every description by his assiduous care, praise, and rewards. This was the way in which he employed his leisure between his martial undertakings.

In the Empire of Charlemagne a distinction must be drawn between the countries directly subject to the Emperor and administered by his counts, and those which were only tributary. The former alone constituted the Empire properly so called, whose limits were—to the north, the German Ocean and the Baltic, as far as the Island of Rugen; to the west, the Atlantic, as far as the Pyrenees; to the south, the course of the Ebro, the Mediterranean, from the mouth of the Ebro, in Spain, to that of the Garigliano, in Italy, and the Adriatic, up to the promontory of Dalmatia; to the east, Croatia, the course of the Theiss, Moravia, Bohemia, a part of the Elbe, and a line which, starting from the angle which the latter now makes when turning westward, would run along the western shore of Rugen.

The immense country comprised between these limits was administered by the free counts. We must, however, except the Armorican peninsula or Brittany, which was only tributary, as well as the country of the Navarrese and Basques, situated between the Elbe and the Pyrenees; the States of the Church, or Patrimony of St. Peter, governed by the Bishop of Rome; Gaëta, Venice, and a certain number of maritime cities in Dalmatia, which were dependent on the Greek Empire of Constantinople.

Along these frontiers was a number of tributary states more or less in a state of dependence on the Emperor. The principal nations were —in Italy, the Beneventines; in Germany, several Sclavonic tribes on the banks of the Danube, the Elbe, and the Baltic, up to the Oder. The sceptre of Charlemagne also extended, in the Mediterranean, though not without perpetual and sanguinary conflicts, over the Balearic Islands, Corsica, and Sardinia.

Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne, after taking into their own hands the mayoralties of Neustria and Austrasia, and overthrowing the hereditary Dukes of Aquitaine, Lombardy, Allemania, Thuringia, Bavaria, and Frisia, subjected all the states of the Frank Empire to the same political organization. Charlemagne divided them, for administrative purposes, into legations and counties, which responded generally to the old territorial divisions of the Roman Empire into provinces and cities. These, however, were wont to vary according to circumstances, and the will of the prince. The legations, the administration of which Charlemagne entrusted to his *missi* or envoys, seem

to have been the origin of the principal duchies. The Emperor had received the direct administration of the countries between the Rhine and the Meuse, in which the ancient domains of his family were situated.

Some provinces upon the borders bore, as we have already stated, the name of Marches. They were—the Western March (Austria): the March of Carinthia (the Duchy of Friseli), to which were attached all the countries to the south of the Drave, and the two Marches of Spain, Gothia and Gascony.

In addition to the great divisions into *legations*, we have seen that Charlemagne established or reconstituted for his sons Louis and Pepin two kingdoms: that is, Italy, with the March of Carinthia and the Patrimony of St. Peter, and that of Aquitaine, with the Marches of Spain. Still, he kept the two kings in strict dependence; and though they had a more pompous title and more extensive functions, they were in their states, like the *missi* in the legations, no more than the first lieutenants and representatives of the Emperor.

Pepin ceded to the Bishop of Rome the Exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis: Charlemagne confirmed this gift. These two territories, joined to the city of Rome and the surrounding country, formed the state temporally governed by the Pope, which retained the name of the Patrimony of St. Peter. Authors are not agreed as to the conditions on which this donation was made; but the general opinion is that the Domain or Patrimony of St. Peter was considered, up to the reign of Louis the Debonnaire, a fief dependent on the Emperor.

The Merovingian princes had laid the foundation of numerous cities in their states, and more especially in Neustria, where their principal residences were. The Carlovingian kings, their successors, made their most important foundations in Austrasia, and beyond the Rhine. Many cities owe their existence to Charlemagne, the best known among them being Halle, Hamburg, Deventes, Tugolstadt, and Aix-la-Chapelle. The latter city, which he rendered flourishing in a few years, became his principal residence, and capital of his empire. He also founded several bishoprics, and numerous monasteries, most of which became, in the course of time, important towns. Many other cities were also embellished and enlarged by Charlemagne; among

others, Ingelheim and Nimeguen, where he had two magnificent palaces, Metz, Mayence, Strasburg, Essenfeld, Paderborn, Ratisbon, and Magdeburg, which, being nearly all strongly fortified, served as a defence or barrier to his empire.

Charlemagne kept his peoples united and under subjection by the ascendancy of his glory and the terror of his arms; but for vast associations of men to subsist for any length of time with a common centre upon an immense territory, it is necessary either that the peoples should submit to an absolute authority, which was repulsive to the haughty and independent humour of the Frank race, or else that learning and civilization should have made sufficient progress for them to recognize the necessity for their union, as well as the obligation of sacrificing private to general interests. Such was not the state of the nations governed by Charlemagne. Some distinguished men raised their voices in vain: the masses remained plunged in barbarism. A few years do not suffice to make a people pass from a savage into a civilized state, from ignorance to learning. Such a task is one of ages. Charlemagne appeared to the world as a brilliant meteor, which, in disappearing, only leaves behind a reminiscence of its brilliancy, and the vivid light it shed around: but this reminiscence was not useless to the world, and the example which this great man gave bore its fruit among posterity. He himself, however, was able to observe the certain signs of an approaching dissolution. He knew the national enmities which subsisted between the different nations he had subjected; and the calmness which they had long enjoyed internally was not that of a nation reposing in its strength, but rather a calm of weariness and exhaustion. His capitularies rendered military service obligatory on every free man possessed of a *meusa* of land or twelve acres, under penalty of paying the enormous fine of sixty pence in gold, or the loss of liberty: a great number preferred slavery. The greater portion of the crown lands had been given to nobles and bishops; and the right of possession over the inhabitants being at that time confounded with the ownership of the soil, a multitude of labourers had fallen into a condition of serfdom. The free men themselves, crushed by the weight of taxation and military service, and wearied with so long a reign, eagerly desired its termination. They only performed with repugnance their duty as citizens, and generally

neglected going to the provincial assemblies or those of the Field of May.

The expenses of the journey, and the presents demanded of them, rightly appeared to them an intolerable burden; and they displayed no zeal in supporting institutions, of which they recognized neither the wisdom nor the utility.

Such were the imminent precursive signs of a rapid dissolution. Charlemagne's presentiments were only too fully justified toward the close of his life. New nations, that came from the north, the Danes, also called Normans, infested the coasts of his empire. In order to repulse them, he had large barques built, which defended the mouth of the rivers. This barrier, and the terror he inspired, sufficed during his lifetime to keep these barbarian invaders aloof. One day, however, ships, manned by Scandinavian pirates, unexpectedly entered the port of a town in Gallica Narbonensis, where the Emperor was residing. He saw them, and, going up to a window to watch their flight, he stood there for a long time with his face bathed in tears. Then, turning to the nobles, who were watching him, he said to them, "Do you know, my faithful friends, why I am weeping so bitterly? Assuredly I do not fear that these pirates will injure me, but I am profoundly afflicted by the thought that they nearly landed on these shores during my lifetime, and I am tortured by a violent grief, when I foresee all the evils they will inflict on my nephews and their peoples."

The perpetual wars which Charlemagne waged in order to maintain the unity of his immense empire, and substitute in it civilization for barbarism, originated from his victories themselves: and they rather bear testimony to the greatness of his efforts than to their success. His work remained incomplete, but his glory consists in having undertaken it; and if he did not complete it, it was because completing was impossible.

# CHAPTER II.

## FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THAT OF CHARLES THE FAT.

## 814—888.

### I.

### LOUIS THE DÉBONNAIRE, OR THE PIOUS.

### 814—840.

Charlemagne's object had been to rescue Europe from the anarchical reign of brute force: he wished that his will should be everywhere present. "He applied himself," as a modern historian has said, "to render the exercise of power regular and salutary to the people;* and he everywhere substituted his intelligent and central action for the action of a number of blind and isolated local authorities, whom he held in check, without destroying. These powers derived their origin and force from old Germanic institutions and customs; and these did not work in unison either to establish or maintain the unity of a vast Empire. Among these customs, three were quite incompatible with the principle of imperial authority, such as Charlemagne had attempted to re-establish in the West. They were, first, the legislative and, in some cases, sovereign power of the national assemblies; next, the jurisdiction of the nobles over their vassals, and the right of private war; and lastly, the custom which shared the succession among all the sons, and which, in default of sons, left the right of succession doubtful between the nephews and uncles.

Charlemagne did not make any absolute attack on these three customs, though they were so incompatible with the monarchical system which he attempted to introduce. We have seen that he recognized the

* Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation en France.*

legislative authority of the national assemblies, and that the latter, which he directed and converted into useful instruments, were regularly convoked during his reign; he did not destroy the right of seignorial jurisdiction, which was a formidable right, and one difficult to separate from the right of private war; he was even constrained to confirm the latter, by obliging the *vassals* or *liegemen* to follow their lord in his private quarrels, under penalty of losing their benefices;* and he could not prevent the duties of the vassal toward his lord appearing more sacred than those which attached them both to the State. Lastly, in the partition which Charlemagne made at Thionville, of his states among his sons, we do not find that he dreamed of maintaining the unity of his empire after his own death; he did not raise the eldest above the others; and, at a later date, when he shared his authority with Louis the Débonnaire, his two brothers were dead: hence, then, the great question of the supremacy attaching to the imperial title, and of the degree of power which the prince invested with it would have to exercise over the kings of his own family, was not settled by Charlemagne. Perhaps he had a foreboding that so many nations, differing in language, origin, and customs, could not live for any length of time, united under the same hand; perhaps, too, by himself dividing his vast states between his sons, he had hoped to prevent disastrous wars, and he doubtless believed that it would be better to do by common agreement what time and violence would not fail to do after his death.

If such were Charlemagne's previsions, they were speedily confirmed by the inutility of his son's efforts to retain for any length of time the fiction of imperial unity. The situation was more powerful than the men, and the Carlovingian Empire crumbled away less through the weakness of Louis the Débonnaire and his successors, than through the want of the institutions necessary for its duration, and, above all, by the impossibility of rendering the latter acceptable to the peoples they were intended to govern. The dissolution of this empire, accelerated

* Et si quis cum fidelibus suis contra adversarium suum pugnam aut aliquod cutamen agere voluerit, et convocavit aliquem de comparibus suis ut ei adjutorium præbuisset, et elle noluit et exindo negliques permansit : ipsum beneficium quod habuit auferatur ab eo, et ditur cui in stabilitate et fidelitate suâ permansit.—*Karoli M. Capitularc*, A. 813–820.

by so many causes, had as its principal results the complete separation of the peoples of different race, and the subdivision of each of these peoples into a multitude of small principalities, which had no other bond of union than that which was established by the feudal régime.

Louis I., surnamed the Débonnaire and the Pious, son and successor of Charlemagne, was soon crushed by the burden which his father had left him. Unskilful in his conduct, and of weak character, but animated by a desire for justice and a desire for the right, he hastened to order severe reforms; and ere he had established his authority on a solid basis, he punished powerful culprits, and tried to destroy a multitude of abuses by which the nobles profited. The oppressed nations found in him a just judge and indulgent master. He protected the Aquitains, the Saxons, and Spanish Christians against the imperial lieutenants, and diminished their taxes, to the injury of their governors. He reformed the clergy, by obliging the bishops to remain in their dioceses, and subjecting the monks to the inquisition of the severe Benedict of Amacia, who imposed the Benedictine rule upon them. Lastly, giving the example of good manners, he tried to avenge morality by disgracefully expelling from the imperial palace his father's numerous concubines, and the lovers of his sisters. But he could not keep either his court or his warriors in obedience, and his weakness for his wives and children occasioned long and sanguinary wars.

In the hour of danger, all those whose interests he had violently injured leagued against him. The first insurrection took place in Italy. The Emperor had shared the empire with his son Lothair,* with the assent of the Franks assembled at the *comitia* of Aix-la-Chapelle in 817; then he gave the kingdoms of Bavaria and Aquitaine to his other two sons, Louis and Pepin: his nephew Bernard remaining King of Italy. The latter, whose father was the Emperor's elder brother, was jealous at the elevation of Lothair, for he hoped, after his uncle's death, to obtain the imperial crown as chief of the Carlovingian family. A great number of malcontent lords and bishops invited Bernard to assert his rights, and collected troops. Louis marched to meet his nephew at the head of his soldiers of France and Germany.

* The second race adopted the names of the first, but the German language was beginning to lose its roughness in Gaul: thus, the name of *Klothair* became *Lothair*, &c. &c.

On his approach, Bernard, who was deserted by a portion of his followers, obtained a safe conduct from the Emperor, and went into his camp, with several chiefs of his army. Louis, impelled to act with unjust rigour by his consort Ermengarde, who coveted Italy for her sons, had Bernard's accomplices tried and executed, while the unfortunate King himself was condemned to lose his sight, and did not survive the punishment. A few years later, the Emperor, in a national assembly held at Attigny, on the Aisin, did public penance for this crime, and, prostrated at the feet of the bishops, asked for absolution. From this period he only displayed weakness. The frontier nations insulted the Empire with impunity; the Gascons and Saracens in the south, the Bretons in the west, and the Norman pirates in the north, committed frightful ravages, and spread terror around them. Internal discord seconded their audacity: the imperial troops were defeated, and Louis saw his frontiers contracted in the north and south. In this way, the kingdom of Navarre was founded at the foot of the Pyrenees.

Ermengarde, the wife of Louis the Débonnaire, died in 818, and the Emperor espoused in the following year Judith, daughter of a Bavarian lord. He had by her a son called Charles, for whom his mother asked a kingdom; and Louis promised him one, although he had given everything away before. After granting to Lothair the kingdom of Italy, the heritage of the unfortunate Bernard, he obtained from that prince the oath to defend his young brother Charles, and maintain him in the possession of the share which might be assigned him; after which, the Emperor, at the Diet of Worms, held in 829, gave Charles, the son of Judith, Suabia, Helvetia, and the Grisons, which he formed into the kingdom of Germany.

Lothair soon repented the pledge he had given his father, and sought a mode of destroying the result of the decisions of the Diet. He found an opportunity, in the blind weakness of the Emperor for the Aquitanian Bernard, Duke of Septimania, and son of his old guardian, William Shortnose. Duke Bernard was generally considered the lover of Judith and father of Charles. Louis made him his sole councillor and prime minister. The public clamour became general; a numerous party of malcontents was formed, principally composed of nobles and bishops, and who were joined by the Emperor's three sons, who were irritated at his weakness and anxious about their possessions.

The latter commenced an impious war against their father. He fell into their power at Compiègne. Judith was confined by them in a convent; Bernard took to flight, and the Emperor was left under the direction of a few monks, while Lothair seized the government of the Empire.

The peoples were divided between Louis and his sons; the latter were supported in their revolt by the inhabitants of Gaul, while the Germans remained faithful to the Emperor, who consulted a general assembly of the states for the same year, at one of their cities, Nimeguen. They pronounced in his favour and against his sons. Lothair was reconciled to his father by sacrificing all his partizans to him. Judith and Bernard were recalled to court, and purified themselves by oath from the crimes imputed to them; Louis began to reign again, and once more disgusted the nation by his weakness. His sons—Lothair, Louis, and Pepin—revolted once again, took up arms, and marched against their father. Pope Gregory IV. was with them, and tried in vain to prevent bloodshed. The two armies encountered near Colmar; all at once the Emperor's troop sdeserted him. The which this defection took place received the name of the *Plain of* plain on *Falsehood.* Th eunfortunate King fell into the hands of his son Lothair, who carried his impiety so far as to make him undergo an infamous punishment under the cloak of a Christian and voluntary humiliation, in order to degrade him for ever. A council of bishops devoted to Lothair was assembled for this purpose at Compiègne and presided over by Ebbon, Archbishop of Reims, a furious enemy of Louis. A list of crimes was drawn up, among which figured that of having ordered the army to march during Lent, and convoking the Parliament on a Good Friday. The captive Emperor was forced to make a public confession. He appeared in the cathedral, pale and bowed down by shame and sorrow. He tottered along through a multitude of spectators, and in the presence of Lothair, who had come to enjoy the humiliation of his father and his Emperor. A hair cloth was laid at the foot of the altar; the archbishop ordered the sovereign to take off his imperial ornaments, belt, and sword, and prostrate himself on the cloth. Louis obeyed: with his face against the ground he demanded a public penance, and read aloud a document in which he accused himself of sacrilege and homicide. A *procès-verbal* was drawn

up of this criminal scene, and Lothair conducted his father as a prisoner to Aix-la-Chapelle, the seat of the Empire, a place which had formerly witnessed his grandeur and now his ignominy.

Louis the German and Pepin declared themselves the avengers of their outraged father, far less through affection for him than through jealous hatred of their brother; the latter, deserted by his partizans, took refuge in Italy, while the Emperor, with the assent of the states assembled at Thionville, resumed his crown. He pardoned Lothair, but in 838, at the states of Kersy-on-the-Oise, he for a second time benefited his son Charles at the expense of his elder brother, and Louis the German consented to cede a portion of his provinces to his brother.

Pepin, King of Aquitaine, died in the course of the year; he left a son of the same name, dear to the Aquitains, who had seen him attain man's estate among them, and who eagerly recognized him as king. This people always endured with impatience a foreign rule. It nourished the hope of forming an independent and separate nation, and hoped to induce Pepin II. to revolt against the Emperor, as his father, Pepin I., had on several occasions been persuaded to do.

The Emperor, however, had other projects; he secretly reserved Aquitaine for his son Charles. On his side, Louis regretted the concession which he had made at Kersy of the great portion of his states to his brother, and had taken up arms again; the Germans had followed his banner to the right bank of the Rhine; but the armies of Gaul, composed of a mixture of men of the Gallic and German races established for a long time in that country, and to whom we may henceforth give the name of *French*, had remained faithful to the Emperor. He crossed the Rhine at their head. On his approach the Germanic army disbanded without striking a blow: his son Louis retired into Bavaria. The Emperor punished him by reducing his inheritance to that solitary province.

The moment had arrived to secure Charles the share which his affection had always desired for him at the expense of his brothers. He resolved to divide the Empire, exclusive of Bavaria, into two parts of equal size, destined for Lothair and Charles, and decided that one of these princes should make this division, and the other have the choice. This new partition was to be sanctioned and proclaimed in a Diet con-

voked at Worms in the month of May, 839. Lothair proceeded thither. In the presence of the assembled nobles, he threw himself at his father's feet and asked his pardon for the annoyance he had caused him. Then, having left to his father the task of dividing his Empire, the Emperor effected the partition by a line which, starting from the mouths of the Scheldt, ran along the Meuse up to its source, and the Saône as far as its confluence with the Rhone, and terminated at the mouth of the latter river. The choice was left to Lothair, who took the eastern moiety of the Empire, comprising Italy, Germany, less Bavaria, Provence, and a small part of Burgundy and Austrasia; Charles had for his share Aquitaine, Neustria, and the rest of Austrasia and Burgundy. The claims of their brother Louis were entirely passed over in this partition, and Pepin II., the Emperor's grandson, was despoiled. These two princes took up arms, and the Emperor, who was already advancing upon Aquitaine, stopped in indecision, not knowing which foe to fight first, his grandson or his son. At length, on seeing the Bavarians, Thuringians, and Saxons, in insurrection on behalf of Louis, the old Emperor turned his army against him; and he marched into Germany to encounter his son, who had rebelled for the third time, when he was attacked by an illness, which brought him to the grave at the end of forty days. "Alas!" he said, while expiring, "I pardon my son; but let him remember that he caused my death, and that God punishes parricides." He died at Ingelheim, at the age of sixty-two.

Louis the Débonnaire was not born for the throne; still, he had some of the qualities of a good prince. His morals were firm; he paid great attention to the administration of justice and the instruction of his people, made useful regulations, and frequently consulted the *comitia* of the Empire; but he possessed neither strength nor dignity, without which the supreme authority is but a vain word. His imprudent weakness for Charles, the son of his old age, occasioned wars which were only extinguished with his race. In order to ensure him a vast empire, he embroiled all the frontiers of his states; and this partition accelerated the outbreak of frightful calamities.

## II.

### FROM THE DEATH OF LOUIS THE DÉBONNAIRE TO THAT OF CHARLES THE FAT.

After the death of Louis the Débonnaire, the Empire was plunged for ten years into a horrible anarchy. His three sons and his grandson, Pepin II., levied troops and carried on an obstinate war against each other. The Emperor Lothair united with his nephew Pepin to despoil his two brothers—Louis, who was called *the German*, and Charles II., who from this period was surnamed *the Bald*. The former only possessed Bavaria; the second was master of the whole of Germany. The deplorable situation of the Empire, thus parcelled out by different masters and torn by their hands, has been eloquently described by a contemporary poet:—"Who could worthily describe," he says, "the asylums of religious life overthrown, the holy spouses of the Lord surrendered to the infamy of the secular yoke, the very chiefs of the Church exposed to the perils of arms and carnage? . . . . Once on a time flourished a noble empire, with a dazzling diadem; it had but one prince, and a great people was subject to him. . . . . Now the proud edifice has fallen from its height, as crown of flowers falls from the brow which it decorated. . . . . The unity of the empire has perished in a triple partition; no one is longer considered as emperor; in lieu of a king there is only a weak prince; instead of a kingdom the fragments of a kingdom. The wall is threatened with an immense and sudden ruin; it is already cracked and bulging, and scarce supported by a liquid mud which is about to fall, and the overthrow is universal." *

The combined armies of the two kings, Louis and Charles, encountered those of the Emperor Lothair and his nephew Pepin near Auxerre, and fought a sanguinary engagement in the Plains of Fontenay; it is said that one hundred thousand men perished on this day. Lothair was conquered, and the two victorious princes, who were themselves weaker than they had been before the victory, could not pursue him. They proceeded to Strasburg, where they resumed their alliance in the presence of the people. The oath which Louis the

* Flori deaoni Lugdunensis Guertia de divisione imperii post mortem Ludov. Pii.

German pronounced on this occasion in such a way as to be understood by his brother's Neustrian and Gallo-Roman army, is the oldest memorial history has preserved for us of the Romanic language.*

A new partition was made soon after at Verdun between the three brothers, and irrevocably separated the interests of Gaul as a power from those of Germany. Charles had the countries situated to the west of the Scheldt, Saône, and Rhone, with the north of Spain up to the Ebro. Louis the German had Germany up to the Rhine. The Emperor Lothair, renouncing all supremacy, connected to Italy the territory situated between his brother's states. The long strip of land, which comprised four populations, and in which four different languages were spoken, formed an entirely factitious division, of such a nature that it could not be perpetuated. The two other divisions were more durable, and henceforth the denomination of *France* was employed to designate the kingdom of Charles, in which Neustria, Brittany, and Aquitaine were comprised.

So many commotions and combats completely exhausted the kingdoms formed out of the *débris* of the empire. The little amount of strength left to them was consumed by these intestine wars, the frontiers were abandoned to foreigners, the land remained uncultivated, famine destroyed entire populations, and the ancient barbarism reappeared. The Normans, united to the Bretons, in the north and west, the Saracens in the south, laid waste everything with fire and sword; bands of wolves came after them down the mountains and even entered the towns. Rouen, Bordeaux, and Nantes were burnt; the Normans reached Paris on board three hundred galleys; and while terror kept Charles shut up at Saint Denis, they plundered the capital, and only left it to reappear there soon after more numerous and formidable. These men of the north, called *Danes* in England, and *Normans* in Gaul, had remained pagans, and were still proud, even in the ninth century, of their title as sons of Odin. Their natural ferocity was kept up and incessantly excited by a continual life of brigandage. A law of the country, which was maintained wherever this people founded establishments, tended to perpetuate on the coasts of Denmark and Norway the existence of this race of pirates. It was one

* This language is composed of a corrupt Latin, mixed up with the idiom of some of the peoples of Frank Gaul.

of the principal causes of the frightful evils which they inflicted from the ninth to the eleventh century on European nations; and to it must be referred the first origin of the empires which these peoples founded. This law, which is still in force in England, gave to the eldest son alone in Denmark and Norway the patrimony of the family. It affected the families of the kings as well as those of the subjects. The eldest son of the chief or king alone inherited his father's sceptre and estates. His brothers, though recognized as kings by the customs of the northern nations, had the ocean as their kingdom, on which they sought their fortune: hence the name of *sea-kings*, which was given to them, and which collected under their banner a multitude of men, who, like themselves, had no other patrimony beyond their sword. One of these chiefs, who was famous for his audacity and ferocity, the pirate Hastings, after ravaging France, penetrated into Italy, and returned to spread desolation and terror on the whole country between the Seine and the Loire. Charles the Bald had intrusted the defence of this territory, with the title of Count of Anjou, to a celebrated warrior, Robert the Strong, who was already Count of Paris, and the glorious founder of the Capitian dynasty.* Robert, whom the chronicles of the time called the Maccabæus of France, was killed, and nothing arrested the devastating torrent from that moment.

In the midst of the general weakening of the Empire, the clergy alone increased their fortune and power. The more miserable the people were, the more they directed their thoughts to another future, and respected the men in whom they recognized the power of opening the gates of a better world for them. The real master of Gaul was Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims. He it was who defended with the greatest success the authority of Charles the Bald, against those who preferred to him his brother, Louis the German. The bishops supported the kings they had crowned; they governed temporal and spiritual affairs, war and peace; it was Hincmar who

* After long researches, intended to trace this family back to Childebrand, brother of Charles Martel, it is generally agreed that it was of Saxon origin, since genealogists even wish to give it as founder the celebrated Wittikind. However this may be, this family, established in the centre of Gaul, speedily acquired a great influence there, and was invested in succession with the counties of Paris and Orleans, the county of Anjou, the duchy of France, and several other great fiefs. The name of Capitians was not given to its members till after Hugues Capet.

convoked, in the king's name, the bishops and counts to march against the enemy.

The Emperor Lothair I. had died in a monastery in 855, after sharing the Empire for the last ten years with his son, Louis II., surnamed *the Young*, and giving kingdoms to his other sons, Provence to Charles, and the country contained between the Meuse, Scheldt, Rhine, and Franche Comté to Lothair II. It was called, after the name of its sovereign, *Lotharingia*, whence we have the name of *Lorraine*, which has adhered to it. The decrees of the councils touching the two marriages of Lothair II. occupied the whole of Christendom during fifteen years. Separated by mutual agreement from his wife, Tentberga, and forced to take her back by Pope Adrian II., Lothair went to Rome in order to justify himself. The Pontiff called down the vengeance of Heaven on him if he did not amend his ways. He died within a week, and the whole of his suite in the year. His three sons survived him but a short time; and Louis the German and Charles the Bald divided their estates between them.

On the death of the Emperor Louis II., which event took place in 875, his uncle Charles the Bald seized the imperial crown; but this crown, reduced to a part of Southern Germany and Italy, was, on his brow, but the shadow of that worn by Charlemagne. The Empire was exhausted; the perpetual wars of Charlemagne, the incessantly renewed quarrels of his grandsons, had decimated the martial population during several generations. In the midst of the constantly increasing anarchy, the freemen, preferring security to an independence full of perils, made themselves the vassals of powerful men capable of defending them; and so early as 847, the weak Charles the Bald allowed the edict to be drawn from him, known as the Edict of Mersen, to the effect that every freeman can choose a lord, either the king or one of his vassals, and that none of them would be bound to follow the king to war except against foreigners. The king thus remained powerless and disarmed in civil wars.

Thirty years later, the nobles completed the ruin of imperial and royal authority by obtaining at Kersy from the same King, then Emperor, the celebrated decree which rendered it legal to inherit benefices and offices. For a long time past, the rights of property in the soil had been confounded with the rights of administration

and jurisdiction possessed by the counts or officers of the Emperor. The counts, taking advantage of the general anarchy as well as of the ignorance and sloth of the sovereigns of the first and second races, had in the first place contrived to render their offices irrevocable, after the example of holders of benefices; then they transmitted them to their sons. But no law sanctioned this right of inheritance. Charles the Bald, by legalizing it, dealt the last blow to the authority of the sovereigns. This act of his reign has been bitterly reproved by most historians, but in accomplishing it, it is certain that he only yielded to circumstances, and involuntarily consummated a sacrifice which his situation imposed on him. Henceforth, it was not the king who chose the counts, but the counts disposed of the throne. The dismemberment of the Empire was rapidly effected, and a new order of things, the feudal system, was the consequence of this edict—the last important act of the reign of Charles the Bald, who died in the same year (877) at a village on Mount Cenis.

The last descendants of Charlemagne nearly all proved themselves, in weakness and nullity, the rivals of the last Merovingians. Louis II., called the Stammerer,* and successor of Charles the Bald in Italy and Gaul, lost in turn, through revolts, Italy, Brittany, Lorraine, and Gascony. He recognized the fact that he only owed his title to the election of the lords, bishops, and peoples. He allowed the nobles to fortify their mansions; and during his two years' reign, Pope John VIII., expelled from Italy, came into France, and governed the kingdom.

Louis the Stammerer left three sons, Louis, Carloman, and Charles. The first two were recognized as kings in 879; the elder, Louis III., reigned over the north of France, and Carloman over the south. These two princes lived on good terms; but during their reign the Normans committed frightful ravages. At the same period, Duke Boson, brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, seized on Provence, which was also called Cis-peran Burgundy, of which country he was proclaimed king by an assembly of bishops.

Louis and Carloman both died very young, the first in 882, in an expedition against the Normans; the second in 884, while hunting.

* This Louis II., King of France and son of Charles the Bald, must not be confounded with the Emperor Louis II., called the Young, and son of Lothair.

Neither left any male descent, but they had a younger brother of the name of Charles, a posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer, and issue of a second marriage. The crown devolved, by hereditary right, on this boy, who was only five years of age at the death of his brother. His youth caused him to be excluded from the throne by the nobles, who elected in his stead as king the Emperor Charles the Fat, son of Louis the German. This prince, by the death of his two brothers, and the three sons of Lothair, his cousins, had inherited Germany and Italy: he joined Gaul to them, and the Empire of Charlemagne was momentarily re-established in his hand. But the hand was an unworthy one. Charles the Fat was only nominally emperor and king; and is only known by the lustre shed by the crown of Charlemagne, imbecility, cowardice, and misfortunes. The Normans braved him, and carried on their daring inroads under his eyes. Paris sustained a memorable siege against them, in which Eudes, Count of Paris, and Robert distinguished themselves; both sons of the famous Robert the Strong, killed twenty years previously, while fighting the same enemies. Their valour and the heroic efforts of Goslin, Bishop of Paris, ensured the safety of the city, while Charles the Fat, at the head of an army assembled to save his people, made a cowardly composition with the foreigners, and allowed them to pillage his richest provinces. A cry of indignation was raised against him on all sides. He was deposed at the Diet of Tribur in 888, and died the same year in indigence, deserted by all his friends.*

* Historians have not counted the Emperor Charles the Fat in the list of sovereigns of the name of Charles who reigned in Gaul, because they have regarded his reign as a usurpation. In their eyes the legitimate king was young Charles, son of Louis the Stammerer, who was elected at a later date.

# CHAPTER III.

## FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLES THE FAT TO THE EXPULSION OF THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY.

888–987.

## I.

### GAUL DIVIDED BETWEEN THE RACE OF CHARLEMAGNE AND THAT OF ROBERT THE STRONG, UP TO THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS IV.

888–936.

The definitive partition, which irrevocably completed the dismemberment of the Empire, took place on the death of Charles the Fat. Italy became a separate kingdom: all the country comprised between the Fancelles Mountains (a transverse chain of the Vosges), the sources of the Rhine, and the Pennine Alps, formed, under the name of Upper or Trans-peran Burgundy, a new kingdom, of which Rodolph Wolf was the founder. Prior to this, Boson, brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, had assumed the title of King of Provence, or Cis-peran Burgundy. This kingdom has as its limits the Jura, the Alps, the Mediterranean, the Saône, and the Cevennes.* Lotharingia, or Lorraine, was restricted between the Fancelles Mountains, the Scheldt, the Rhine, and the German Ocean. Aquitaine† extended to the Pyrenees,

* The kingdoms of Trans-peran and Cis-peran Burgundy were entirely distinct from the part of old Burgundy situated between the Saône and the Loire, and which received and retained the name of Duchy of Burgundy. In 933 these two kingdoms were formed into one, which took the name of the Kingdom of Arles.

† Carloman, son of Louis the Stammerer, was the last of the Carlovingians who bore the title of King of Aquitaine. This vast state ceased from this time to constitute a kingdom. It had for a lengthened period been divided between powerful families, the most illustrious of which are those of the Counts of Toulouse, founded in the ninth century by Fredelon, the Counts of Poitiers, the Counts of Auvergne, the Marquises of Septimania or Gothia, and the Dukes of Gascony. King Eudes had given William the

and the greater part of the territory enclosed between these divers states and Brittany henceforth retained the name of France. About the same period, the Counts of Vermandois extended their power to the north, while the powerful houses of Poitiers and Toulouse sprang up in Aquitaine, and opposed a barrier to the incursions of the Saracens. From this last dismemberment of the Empire of the Franks dates the historic existence of the French nation. On the deposition of Charles the Fat, young Charles, third son of Louis the Stammerer, was only eight years old: his age was a second time the cause of his exclusion, and the nobles, alarmed by a new invasion of the Normans, preferred to him Eudes, Count of Paris, son of Robert the Strong; not through any desire to desert the cause of France, a contemporary historian tells us, but through impatience to march against the enemy. Eudes was already celebrated by his defence of Paris against the Normans: he was elected king in 888.

With the reign of Eudes commenced a long series of civil wars, which was terminated at the end of a century by the definitive exclusion of the Carlovingian race. This prince always had arms in hand, either against the lords of Aquitaine, who tried to render themselves independent, or against Charles, his youthful rival, who was supported by Arnolph, King of Germany. Eudes eventually ceded to him several provinces, and he was about to recognize him as his successor when he died in 898. Charles III. was then proclaimed King of France, and is known by the *soubriquet* of Charles the Simple;* and history, which is silent as to the majority of events in his reign of twenty-five years, has handed down to us, with his surname, the recollection of his incapacity. The most celebrated act of his life was the cession made by Charles in 912 of the territory afterwards called Normandy, to a formidable Norman chief, who had been disinherited by his father, and banished from Norway, his native land.

Pious, Count of Auvergne, the investiture of the duchy of Aquitaine. On the extinction of that family in 928, the Counts of Toulouse and those of Poitou disputed the prerogatives, and their quarrel stained the south with blood for a long time. At length the Counts of Poitou acquired the title of Dukes of Aquitaine or Guyenne, which remained in their house up to the marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine with Henry Plantagenet I. King of England (1151).

* The Carlovingian kings of the name of Charles come in the following order:—Charles I., or Charlemagne; Charles II., or the Bald, son of Louis the Débonnaire; Charles III., or the Simple, posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer.

This chief, who had previously desolated Gaul by perpetual invasions, is celebrated in history by the name of Rollo, and was the first Duke of Normandy. He paid homage to the King, was converted to Christianity, and divided his vast territory into fiefs. His warriors, whom he kept down by severe laws, became the fathers of a great people which was the firmest bulwark of France against the invasions of the northern races.

Numerous revolts troubled the end of this reign. For sixty years the French were divided between two families of sovereigns, that of Charlemagne and that of King Eudes. The nobles reproached Charles with giving all his favour to his minister Haganon, whom he had raised from an obscure rank to place him over them, and who at times carried his familiarity so far as to take off the King's hat and place it on his own head. The chief of the malcontents was the brother of King Eudes, Robert, Duke of France,* who repented that he had not disputed the succession to his brother with Charles the Simple. This Duke formed a league against Haganon: then he told the King that he would not suffer an unworthy favourite to be preferred to the nobles of the kingdom, and that, unless Charles sent him back to his original position, he would hang him without mercy. The King despised this menace. Robert then decreed his deposition with the nobles of the land, and assured himself of the adherence of the King of Germany, Henry the Fowler: he then entered Soissons with a band of conspirators, penetrated to the prince's apartments, and made him a prisoner. On hearing of this, Hervé, Archbishop of Reims, faithful to the cause of Charles, armed his vassals, entered Soissons at their head, broke open the palace gates, reached the King, dispersed his guardians, and, taking the hand of the unfortunate prince, said to him, "Come, my king, and command thy servants." He took him away at once, and conducted him to Reims. Charles the Simple, thus delivered by the Archbishop, retired to the heart of Belgian Gaul,† the cradle of his family, and took up his residence in

* This duchy, which, it is said, was conceded in 861 to Robert the Strong by Charles the Bald, comprised, in addition to the counties of Paris and Orleans, the Galliçois, the Chartrans, the Blaisois, Perche, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and Beauvoisis.

† This was the name given in the tenth century to the greater portion of the kingdom of Lorraine.

the city of Tongrès. But his reign was at an end: his deposition was pronounced by the nobles at an assembly held at Soissons in 920, and Robert was elected king, and consecrated at the Church of St. Remi, in Reims (922). Charles called his partizans around him. He interested the Belgians or Lorraines in his misfortunes: he marched at their head to meet his rival, and his army encountered that of Robert, near the old royal residence of Attigny, in Champagne. Here a sanguinary action was fought, in which King Robert was killed, while fighting. Charles was flying when he heard of Robert's death, but he did not take advantage of this circumstance to secure the crown on his own head; and not daring to trust to his subjects, he returned with his army to Lorraine.

Robert, Duke of France, was succeeded by his son, the celebrated Hugues the Great, or the White, who made kings and would not be one himself. This powerful lord had the deposition of Charles the Simple confirmed, and decreed the crown to his brother-in-law, Raoul, or Rodolph, Duke of Burgundy, and father-in-law of King Robert, who accepted the crown against his wish. Charles the Simple was then drawn into a snare by Herbert, Count of Vermandois, who seized him and retained him a prisoner at Péronne.

Raoul, elected in 923, reigned for eleven years. He had to contend against the Normans, whom he repulsed, and against the perfidious Herbert, who, master of the person of King Charles, wished to domineer over King Raoul, and placed no bounds on his demands. He asked for the county of Leon, and when it was refused him, he set Charles at liberty again. But soon after he again sought the favour of Hugues the Great, who had crowned Raoul; and on becoming reconciled with him imprisoned the unfortunate Charles for the second time. Raoul, however, moved by a feeling of equity, the chronicler says, or by compassion, went to visit the captured king, and begged him to pardon him. He did not restore to him the supreme authority; but he gave him back, with his liberty, the royal residences of Ponthiou and Attigny. Charles the Simple languished for some time, and died in 929, crushed by sorrow and illness.

Raoul reigned for seven years longer, and the close of his reign was troubled by a bloody war, which Hugues the White, Duke of France, waged against the Count of Vermandois and the Duke of Lorraine.

The King of France, suzerain of Hugues, and he of Germany, Henry the Fowler, suzerain of the Duke of Lorraine, were drawn into this war, and appeared more like allies of their vassals than as sovereigns.

Germany and Gaul were a prey to frightful calamities: foreign invasion added its scourge to those of intestine dissensions, and the Hungarians ravaged Germany. These ferocious hordes, vanquished in 933 by Henry the Fowler in the celebrated battle of Merseburg, returned two years later, crossed Germany, and penetrated into Burgundy. King Raoul marched to meet them. At the rumour of his approach the Hungarians evacuated Burgundy and fell back on Italy. Raoul died the following year. He left no sons to succeed him on the throne, which no member of his family inherited. His duchy of Burgundy, the real seat of his power, did not pass in its entirety to his natural heirs. Hugues the Black, his brother, only obtained a part of it; his brother-in-law, Hugues the Great, Count of Paris, took advantage of a civil war to seize the larger portion of it. This powerful noble, son of King Robert, nephew of King Eudes, and brother-in-law of the last King Raoul, governed, as Duke of France, all the countries situated between Normandy and Brittany in the west, the Loire in the south, and the Meuse in the north. He owed the name of *Great* rather to the vast extent of his states than to his personal merit; and he surpassed so greatly in power all the lords of Gaul that he only required to stretch out his hand to the crown in order to ensure the possession of it. "But," writes the author who appears to us to have judged the situation most correctly, "Hugues seems to have considered the power of an hereditary lord in his fief as far more satisfactory to ambition than the prerogatives of an elective king among independent vassals. He had already extended considerably the inheritance of his family, and intended to extend it further. But he wished to give all his usurpations the sanction of the royal authority, and he judged that they would be far more respected if he placed between the other vassals and himself the name of a legitimate king, whose master he would be, than if he ran the risk of seeing the acquisitions he had made contested, as well as his own title to the crown. All the nobles of the south of Gaul and Aquitaine had wished, in the last wars, to

remain faithful to the blood of Charlemagne; and Hugues calculated on governing them in the name of a descendant of that Emperor."*

Hugues the Great, therefore, thought of Louis, son of Charles the Simple. This young prince, who was sixteen years of age, was living at the time in England privately with his mother, the sister of the Anglo-Saxon King Athelstane, and he owed to this circumstance the surname of Louis *d'Outre-Mer*, or from across the sea. Hugues gave him the crown by agreement with William Longsword, second Duke of Normandy, and with the lords of old Neustria and Aquitaine. A solemn embassy conveyed their wishes to the court of the King his master, inviting him to come and reign in France. Louis accepted the crown, and was consecrated at Reims in the year 936, at the same period when Otho the Great, of the House of Saxony, succeeded Henry the Fowler, his father, on the imperial throne of Germany.

## II.

### GAUL UNDER THE LAST CARLOVINGIANS: LOUIS IV., CALLED D'OUTRE-MER, LOTHAIRE, AND LOUIS V., CALLED THE SLOTHFUL.

The royal domain was at this period limited to the county of Laon. There alone Louis IV. reigned *de facto* as well as nominally; everywhere else in Gaul the dukes and counts were more sovereign than the king. Hugues the Great, while doing him homage, did not intend to free him from his guardianship. The young monarch himself claimed his independence: he had the soul of a king, if he had not the power; and his reign was a stormy and perpetual struggle.

A formidable invasion of the Hungarians marked its opening. A numerous horde of this savage people passed through the kingdom and back again like a devastating torrent; and this scourge suspended for a time the rupture on the point of breaking out between Louis and his powerful vassal. Hugues, upon seeing the King escape from his influence, made a close league with several lords of northern Gaul, and more especially with William, Duke of the Normans, Arnolph, Count

* Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, Part ii. Cap. iv.

of Flanders, and the same Herbert, Count of Vermandois, who had for so long a period kept Charles the Simple prisoner.

The Lorrainers, at this period, had revolted against the Emperor Otho the Great, King of Germany, their suzerain, and transferred their homage to Louis d'Outre-Mer, who accepted it. A war broke out between the two kings; and in this struggle the confederate nobles, vassals of Louis, allied themselves against him with the King of Germany, whom they proclaimed King of the Gauls at Attigny. Otho did not retain this title; but he recovered Lorraine and made peace with Louis, the husband of his sister Gerberge,* a princess of rare merit, who eventually employed her influence with success to maintain friendly terms between her husband and brother. The struggle of Louis against the rebel lords was prolonged for two years more, and was ended by the intervention of Pope Asapete and the Emperor Otho. The latter reconciled Hugues the Great with the King.

The kingdom was agitated at this period by a famous quarrel between two priests, who disputed the archiepiscopal see of Reims. One was Hugues of Vermandois, son of Count Herbert, who was consecrated almost on leaving the cradle, and protected by the Count of Paris. The other, elected by the people, and a partizan of the King, was the Bishop Artaud. The latter was for a time expelled from his see, and Reims liberated itself from the royal authority. This quarrel was prolonged during the entire reign of Louis d'Outre-Mer. It occupies a considerable place in the annals of the epoch; and in order to understand its importance we must bear in mind that the bishops were, in Gaul during the tenth century, the real masters of the cities in which they had their sees, and that a town at that time was frequently a state, and sometimes almost a kingdom.

In these barbarous times the violence of the nobles did not stop at assassination, and the law was impotent against the abuses of brute force. The prince who, next to Hugues the Great, was the most formidable vassal of the crown, William Longsword, Duke of Normandy, himself fell the victim of an odious snare. He was cowardly murdered by the emissaries of Arnolph, Count of Flanders, and the murderer,

* Hugues the Great, Count of Paris and Duke of France, had married another sister of the Emperor Otho, of the name of Hedwig.

whom the royal justice could not reach, remained unpunished.* The conduct of Louis d'Outre-Mer was not at all loyal in this affair. The Normans had recognized as William's successor a natural son of that prince, the youthful Richard, ten years of age, who was afterwards surnamed *the Fearless*. Louis hastened to confirm him in the honours and privileges of the ducal rank, and then asked and obtained that the boy should be entrusted to him for the purpose of receiving at his court an education worthy of his fortunes. Master of his person, Louis, in agreement with Hugues the Great, thought of depriving him of his duchy. They hoped to divide Normandy between them, and made an alliance for that purpose. These culpable hopes were foiled. Osmond, governor of the prince, escaped the surveillance of his keepers by a stratagem. He concealed Richard in a truss of hay, placed him thus on his horse, and, starting at a gallop, reached during the night the castle of Coucy, where he placed the prince in surety. Louis, when he found Richard was at liberty, openly renounced the idea of despoiling him, and Hugues, having nothing further to hope from the King's alliance, became his enemy again.

Louis, in his turn, became the victim of a trick on the part of the Normans. Receiving an invitation from them, he proceeded to Rouen, and the reception they gave him completely deceived him. The city of Bayeux had at the time as governor an ex-Danish king of the name of Harold, who had been expelled from his states by his son. This Harold requested a conference of King Louis, who went unsuspectingly with a small suite to meet him at the ford of Herluin. Here, at a signal from the Norman chief, an armed band suddenly fell on the royal escort, dispersed, and put it to flight. The King's squire was killed in defending him; and Louis, carried across country by a swift horse, re-entered the walls of Rouen alone, where, instead of a refuge, he found a prison. The inhabitants, who were accomplices in Harold's perfidy, seized the King's person, and made him a prisoner. The Count of Paris pretended to take an interest in the fate of the captive monarch. He interfered in his favour, and demanded as hostages his two sons of Gerberge, their mother. Gerberge would only give one. Hugues induced the Normans to accept him in exchange for King

* Richer gives us to understand that Hugues the Great, and even the Emperor Otho, were the instigators of this murder.

Louis, and the latter was delivered over by them into his hands. Hugues then threw off the mask, and, having the King in his power, he broke his word, kept him captive, and repulsed the powerful intervention of Edmund, King of the Anglo-Saxons, in favour of his nephew.* Hugues unworthily abused his advantage; he overwhelmed the unhappy prince with reproaches, and forced him to surrender Laon, his finest city, as his ransom.

Delivered, at this price, the King proceeded to Compiègne, where his wife Gerberge, celebrated for her virtues, was awaiting him, and several bishops and a few faithful friends were assembled. Then he could no longer restrain his grief. "Hugues, Hugues!" he exclaimed, "what property hast thou robbed me of; how many evils hast thou done to me! Thou hast seized on the city of Reims; thou hast defrauded me of Laon. In those two cities I met with a good reception, and they were my sole ramparts. My captive father was delivered by death from misfortunes like those by which I am crushed; and I, reduced to the same extremities, can only recall to mind the appearance of the royalty of my ancestors. I feel a regret at living, and I am not allowed to die!"† Louis, in his distress, implored and obtained the assistance of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Otho the Great, King of Germany, and of Conrad the Pacific, King of Transperan Burgundy and Provence. With the assistance of their armies, he recaptured the city of Reims, where he re-established Archbishop Artaud in the archiepiscopal see. Then he invested the city of Laon, and seized it by surprise.

A council, at which appeared the Kings of France and Germany, assembled at Ingelheim, under the protection of the imperial armies. The principal object of the meeting was, on the one hand to suspend the hostilities of Count Hugues against the King, and, on the other, to settle the too famous dispute between Bishop Artaud and his competitor. The latter was deposed, and Pope Asapete confirmed this decision. The council prohibited Hugues from henceforth taking up arms against his lord the King; and the Count, refusing to obey, was excommunicated.

* Louis d'Outre-Mer's mother was sister of the Anglo-Saxon Kings Athelstane and Edmund.

† Richer, *Histoire de son Temps.*

The anathema of the Church, far from disarming this powerful vassal, rendered him more violent and formidable. Joining the Normans, he ravaged the lands of King Louis, fired his castles, and carried pillage and murder into his towns. Louis continued the contest with more courage than success. At length, recognizing his powerlessness, he applied to the Pope, King Otho, and the bishops to effect a reconciliation between him and Hugues. They obtained the signature of a truce. Hugues once again recognized the royal authority, and swore fidelity. Louis d'Outre-Mer did not long enjoy the repose which this peace seemed to promise him. He saw several parts of Romanic France, among others the Vermandois, the diocese of Reims, and Laon, ravaged by the Hungarians, and survived the invasion of these barbarians but a short time. While proceeding from Laon to Reims, a wolf crossed his road. The King dashed in pursuit, but his horse fell, and he was mortally wounded. He died at the age of 33, in September, 954, esteemed for his valour and talents, which, under other circumstances, would have sufficed to keep the crown on his head. The race of Charlemagne displayed its last lustre in the person of Louis d'Outre-Mer: so long as he lived, there was still a king in France, although there was no kingdom left.

Louis IV. left two sons, of youthful years, Lothaire and Charles. Their mother, Gerberge, sister of Otho the Great, King of Germany, understood that without the assistance of the Count of Paris the throne would slip from her family. She, therefore, asked his support; and the same motives which had induced Hugues to crown the father determined him also to crown the son, from whom he expected greater docility. Lothaire, elder son of Louis d'Outre-Mer, was, therefore, proclaimed king at Reims at the close of 954, under the protection of Hugues the Great; and he recognized this service by adding to the possessions of Hugues the duchy of Aquitaine, with which he invested him, to the prejudice of the orphan children of Raymond Pons, Count of Toulouse, whom he despoiled of their father's heritage. Hugues at once led an army into Aquitaine; and, after an unsuccessful expedition, he was preparing a second, when death surprised him at the Castle of Dourdon, on the Orge (956). During his lifetime, there was no other power in Gaul comparable to his; he employed it with-

out moderation, but not without prudence. He was the real founder of the grandeur of his family, but he did not attach his name to any useful and really glorious work; and, if he opened for his son the road to the throne on which his father and uncle had already sat, he also contributed to dishonour royalty, by teaching the nobles, through his own example, how to brave and oppress those whom they had crowned.

Hugues the Great left the duchy of France and the county of Paris to his son Hugues, who was afterwards named *Capet.** Henry, his second son, inherited the duchy of Burgundy. Both were children at their father's death. Hugues, the elder, was hardly ten years of age. Their mother Hedwig, and Queen Gerberge, mother and guardian of the young King Lothaire, were sisters; their brother was Otho, King of Germany, and they placed their children under his protection.

This prince, of the House of Saxony, was, at that period, the most illustrious and powerful prince in Europe. He had conquered Italy from King Beranger II., and he received the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope, as Charlemagne had done. Through his great qualities and victories, he restored all its vigour to the Germanic monarchy. His alliances added to his greatness, and gave him an influence over the greater part of Western Europe. Saint Bruno, his brother, governed Lorraine:† his brother-in-law, Conrad the Pacific, reigned in Trans-peran Burgundy and Provence: lastly, his sisters, one Queen, the other Duchess of France, received advice and instruction from him. His fortune and genius brought together the scattered members of the old Empire, and the latter appeared to be born again in his hands. This great monarch died in 973. His successor was his son, Otho II.; and his death was followed by sanguinary disorders in several countries which he had kept in peace or subjection by the terror of his arms and his name.

* There are very many versions of the etymology of this surname, which became the patronymic of the third race. One of the best accredited is that which derives it from *chapotus* (hood), because Hugues, among his other titles, was Abbot of St. Martin of Torss, and wore the insignia.

† Lotharingia, or Lorraine, had been annexed to the German crown about the year 923, by the Emperor Henry I., called the Fowler. On becoming a province of the Empire, its government was given by Otho to his brother, St. Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne. The latter divided it into two parts, Upper Lorraine, in the Mosellaise, and Lower Lorraine: the latter was almost entirely formed of the country which is at the present day Belgium.

The bonds of blood and gratitude attached King Lothaire and Hugues Capet, Duke of France and Count of Paris, to the Emperor Otho II., son of the great man who had protected their youth: and both formed fresh bonds with his family by each marrying one of his sisters. Still, the peace between the two kings was of short duration: a dispute broke out on the subject of Belgian Gaul or Lower Lorraine, to which country both asserted a claim. Lorraine, divided by Otho the Great into Upper and Lower Lorraine, and annexed to the German crown by his predecessor, Henry the Fowler, had since been considered a province of the Empire. Charles, brother of King Lothaire, had inherited a few fiefs from his mother; and after the death of Otho the Great, he claimed them with arms in his hand. The Emperor Otho II., who was troubled on his other frontiers, offered Charles the duchy of Lower Lorraine, to be held by him as a fief of the Germanic crown. Charles accepted it, and Otho believed that he had satisfied King Lothaire by this concession: but the latter, on learning the following year that the Emperor was unsuspectingly residing at Aix-la-Chapelle, formed the plan of surprising him there; and an expedition was unanimously decided on against the King of Germany. The army, immediately assembled, was marched upon the Meuse, and King Otho was all but surprised in his capital. Lothaire's soldiers occupied the city and palace: the royal tables were overthrown, the imperial insignia removed, and the bronze eagle which Charlemagne had placed above his palace with outstretched wings and turned to the west, was made to face the south-east, as a symbol of the precipitate flight of the Germans. Here Lothaire's success stopped, and he led back his army without obtaining any serious advantage.

Otho II. took revenge for his disgrace: he invaded Gaul at the head of a formidable army of Germans, and, ravaging the whole country on his passage, advanced up to the gates of Paris. Here, on the summit of Montmartre, he made his soldiers strike up the *Canticle of the Martyrs*, so as to be heard by the inhabitants, and Count Hugues, who defended the capital against him. This useless bravado was the sole satisfaction which the King of Germany obtained. Despairing of entering Paris, and not daring to remain among a hostile population, he returned to his states; and his retreat, which was disturbed by Lothaire and Hugues, was as precipitate as his attack had been.

Lothaire understood, however, that there was greater safety for him

in the alliance of the King of Germany, than in his resentment: he, therefore, surrendered to him his claims on Lorraine, and they were reconciled. From this momenet Hugues Capet and Lothaire became enemies. But Hugues soon saw all the dangers with which the union of the two kings threatened him, and he made up his mind to divide them. He proceeded secretly to King Otho, concluded peace with him, and on his return passed in disguise through Lothaire's possessions, contriving to escape his traps. The King and the Duke employed perfidious machinations against each other, and the nations suffered for a long time from their enmity. At length recognizing their impotence to destroy each other, they made peace, and were ostensibly reconciled.

Lothaire, during his lifetime, shared the throne with his son Louis, who was scarce thirteen years of age. This young prince was crowned in 978 at Compiègne, by Adalberon, Archbishop of Reims, in the presence and with the consent of Hugues Capet and the nobles of the kingdom. Lothaire attempted to secure Aquitaine for his son, by giving him as wife Adelaide, princess of Southern Gaul, and widow of Raymond, Duke of Septimania.* But Louis did not redeem his dissipated habits by any royal quality. The nobles of Aquitaine did not recognize his authority: his wife herself deserted him, and he was in a perilous situation, when King Lothaire entered Aquitaine at the head of an army, and brought back his son.

Otho II. died at this period (983) at Rome, leaving a son only three years of age, who was crowned by the name of Otho III. Lothaire took advantage of the disorders which paralyzed the strength of Germany during this lad's minority, once more to assert his rights over Lorraine: he led an army into that country, besieged and captured Verdun. On returning to the city of Laon, he was meditating a new expedition into Lorraine, when he fell ill and expired (986), in the forty-fifth year of his life, and the thirty-third of his reign.†

Louis V., the last king of his race, merely passed over the throne. Comparing his weakness with the power of his vassal, Hugues Capet,

*Several chronicles state that Louis espoused a princess of Southern Gaul, of the name of Blanche, who eventually poisoned him. We have followed the far more detailed version of Richer.

† We are told in several chronicles that Lothaire was poisoned by Queen Emma, his wife, who was guilty of adultery.

he went to him, and said, "My father, when dying, recommended me to govern the kingdom with your counsels and your help. He assured me that with your assistance I should possess the riches, armies, and strong places of the kingdom: be good enough, therefore, to give me your advice. I place in you my hopes, my will, my fortune." The King thus appeared himself to lay his crown at the feet of his vassal. Still, the historian who has preserved these words for us, adds that the Duke allowed himself to be dragged involuntarily by the King into a war against Adalberon, Archbishop of Reims, to whom the King imputed, among other crimes, that of having facilitated the last invasion of Otho II. during his father's lifetime, and having assured his safety and that of the Germanic army by assisting him in his retreat. The King and Hugues Capet, therefore, laid siege to Reims, and menaced the city and the Bishop with the severest punishment, unless the latter consented to purge himself publicly from the accusations brought against him. The Metropolitan promised to justify himself and appear on an appointed day; he gave hostages, and the siege was raised.

Another prelate, of the name of Adalberon, Bishop of Laon, was, like him of Reims, exposed to persecutions during this reign. Accused by the public clamour of adultery with Emma, the widow of Lothaire, he was expelled from his see. The Queen shared his disgrace, and both escaped from their enemies by flight; but they fell into the hands of Charles, brother of Lothaire, Duke of Lower Lorraine, and he threw them into prison. Hugues Capet, in the meanwhile, was secretly forming engagements to the family reigning in Germany; he drew more closely the bonds attaching him to Otho, and gained over to his ambitious views the Empress Theophania, guardian of the youthful Otho III.

The crisis was approaching. Louis V. had a fall at Senlis, the consequences of which were mortal, and he expired only one year after his father's death, May 22, 987, and was buried at Compiègne.

The nobles of the kingdom, after being present at the King's funeral, assembled in council to elect his successor. Louis had left no children; but his uncle Charles, Duke of Lower Lorraine, was his next heir, and put forward his claim to the crown. He had Hugues Capet for a rival, and had made a dangerous enemy of the Metropolitan, the same Archbishop Adalberon who, exposed to the wrath of

the late king had promised to justify himself publicly of the crimes imputed to him. Adalberon appeared at the assembly of Compiègne. No one having come forward to support the accusation, the Bishop was acquitted, and admitted to deliberate on the affairs of the State. Taking his place among the nobles, he voted for the election being deferred for a few days, and convened a general assembly at Senlis. According to the testimony of Richer, this assembly was numerous and imposing: at it were present Frank, Breton, Norman, Aquitanian, Gothic, Spanish, and Gascon nobles. The Archbishop of Reims addressed them. "Charles," he said, "has his partizans, who declare him worthy of the throne by the right which his parents transmitted to him; but the kingdom is not acquired by hereditary right, and no one ought to be raised to the throne except a man who is not only of illustrious birth, but possessing wisdom: a man sustained by faith and greatness of soul. Are these qualities to be found in this Charles, who is not governed by faith, who is enervated by a shameful torpor, who has sunk the dignity of his person so far as to serve without shame a foreign king, and marry a wife inferior to him, drawn from the rank of simple warriors? * How could the grand duke suffer a woman, selected from among his knights, to become queen, and domineer over him. If you desire the misfortune of the state, then choose Charles! If you desire its welfare, crown the excellent Duke Hugues. Choose him, and you will find we have a protector, not only of the republic, but also of everybody's interests." Hugues was raised to the throne, unanimously crowned at Noyou, on June 1, 987, by Adalberon, and recognized as king by the different nations of Gaul.

* If Charles had been very powerful of himself the reproach made by the Archbishop would have been valueless, especially in the mouth of an enemy; it being the constant practice of lords at that period to possess simultaneously fiefs under several suzerains. But Charles had no personal authority; the desert domain he inherited in France from his brother only consisted of a few towns; he derived all his strength from his fief, and, as Duke of Lower Lorraine, he was entirely dependent on his suzerain, the King of Germany; hence there was reason to fear lest the Germanic crown might weigh too heavy in the destinies of France. Charles, moreover, had injured himself in the sight of the nobles of the kingdom, by doing homage for his duchy to the King of Germany at the very time when the suzerainty of that fief was claimed by King Lothaire. These reasons were among those that led the nobles to prefer Hugues to Charles as king, and there is nothing to support the idea of an asserted opposition to a dynasty of Germanic origin.

The fall of the Carlovingians was not, as has been stated, the result of a popular opposition to the dynasty, which was deposed by a national feeling as founded on conquest. This opinion, the error of an illustrious historian, and which has been sustained with all the power of talent, is not confirmed by contemporary testimony. If it be true to say that Charles Martel penetrated into Western France at the head of new Germanic bands, it must be also allowed that he found there a people already half German through its government, its laws, and a conquest prior by more than two centuries. The chronicles of the period bear witness that the descendants of the Gauls and Germans only formed, in the tenth century, one people in the northern part of ancient Gaul, and that the traditional respect for the blood of Charlemagne had survived the unity of his empire. In the decomposition of the latter, in the absence of any general idea, and when society was broken up all around, it was natural that the King should be engaged in a contest with his powerful subjects, and that the peoples should support their direct lords against everybody, even were it the King. The same fact has been reproduced in other countries, and, in order to understand it, it is not necessary to base it on the hereditary hatred of the two races. Some writers have pointed out a double cause of dislike of the Carlovingians, and popular sympathy for the descendants of Robert the Strong, in the Germanic origin of the former, and in the support they at times asked of a foreign potentate, the King of Germany, a man of their own race and blood. But long before the accession of the third race to the crown, the family of the Carlovingians had disappeared from the Imperial throne and that of Germany. It is also now notorious that the family of Robert the Strong was quite as Germanic as that of Charlemagne; and if the Carlovingian kings of Gaul had the kings of Germany as allies on various occasions, they found in them at others their most formidable enemies, and finally, towards the close, the Duke of France, and the King, his suzerain, were seen seeking, with equal ardour, the support of the Gemanic crown in their contest.

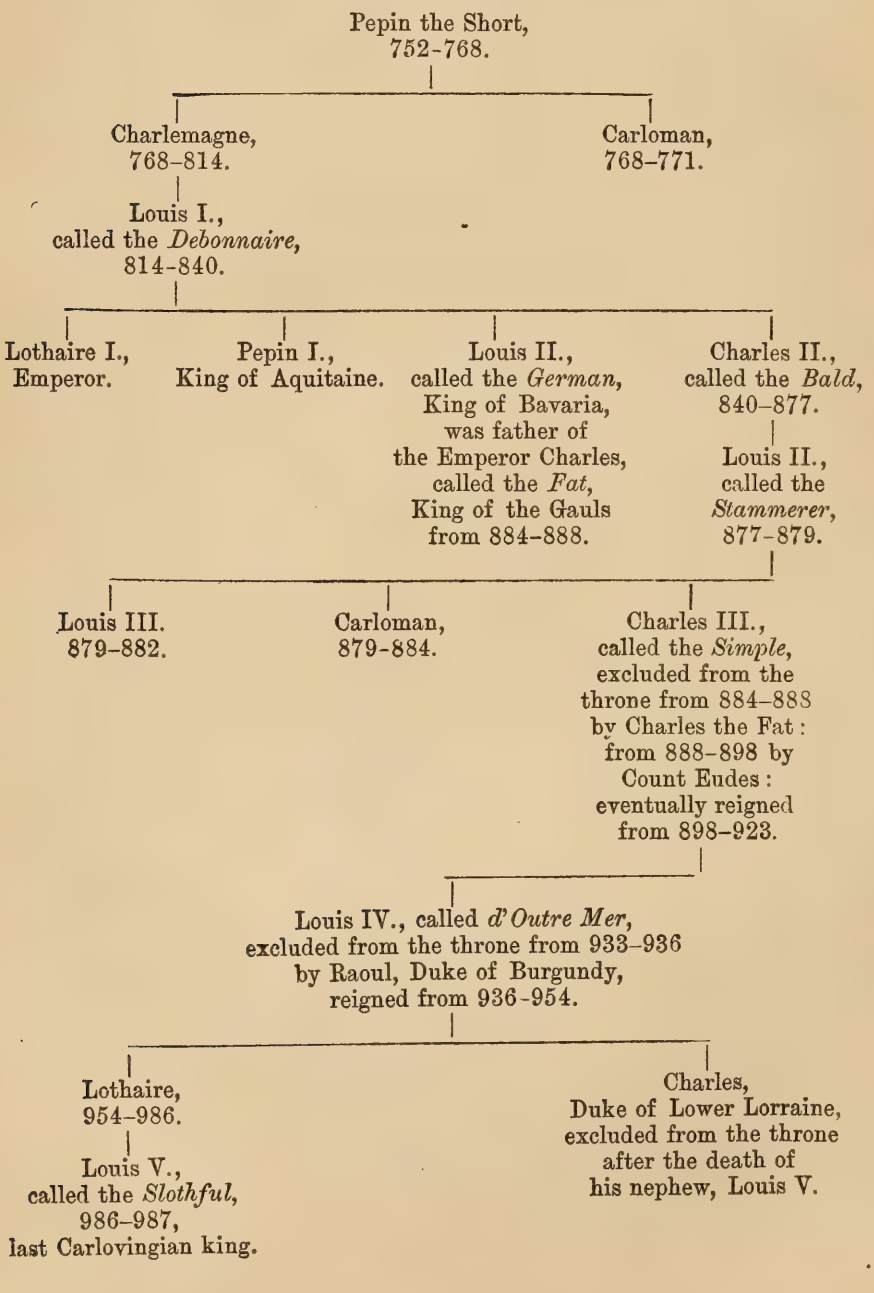
The real explanation of the accession of the third race will be found in the state of society, which was assuming another form, and being established on a new basis. Charlemagne had attempted to impress

on the monarchy a grand character of unity, and these ideas of unity and the concentration of power were the dream and object of the efforts of his successors, either on the Imperial throne, or at the head of the states into which the Empire was broken up, but these proud pretensions were no longer tenable in Gaul at the end of the tenth century: they were opposed to the tendencies of the age, and formed a singular contrast with the feebleness of those who were crushed by the royal title. A subterranean revolution, from which feudalism emerged, was slowly accomplished; another society was formed; and any new society can only live and prosper, so long as it has at its head a representative of the principles that constituted it. Hugues Capet, the most powerful of the feudal lords, was in France the natural representative of the new social order based on feudalism: and it was especially for that reason that he was elected king.

The tenth century is one of the most obscure and disastrous epochs in the history of France: everything became weak simultaneously, the pious zeal and virtues of the clergy, the authority of the laws, and the independence of the inhabitants of cities. The Saracens, Hungarians, Germans, and Normans desolated the country, and burnt the cities; the latter were no longer the seat of government or of subaltern administrations, and the residences of the rich. The castles alone afforded a refuge against foreign invasions and civil wars, and to them retired all those who enjoyed any authority: there, too, justice was done, and the courts were held. Commerce disappeared, and with it the citizen and industrious classes: independent men, rich landowners and manufacturers, were succeeded in most of the cities by a trembling and servile population: the tradesman had no longer any fixed residence; he travelled from manor to manor, carrying his wares with him, and concealing his profit in terror. Around each castle sprang up wretched cabins, inhabited by serfs, who carried on mechanical trades, or cultivated the soil on behalf of the lord: nearly the whole people consisted of serfs, at the mercy of the nobles, and victims of each political commotion. The frightful misery and general desolation seemed at that time to justify the popular belief that the end of the world was at hand, and that it would happen in the year 1000. Still, at the moment of this decadence, and when the old social order perished, another rose on its ruins, founded by the small number of

persons who had remained free and powerful, in the protection of their castles. This new order of things, which received the name of *feudalism*, had taken deep root during the past century, and despite its immense abuses prevented the utter dissolution of every social tie, and a return to the barbarism of remote periods.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE CARLOVINGIAN KINGS.



# SECOND EPOCH.

## THE FEUDAL MONARCHY, FROM HUGUES CAPET TO FRANCIS I.

987–1515.

# BOOK I.

## FROM THE ACCESSION OF HUGUES CAPET TO THE DEATH OF ST. LOUIS.

THE SUPREMACY AND GRADUAL WEAKENING OF THE ARISTOCRACY—PROGRESS OF THE ROYAL POWER—CONQUESTS OF THE CROWN—THE CRUSADES—ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE COMMUNES—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JUDICIAL ORDER.

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### CHAPTER I.

EXPOSITION OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

THE accession of Hugues Capet had for result the development of the feudal system by consolidating it. Under the previous race, the lords had rendered the cession of benefices irrevocable, and made them hereditary in their families; and as the German customs authorized the possessors of estates to regard as their own property not only the soil acquired, but also everything that existed on the soil at the moment of the cession or conquest, they soon persuaded themselves that they had a right to exercise civil, judicial, and military power in their domains, by virtue of their sole title as owners. Authority was consequently established by possession, and, by a strange fiction, power was attached to the land itself. Such was in France the origin of feudalism.

Under the second race, the kings, ever sacrificing the future to the present, had in turn abandoned to the dukes and counts all the regal or royal rights—those of raising troops, administering justice, coining money, making peace or war, and fortifying themselves; and from the moment when they recognized, by the edict of Kersy, the transmission of offices to the next heir as legal, the dukes and counts

regarded themselves as possessors of the provinces in which their will was law. While *de facto* independent of the crown, the majority, however, still remained subordinate to it by the bond of the oath of fidelity. They distributed, of their own free will, domains among the nobles, who received them on faith and homage: and the latter granted inferior benefices to freemen on the same title. A great number of independent proprietors, alarmed by the ravages of external foes, and the commotion of the civil discords, sought support from their powerful neighbours, and obtained it by doing them homage for their lands, which they received back from the lords to whom they offered them as fiefs, the possession of which henceforth entailed the obligation of rendering faithful service to the suzerain. Thus, he who gave a territorial estate * in fief became the suzerain of him who received it on this title, and the latter was called a vassal, or liegeman. The landholders were thus considered, throughout the entire extent of the kingdom of France, as subjects, or vassals to each other. This system, which extended to the provinces, as well as to simple private domains, established a connecting link between all parts of the territory. In the feudal hierarchy the first rank belonged to the country or state which bore the title of kingdom; and this title, on the coronation of Hugues Capet, was acquired for the ancient duchy of France, a great fief, which, on account of its central position, the warlike character of its inhabitants, and the extinction of the kingly title in the neighbouring states, was in a position eventually to obtain a real supremacy.

The feudal system rapidly embraced old Gaul, Italy, and Germany, and afterwards spread over the whole of Europe: it prepared the formation of the great states, and, during two hundred and forty years, took the place of the social bond, and of legislation.

The first portion of this period resembles an interregnum, during which the king was only distinguished from the other lords by honorary prerogatives. Each fortress of any importance gave its owner rank among the sovereigns; and as the civil discords made

* It must not be supposed that land alone could be the object of a feudal concession. Immaterial things, such as a large number of rights, were also constituted into fiefs, and conceded on the same conditions. Amongst these may be mentioned the rights of fishing and hunting, of established taxes on highways or rivers, and the exclusive right of grinding corn, &c.

the nobles feel the necessity of attaching to themselves a considerable number of men for their personal security, they divided their domains into a multitude of lots, which they gave in fief; granting to their vassals the permission to fortify themselves, which they had themselves wrung from Louis the Stammerer; and a great number of castles were erected round the principal fortress. It is the general opinion that doing homage for a fief ennobled; and the nobility thus sprang up, to a great extent, from the ninth to the tenth century. The right granted to subjects of providing for their own defence arrested the devastations of foreigners; strengthened the national character; revived a healthy feeling of self-respect among the members of a numerous class; and authorized them in demanding equal politeness from those from whom they held estates, as well as from those to whom they ceded them, the feudal contract being annulled by the violation of the obligations contracted on either side. This new subordination was partly based on the faith of the oath; and respect in sworn fidelity and loyalty thus became one of the distinctive traits in the character of the nobility.*

The principal obligations contracted by the vassal under this system were to bear arms for a certain number of days on every military expedition; to recognize the jurisdiction of the suzerain; and to pay the feudal aids—a species of tax raised for the ransom of the lord, if he were made prisoner; or on the occasion of the marriage of his eldest daughter; or when his son was made a knight. Whenever a fief passed from one to another, either by inheritance or sale, a fee was paid to the suzerain, who, on his side, promised his liegeman justice and protection. On these conditions, the vassal was independent on his own land, and enjoyed the same rights, and was bound by the same duties towards his own vassals, as his suzerain.

In this organization of feudal society the old pleas of the nation were altered into county pleas, in which the vassals united under the presidency of the count, and judicial combat was brought back into use, and became the basis of jurisprudence between gentlemen.

* The following is the formula of the oath pronounced by the vassal on asking the investiture of his fief :—"Sire, I come to your homage, in your faith, and become your man of mouth and hands, and swear, and promise to you faith and loyalty toward all, and against all, and to keep your right in my power."

From this time, the different codes of laws, which had so long subsisted among the various indigenous or conquered nations of Gaul, entirely disappeared. It was generally admitted that no man could be tried save by his peers, by which word was meant vassals of the same rank. The great vassals of the crown—the Dukes of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Burgundy, and the Counts of Flanders, Toulouse, and Champagne—were nominated *peers of France;* and to these six lay peers were eventually added six ecclesiastical peers, who were the Archbishops of Reims and Sens, and the Bishops of Noyou, Beauvais, Châlons, and Langres. When a peer of France was summoned before the rest, the king presided at the trial. All these laws, conventions, and usages only concerned the nobility: the people were counted as nothing; and the nobles and gentry, isolated from them in their habitations and through their privileges, were even more distinguished by their dress and weapons. It was thus that they kept the wretched and defenceless population in subjection. The military art underwent a change, and the cavalry henceforth became the *strength of armies:* bodily exercises, equitation, the management of the lance and sword, were the sole occupation of the nobility; and the sale of arms, one of the principal branches of trade in Europe. This first period of the feudal confederation witnessed the birth of chivalry, respect for women, and *modern languages* and poetry.

Such were the chief effects of this system as concerns the general policy and the interests of the nobility. We have now to examine it in its relations with the Church and the people.

After the invasion of Gaul by the Franks, religion, so far as the mass of the people were concerned, mainly consisted in external ceremonies, and in the veneration of relics, of images of the Virgin and the saints, and of pictures representing the mysteries of the faith, the actions of Christ and of the Apostles, and the first believers. The magnificence of the worship exercised a great influence; and the priests, under the Carlovingians, imposed on the people, and more especially upon the nobles, by means of their riches and their power. But the Church which, in the fifth and sixth centuries, had alone resisted the invasion of barbarism, was less powerful to restrain the corruption entailed by an excess of wealth.

Large numbers of barbarians had entered the ranks of the clergy, and virtue and learning almost entirely disappeared from amongst them from the eighth to the tenth century. In default of these claims on the respect of men, the only means the Church possessed of preserving its ascendancy in these unhappy times was to remain rich and powerful; and at the period of the progressive establishment of the feudal system, it saw with terror the great vassals encroaching on its domains. The clergy soon comprehended that, as all the authority was in the hands of the possessors of fiefs, they must themselves form part of the new confederation. They therefore did homage for the Church domains, and then divided them into numerous lots, which they converted into fiefs, thus obtaining suzerains and vassals. As the obligation of military service was inseparable from the possession of fiefs, the clergy were subjected to it like all the other vassals; they took up arms at the summons of their suzerains, and constrained their liegemen to fight for them. From this time a great number of bishops and abbots lived the lives of nobles; arms occupied them as much as the religious services; and they neglected the most sacred duties of religion for the licence of camps. Wherever the clergy did not embrace a martial life, the temporal lord obtained an immense advantage over them, and the bishops and abbots often found it necessary to place themselves under the protection of a noble who was paid to defend them; and who was called *advocate*, or *vidaine*. The clergy, through these feudal organizations, were diverted from the object of their institution, the people more rarely obtained consolation and succour at their hands, and most of the dignitaries of the Church joined the ranks of the oppressors.

An immense majority of the people lived in a servile condition. The class of freemen, as we previously said, had to a great extent disappeared under the Carlovingians; the citizen class had grown weaker, as the importance of the cities became diminished; and we may fairly say that, at the end of the tenth century, there was no middle class between the nobles, the sole possessors of all the enjoyments of life, and the wretches whose humble cabins surrounded their castles, and who were called *serfs*, or men of servitude, attached to the glebe—that is to say, to the land they cultivated. They were bought and sold with the land, and were unable to leave it of their

own accord, to establish themselves elsewhere, when they found themselves too cruelly oppressed. They possessed nothing of their own—neither the huts in which they lived, nor their implements of labour, nor the fruit of their toil, nor their time, nor their children: everything belonged to the lord; and if they were guilty of any fault in his sight, they could not invoke, for their defence, any law or authority, for the right of seignorial justice, of life and death, was absolute.

The condition of the freemen, who did not hold fief, and lived on seignorial domains, seems to have been equally deplorable. Designated as *villains*, or "roturiers," they hardly enjoyed the right of marrying whom they thought proper, or of disposing of their property as they pleased. They were gradually crushed by intolerable burdens, or subjected to humiliating obligations; they had not the slightest protection, and had incessantly to fear the imposition of some fine or new tax, or the confiscation of their goods. A great number of them took refuge in the towns, where equally great evils followed them. The counts exercised there over them an authority equal to that of the seigneurs on their lands; the tolls and dues of every description were infinitely multiplied; and the towns were eventually subjected, like the country, to an arbitrary impost called *taille;* they were obliged to keep their lord and his people when he came within their walls; provisions, furniture, horses, vehicles—in short, everything they possessed was taken by main force from the inhabitants, at the caprice of the master or his followers, without payment or compensation of any kind. In a word, all social force and influence resided in the possessors of fiefs, who alone had liberty, power, and enjoyment.

Such was the system which, under the name of feudalism, weighed down Europe for centuries. But it rescued her from the anarchy and chaos into which she was plunged, and was the first clumsy attempt at social organization made by society itself since the fall of the Roman Empire. In this vast system, the hierarchy often only existed theoretically; the stronger contrived to make themselves independent, and incalculable evils resulted from this. The territory of Old Gaul was for a long time a blood-stained arena open to the ambition of kings and nobles; but the want of union among the oppressors finally turned to the advantage of the oppressed, who were sustained by the royal authority, when the latter, through its conquest over the aristo-

cracy, prepared new and more happy destinies for France. An important progress toward a better order of things was that which constituted a central force, sufficiently powerful to keep all in check, and to destroy the tyranny of the lords, and which, by creating a middle class between the nobility and the serfs, granted one portion of the people the most precious rights of civil liberty. History shows us the French advancing to this double goal through long convulsions, amid internal discords, and foreign wars. For centuries they approached, but did not reach it; they owed their first progress to the providential concurrence of events as much as to their own efforts, and these combined causes resulted primarily in the rapid growth of the power of the king, the decay of seignorial authority, the restoration of industry, and the enfranchisement of the people of the towns.

# CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF THE FIRST CAPETIAN KINGS—HUGUES CAPET, ROBERT, HENRY I., AND PHILIP I.

987—1108.

## HUGUES CAPET.

On the accession of the third race, France, properly so called, only comprised the territory between the Somme and the Loire; it was bounded by the counties of Flanders and Vermandois on the north; by Normandy and Brittany on the west; by the Champagne on the east; by the duchy of Aquitaine on the south. The territory within these bounds was the duchy of France, the patrimonial possession of the Capets, and constituted the royal domain. The great fiefs of the crown, in addition to the duchy of France, were the duchy of Normandy, the duchy of Burgundy, nearly the whole of Flanders formed into a county, the county of Champagne, the duchy of Aquitaine, and the county of Toulouse.* We have already seen that the sovereigns of these various states were the great vassals of the crown, and peers of France, Lorraine, and a portion of Flanders were dependent on the Germanic crown, while Brittany was a fief of the duchy of Normandy.

The efforts made by Hugues to reach the throne, which was the object of all his wishes, seem to have exhausted his strength, and he appears in history less formidable as king than he had been as vassal. He had, in the first instance, to conquer Charles of Lorraine, his competitor; and he triumphed over him by cunning more than by arms. This unhappy prince exclaimed, as he addressed his followers, with

* The county of Barcelona beyond the Alps was also one of the great fiefs of the crown of France.

his face bathed in tears, "My age is advancing, and I find myself, when in years, despoiled of my patrimony. I cannot, without weeping, look upon my young children, the scions of an unfortunate father. O my friends, come to my succour—come to the help of my children!" He had a momentary hope of regaining his hereditary crown; he made himself master of the city of Laon by the treachery of Arnoul, Archbishop of Reims; but it was soon afterwards torn from him by another act of treachery, and he fell into the hands of his rival, who threw him into prison, with his wife and children. Thus the illustrious race of Charlemagne expired in Gaul, as far as history is concerned.*

Hugues Capet, like his first successors, made a close alliance with the Church, and found it difficult to maintain in obedience the nobles who had raised him to the throne. He contended for a long time against Adalbert, Count of Berigard, one of his most obstinate adversaries.

"Who made you count?" Hugues asked him angrily, while reproaching him with his rebellion.

"And who made you king?" was the haughty answer, which revealed to the King the inconveniences and perils of his situation. Hugues next waged a sanguinary war against his vassal, Eudes, Count de Chartres. He took from him the town of Mélun, and, to complete his subjugation, was compelled to unite his forces with those of the count's worst enemy, Foulques, Count of Anjou.

One of the most important occupations of this King was the convocation of synods or councils. The bishops at that time had the greatest share in the government of the cities. One of them, the celebrated Arnoul of Reims, who, as we have seen, was guilty of treason against the King in surrendering the town of Laon to his rival, was summoned before a council, and deposed. Pope John XV. quashed this sentence, and the clergy signalized their opposition by submitting the papal decision to a new council.

Cruel wars between the great vassals and fearful calamities marked the course of this reign, and confirmed the people in the idea that the end of the world was at hand. A horrible pestilence ravaged Aqui-

* Six hundred years later, the ambitious princes of the House of Guise claimed the French throne, by appealing to the rights of this same Charles of Lorraine, from whom they declared themselves descended.

taine and a great part of the kingdom, and so great was the suffering of the time, that the expectation of universal destruction inspired many hearts with hope rather than fear. The rich and the great, sharing in the general belief, lavished immense donations on the clergy; many valiant military chiefs exchanged the sword and cuirass for the frock and hair-shirt of the monk; and Hugues Capet himself reigned without wearing the diadem, either because he doubted the validity of his royal title, or because he desired to give his people an example of humility and respect for sacred things. He continued during his whole life to wear the cape as titular abbot of St. Martin of Tours. He placed his crown under the safeguard of the Church, and during his lifetime caused his son Robert to be crowned, and recommended to him, above all things, to guard the treasure of the abbeys, and submit himself to the Pope.

Hugues Capet died in his bed, after a reign of nine years; he is only illustrious as the founder of a new dynasty, and this great event must be attributed to circumstances, far more than to his genius.

The custom of appanages, or territorial gifts, of more or less extent, granted to the younger sons of the kings, dates from the accession of the third race. These appanages, restricted at the outset, evidently embraced entire provinces, and this custom became, with them, the chief obstacle to the territorial unity of the kingdom.

### ROBERT.

Robert was faithful to the pious instructions of his father. This King seems, through his rare gentleness and his indulgent kindness, to belong to another age. Profoundly moved by the sufferings of his people, he appeared to have undertaken the task of relieving the wretched by unbounded charity; and disarming the rigour of Heaven by angelic patience, and the practice of the most fervent devotion. Many instances of simple and touching goodness are recorded of him. A beggar, whom he was feeding with his own hand, stealthily removed a fringe of gold from the King's robe, and Queen Constance observed the theft. "The man who stole the fringe from me," said the good monarch to his wife, "doubtless needs it more than I." On another occasion, a thief cut off one half of his cloak while he was at prayers: "Leave the rest for another time," said the King, mildly.

This prince, whose pious zeal equalled his charity, composed sacred hymns, sang at the choristers' desk, and directed the choir of St. Denis on holy days.

Among other peculiar traits of his simple superstition, it is recorded that he did not believe an oath obligatory, unless made over the relics of saint or martyr, to which he offered special worship. In order to avoid the sin of a violation of faith, he made those in whose word he had no confidence, swear, without knowing it, at a shrine from which the relics had been removed; and when he himself took an oath upon this empty shrine, he did not scruple to perjure himself. His fervent piety did not protect Robert from ecclesiastical censures; or from the most violent persecutions of the Court of Rome. The laws of the Church at that time composed the entire civil legislation: the Popes constituted themselves sovereign arbiters of cases in which marriage was permitted; and this displayed a praiseworthy courage in contending against the unbridled passions of the kings; and their firmness powerfully contributed towards preserving Christianity from sad disorders, and possibly from polygamy. But, by an abuse of their authority, they carried the prohibition of marriage too far, and proved terrible to those who dared to violate their injunctions, which were frequently arbitrary and unjust. Excommunication, and the placing of a territory under an interdict, were among the means most frequently employed by the Pontiffs to compel the submission of sovereigns. No one might eat, drink, or pray with an excommunicated person, under penalty of being himself excommunicated: when the Pope placed a country under interdict, it was forbidden to celebrate divine service, to administer the sacraments to adults, or to bury the dead in consecrated ground; the sound of bells ceased, the pictures in churches were covered, and the statues of saints were taken down and laid on beds of ashes and thorns. The Court of Rome struck at its enemies with these redoubtable weapons, not dealing less rigorously with sovereigns than with subjects. King Robert experienced this; Hugh, his father, disquieted by the Normans established at Blois, who had refused to recognize him, gained them over by making his son espouse the celebrated Bertha, widow of Eudes I. of Blois. This princess possessed claims on the kingdom of Burgundy, bequeathed by her brother Rodolph to the Empire, and had power to transmit them to the reigning family of

France. The Emperor Otho III. was alarmed at this, and Pope Gregory V., alleging a degree of relationship against the marriage, ordered Robert to leave his wife, and on his refusal, excommunicated him. It is recorded that upon this the King was at once abandoned by all his servants; and it was a popular belief, kept up by the monks, that Queen Bertha was delivered of a monster. Robert, compelled at length to repudiate her, espoused the imperious Constance, daughter of the Count of Toulouse. She reigned in his name, having his authority, and caused the King's favourite, Hugues of Beauvais, to be murdered in his presence.

Robert, in spite of his habitual gentleness, was an accomplice in the cruelties inflicted on the heretics by Constance, twelve of whom were ordered before a council held at Orleans under his presidency, and sentenced to be burnt alive: amongst them was an ex-confessor of the Queen. The King believed that he was doing a pious deed by being present at their punishment; and Constance, who was standing on the road leading to the pyre, put out one of her confessor's eyes with a stick as he passed along. This barbarous fanaticism, one of the characteristic features of the epoch, lasted for six centuries longer in Europe; and the Jews were, during the greater portion of the time, the object of so much execration, that any act of cruelty to them was regarded as a meritorious deed. Nearly everywhere they were outraged and plundered with impunity, the people barbarously taking vengeance for their own sufferings on these hapless beings, and thinking that they honoured God in persecuting them.

Victims of the perpetual discords of the nobles, the people saw their own crops destroyed and cottages burned: there was for them neither rest nor security. Still, the inhabitants of the towns were already beginning to endure with reluctance the vexatious tyranny of their lords, and to regard with some degree of irritation their precarious condition. The cities which had preserved municipal institutions invoked old and unappreciated rights; and in others corporations were formed; the workmen organized a militia, fortified their walls, and guarded the gates. Acts of great injustice caused resentment, which had been too long repressed, to break out, and commotions, which were scarcely recognized, presaged the revolutions which in the following century brought the enfranchisements

of the towns. The inexhaustible charity of Robert only afforded an almost imperceptible relief for the misfortunes of his people, not rich enough to remove their wretchedness, and too weak to put down their oppressors. He died in 1031, lamented by the wretched and regretted by the clergy, leaving his kingdom augmented by the duchy of Burgundy,* which he had united to it in 1002, on the death of his uncle, Henry the Great. During his reign a wise and learned Frenchman succeeded Gregory V. on the pontifical throne, and renewed the alliance between the holy see and the house of Capet. This was the illustrious Gerbert, who derived from the Moors and the flourishing schools of Cordova all the secrets of the sciences then known: he studied belles-lettres and algebra, learned the art of clock-making, and passed in the eyes of his admiring contemporaries for a magician. First preceptor of the sons of the Emperor Otho, then Archbishop of Rheims and afterwards of Ravenna, he eventually became Pope, under the name of Sylvester II., and exercised the triple authority of the pontificate, of learning, and of genius.

## HENRY I.

HENRY I., the son and successor of Robert, had, at the commencement of his reign, to sustain a family war against his mother, Constance, who raised her young brother Robert to the throne. The Church declared for Henry; and the celebrated Robert the Magnificent, Duke of the Normans, lent him the aid of his sword, and placed the crown more firmly on his head. Henry vanquished his brother, forgave him, and granted him the duchy of Burgundy, the first Capetian house of which was founded by Robert. A famine, during this reign, committed such fearful ravages in Gaul, that at several places men were seen devouring one another. After this plague, troops of wolves devastated the country; and the feudal lords, more terrible than the wild beasts, continued their barbarous wars amid the universal desolation: the clergy scarce able to induce them to suspend their fury by

* The duchy of Burgundy, which must not be confounded with the transjuran and cisjuran kingdoms of Burgundy, comprised Burgundy proper. From 884 to 1001 this duchy belonged to princes allied to the family of Robert the Strong, among whom was Raoul, King of France. Henry the Great, brother of Hugues Capet, was the last member of this ducal branch; and from 1001 to 1032 his states remained annexed to the kingdom of France.

threatening the judgments of Heaven, and by asserting a multitude of miracles. At length, the councils ordered all to lay down their arms: they published, in 1035, the *Peace of God*, and menaced with excommunication those who violated so holy a law. When in each province a council had established this peace, a deacon announced the fact to the people assembled in the churches; and after reading the Gospel, he went up into the pulpit, and uttered the following malediction against all who infringed the peace: "May they be accursed, they, and those who assist them to do evil! may their arms and their horses be accursed! may they be allotted a place with Cain, the fratricide, the traitor Judas, and Dathan and Abiram, who entered alive into hell! and may their joy be extinguished at the aspect of the holy angels, just as these torches are extinguished before your eyes!" At these words, all the priests, who held lighted torches in their hands, turned them against the ground, and extinguished them; while the people, struck with horror, repeated, in one voice, "May God thus extinguish the joy of those who will not accept peace and justice!"

But passions were too impetuous, ambitions too indomitable, for the evil to be thus totally uprooted. The "Peace of God" multiplied the sacrilege without diminishing the number of assassinations. Five years later, another law, known as the *Truce of God*, was substituted for it. The councils that proclaimed this new peace no longer attempted to arrest the working of all human passions; but tried to regulate and subject war to the laws of honour and humanity. An appeal to force was no longer prohibited to those who could invoke no other law; but the employment of this force was subjected to wise and salutary restrictions. From sunset on Wednesday until sunrise on Monday, as well as on festival and fast days, military attack and the effusion of blood were prohibited, and a perpetual safeguard was granted to the churches, and to unarmed clerks and monks: the protection of the truce extended to the peasants, flocks, and instruments of labour. This wise and beneficent law, which was first promulgated in Aquitaine, was adopted throughout nearly the whole of Gaul, where the nobles swore to observe it, and although it was frequently violated, and fell too soon into desuetude, it was a great benefit to the nation, whose manners it softened, and was the noblest work of

the clergy in the middle ages. The rumour was propagated that a horrible disease, called the "sacred fire," was inflicted upon all who broke the "Truce of God." The weak King Henry, through an insensate pride, was almost the only one who in his states refused to recognize the Truce, under the pretext that the clergy encroached upon his authority by attempting to establish it.

This king has left no honourable recollection in history. It is said that, fearing lest he might unconsciously marry a woman related to him by blood, he sought a wife at the extremity of Europe, and that this motive led him to choose as his third wife the Princess Anne, daughter of Jaroslas, Grand Duke of Russia.* He had three sons by this marriage, the eldest of whom, Philip,† he caused to be crowned during his life. Henry I. carried on an unsuccessful war against his vassal, William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, and died in 1060, after a reign of twenty-nine years.

## PHILIP I.

Philip, at the age of eight years, succeeded his father under the guardianship of Baldwin V., Count of Flanders. The great event of his reign, and with which he was entirely unconnected, was the conquest of England.

The Norman knights were distinguished from all others by their immoderate desire for martial adventure, and by their brilliant exploits. Some of them, who had landed sixty years previously as pilgrims on the southern coast of Italy, aided the inhabitants of Salerno to repulse a Saracen army of besiegers. Animated by the success of their countrymen, the sons of a simple gentleman, Tancred of Hauteville, followed by a band of adventurers, conquered the province of Apulia from the Greeks, the Lombards, and the Arabs, and sustained successfully an equal struggle against the Emperors of Germany and Byzantium. They took prisoner the German Pope,

* The Russian nation, which had only been converted to Christianity for a century, was composed of almost savage tribes scattered over an immense territory. Still, its two capitals, Kief and Novogorod, already contained the germs of a highly advanced civilization.

† It has been asserted that this name, which appears for the first time in the history of France, originated in a presumed connection between the Princess Anne and Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great.

Leo IX., who was devoted to the family of the Emperor Henry III., and humbling themselves before their captive, they obtained leave to retain their conquest as a fief of the Church. Robert Guiscard completed the subjugation of Apulia and Calabria, and his brother Roger conquered Sicily: it was thus that the kingdom of the two Sicilies was founded in 1052 by the Normans, and the Pope became its suzerain.

Nothing was talked of in Europe but the valour of the Normans; and when William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, and son of Robert the Magnificent, collected an army to conquer England, warriors flocked beneath his banners from all sides, full of confidence in his fortune. Great Britain, or England, which had been for several centuries subject to the Saxons, obeyed at this time King Harold, successor of Edward, surnamed the Confessor. A tempest had cast Harold, before he became king, on the coast of Normandy, and he was delivered up to Duke William, in accordance with the custom of the times, shipwrecked men being regarded as abandoned by the judgment of Heaven to the lord of the coast on which the tempest drove them, who could keep them captive, and even put them to torture, in order to obtain a ransom. William, when master of Harold's person, made him swear that he would help him, after the death of Edward, to obtain the kingdom of England; but Harold did not afterwards consider himself bound by an oath which had been extorted by violence. When, therefore, the throne of England became vacant, and Harold, succeeding to it, had been crowned, William reminded Harold of his promise, and appealed to a true or false will of Edward the Confessor in support of his claim, declaring at the same time that he would leave the matter to the decision of the Church. A consistory held at the Lateran pronounced in his favour, and, on the instigation of the monk Hildebrand, adjudged England to him, by sending him, together with a consecrated standard, the diploma of sovereign of that country. A great battle, fought in 1066 near Hastings, between the rivals to the English crown, decided the war. Harold lost his life in it, and England, after an obstinate contest, became a conquest of the Normans. William distributed all the estates as fiefs to his knights; and from this time feudalism spread over this country the net-work with which it already covered France, Germany, and Italy. A few years after-

wards a prince of the house of France, Henry of Burgundy, founded the kingdom of Portugal, after a long series of victories gained over the infidels. These great events inflamed minds, and disposed the nations for adventurous expeditions in remote countries: they were the precursors of the crusades, or wars undertaken for the deliverance of the Holy Land.

A revolution, of which the celebrated Hildebrand was the principal author, was at this time accomplished in the Church. The tenth century more especially had been for her a period of desolation; the see of St. Peter had become the prey of intrigue and violence: and these disorders were not the only evils that afflicted the Church. From the time the clergy, in order to defend their domains, had hastened to enter the feudal hierarchy, they had been bound down by the authority of the princes and their great vassals. Nearly all the bishops of France held fiefs of the crown, and in the course of the eleventh century there was an odious traffic in ecclesiastical lands and dignities, which were not given, as formerly, to the most worthy, but to the highest bidder. The Pope himself, who at that epoch was chosen by the clergy and the people, was constrained to demand of the Emperor of Germany, as successor of Charlemagne, the confirmation of his election, and the Emperor Henry III., taking advantage of the intestine divisions among the Romans, claimed the sole right of nominating and appointing the successors of St. Peter. Such was the situation of the Church towards the middle of the eleventh century. Nicholas II., who had just ascended the pontifical seat, had as councillor a monk who felt indignant at the vices of the ecclesiastics, the degradation of the Church, and the encroachments of the temporal power on the spiritual authority. This monk, this man so celebrated in religious history, was Hildebrand. He resolved to deprive the feudal lords of every species of influence over the clergy, to strengthen the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and to raise the Pope above the kings of the earth, hoping thus to enable the Church to recover her efficiency, her splendour, and all her power. Such a prospect of universal supremacy was, in the age of Hildebrand, a conception of genius. This great man had consulted the spirit of his age. The rights of humanity were nowhere respected; the nations, oppressed by a thousand tyrants, had no other representatives, and no other natural defenders,

than the clergy. Most of the members of this order come from the lower classes; and ecclesiastical dignities, and even the tiara itself, were often bestowed on men of the most obscure birth; so that the voice of the Church combating the temporal power might, to some extent, be regarded as the energetic protest of the people against their oppressors. There was merit and grandeur, under the feudal despotism, in determining to regenerate the world on a Christian basis, by giving it as guide the man who was universally recognized as the visible chief of Christianity. Hildebrand's honour consists in having re-animated religious enthusiasm by attempting to enfranchise the spiritual authority of the Church from all temporal servitude; his error consisted in having listened too much to his own ambition, in attempting to render the political government of the princes subservient to the ecclesiastical authority.

Many priests and bishops contracted, by marriage, ties which rendered them dependent on the princes. Nicholas broke those ties: he forbade the marriage of priests, and severely punished monks living in a state of concubinage.

Hildebrand was chosen in 1073, by the people and clergy of Rome, as the successor of Pope Alexander III. At first, he deferentially asked his confirmation of the Emperor Henry IV., and when he had obtained it, he displayed under the name of Gregory VII. his vast and haughty genius and his inflexible character. He withdrew the nomination of the Popes from the influence of the Emperors by establishing the College of Cardinals, specially entrusted with the election of the Pontiff: he renewed the bull condemning the marriage of priests; he prohibited emperors, kings, and the great vassals from giving ecclesiastical investitures to bishops; and, finally, he published the famous decretals known by the name of *Dictatus Papæ*, in which he placed among the papal privileges those of deposing emperors, of making monarchs kiss his feet, of judging without appeal, and of being made holy by the mere fact of ordination.

Philip I., King of France, and Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, were both leading at this time a life full of scandal and violence; and in order to supply their unbounded extravagance, they carried on, in defiance of Gregory's prohibition, the most disgraceful traffic in Church endowments. The indignant Pontiff threatened Philip with

excommunication, and laid it upon the Emperor. An obstinate war began between them, which is known in history by the name of "The War of Investitures," because the Pope maintained by it his prohibition of princes investing bishops, and reserved that right solely for himself. In this celebrated war the principal allies of the Pontiff were the Normans of Apulia and Sicily, and the Countess Matilda, sovereign of Tuscany. Gregory VII. liberated the subjects of Henry from the oath of allegiance; and the Emperor, abandoned by them, found himself reduced to implore pardon of his haughty victor: he presented himself as a suppliant in the month of January, 1077, at the Castle of Canossa, the residence of the Pope, who insulted his misfortune, and, before granting absolution to him, compelled the Emperor to remain for three days and nights in a court of the palace, exposed to the severe cold, with his bare feet in the snow. At length he deigned to absolve him. But so many outrages had revolted the crowned heads and moved the partisans of the Emperor with indignation. Henry IV. avenged himself, and Gregory VII. died in exile. The colossal edifice raised by this Pontiff did not perish with him; his successors consolidated it amid terrible upheavals in the Empire and the Church: he had founded the universal monarchy of the Popes on a durable basis, on the ruling spirit of his age, and this supremacy attained one hundred years afterwards its culminating point. The Crusades contributed greatly to its consolidation; Gregory conceived the idea, but it was not given to him to see its accomplishment: the first of those memorable events had its origin in the time of Philip I., and under the Pontificate of Urban II.

Palestine, or the Holy Land, held for many ages by the Mussulmans, had been one of the first victories of the disciples of Mahomet, and henceforward the subjugation of that country had been a theme of indignation and sorrow to Christendom. It was believed that an especial sanctity was attached to the places where Christ had suffered death for mankind, and where his tomb was yet to be seen. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem was regarded as the most effectual means for the expiation of sins; and great numbers of pilgrims journeyed, alone or in bands, to Palestine, to pray at the tomb of the Saviour. Already adventurous knights, after seeking through Europe new fields for their valour, had carried defiance to the Mussulman; but most of these had

been slain, only a few returned to Europe, where the recital of their perils, and of their glorious deeds of arms, filled every soul with an ardent and pious emulation.

Such was the public disposition of feeling, when an enthusiast, known as Peter the Hermit, quitted the town of Amiens, his native place, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The sight of the holy places excited to the highest degree his pious fervour: he returned to Europe and repaired to Italy. There he exhorted Pope Urban II. to place himself at the head of the nations of Europe, conjoined for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre, and the rescue of the bones of the Saints from the hands of the Mussulmans.

He won over the Pontiff to his views, and received from him letters to all the Christian princes, with the mission of stimulating them to this holy enterprise. Peter travelled throughout Europe; he inflamed the imagination of the nobles and the people, he preached to them salvation, and promised them Paradise if they would go to Palestine. Two years later, in 1095, a council, convoked by Urban, assembled at Clermont, in Auvergne. A prodigious number of princes and nobles of all ranks flocked thither, and three hundred and ten bishops supported the solemnity under the presidency of the Pope himself. After having decided clerical affairs, Urban drew a pathetic picture of the desolation of the holy shrines, he lamented bitterly the afflictions suffered by the Christians of Palestine, and the listening throng burst into sobs and tears.

The Pontiff next recounted the audacity and insolence of the enemies of Christ, and, indignant at such outrages, exclaimed in the tone of inspiration: "Enrol yourselves under the banners of God; advance, sword in hand, like true children of Israel, into the Land of Promise; charge boldly, and doubt not that, opening a path through the armies of the infidels and the numbers of their host, the Cross will ever be victorious for the Crusader. Make yourselves masters of those fertile lands which infidels have usurped; drive out thence heresy and impiety; in short, make their land to produce palms only for you, and out of their spoils raise magnificent trophies to Glory, Religion, and the French nation."

At these words the transport was general, his hearers quivered with indignation, and impatiently desired to arm at once — at once to

depart:—"Let us go," said the whole assembly: "it is the will of God! it is the will of God!"

"Go then," replied the Pontiff: "go, brave champions of Jesus Christ, avenge His wrong; and, since all together have cried, 'It is the will of God!' let those words be the battle-cry of your holy enterprise."

The distinctive sign, common to all these warriors, was a cross of red cloth worn on the right shoulder, and from this was derived the word "*Crusade.*" The princes and nobles received such crosses from the hands of the Pope; the people came in a crowd, and the cardinals and bishops distributed them with their benedictions: to take the Cross was to vow to make the sacred journey.

The Crusaders separated to prepare for departure and to communicate to all their pious ardour. The general meeting of the ardent host was fixed for the spring of the following year. The enthusiasm extended to every class, each one desired to merit salvation by devoting himself to a desperate undertaking, by essaying an adventurous life in unknown lands. An immense number of serfs, peasants, homeless wanderers, and even women and children, assembled together, and their impatience could brook neither obstacles nor delays; they divided into two bands, led, the one by Peter the Hermit, the other by a knight named "Walter the Moneyless." Their fanatic zeal displayed itself on the way by a general massacre of the Jews. They devastated for their support the countries which they passed through, raising up in arms against themselves the outraged populations; and almost all perished of famine, fatigue, and misery before reaching the Holy Land.

Notwithstanding, the flower of European chivalry took up arms for the Cross, the nobles pawned their property to defray the expenses of the enterprise; they divided themselves into three formidable armies: the first was commanded by Robert Curt-Hose, son of William the Conqueror, the second by Godfrey de Bouillon, the hero of his age, the third and last marched under the banner of the Count of Toulouse, Raymond de Saint-Gilles. Godfrey was proclaimed commander-in-chief; ten thousand knights followed him with seventy thousand men on foot from France, Lorraine, and Germany; the general muster was at Constantinople, where reigned Alexis Comnenus. This Emperor received them with discourtesy, and hastened

to give them vessels to cross the Bosphorus, after having cunningly obtained from them the oath of homage for their future conquests. The Crusaders first possessed themselves of Nicea, then of Antioch, through sanguinary struggles, and at length achieved the conquest of Jerusalem.

In 1099, a Christian kingdom was founded in Palestine: Godfrey de Bouillon was its recognized king, but contented himself with the title of "Baron of the Holy Sepulchre." Feudalism was organized in the East; three great fiefs of the crown of Jerusalem were created: there were the principalities of Antioch and Edessa, and the Earldom of Tripoli; they had a Marquis of Jaffa, a Prince of Galilee, a Baron of Sidon, and the name of "*Franks*" became in Asia an appellation common to all Eastern Christians. Such were the principal facts of that first and celebrated Crusade. There only returned to Europe one-tenth of the number who quitted it.

Philip I. did not associate himself with that expedition. He took no part in the great enterprises which signalized the age in which he lived, and his reign offers nothing worthy of record. In 1072, the widow of his tutor, Baldwin, Count of Flanders, having been deposed by her son Robert le Trison, had recourse to Philip; the king took up arms for her, marched against Robert, and suffered an ignominious defeat before Cassel. He also carried on a war for twelve years against William the Conqueror, which was not marked by any memorable event. William gained over the councillors and partisans of Philip by offering them the bribe of large estates in England. Philip, on his side, promised protection to all the Norman malcontents, and espoused the cause of Robert, eldest son of William, in rebellion against his father. After a truce, and during an illness of the duke, he derided him on account of his excessive stoutness, asking when he expected his *accouchement*. William heard of it, and furious, swore that at his "churching" he would send him ten thousand lances in place of tapers. He assembled a formidable army, and carried fire and sword through Philip's dominions, but at the sack of Mantes his horse stumbled, and the rider was wounded in the fall. They carried William in a dying condition to Rouen, where he expired in 1087. He was scarcely dead when the nobles who surrounded him left hastily for their castles; his servants pillaged his valuables, carried off even the

funeral bed, and left the naked body of the Conqueror on the floor. A poor knight found it in that condition, and touched by compassion undertook the care of the funeral rites for the love of God and the honour of his nation. The body was put into a coffin at his expense and transported to Caen, where it was to be buried in a church founded by William himself. At the moment when the funeral oration was being pronounced, and the body about to be lowered into the grave, a Norman named Asseline advanced, and said:—"This ground belongs to me; that man whose eulogy you are pronouncing robbed me of it. Here, even here, stood my paternal mansion; this man seized it against all justice, and without paying the price of it. In the name of God, I forbid you to cover the body of the plunderer with earth that belongs to me."

Notable example of the vanity of an existence which offers the most singular mixture of grandeur and iniquity, of violent barbarities and useful and fruitful creations! This William, the conqueror of a great kingdom, who had grasped immense domains in a strange country, only obtained through pity a grave upon his native soil; those who assisted at his burial were obliged to put down the price of it on his coffin. None of his three sons paid him the last duties, but they made furious war over his heritage; William Rufus succeeded him in England, and ended by seizing upon Normandy, while Robert was fighting in Palestine.

The death of the redoubtable William was a great source of joy to Philip, and allowed him to continue his indolent and scandalous career. He had married Bertha, the daughter of Count Florent of Holland; he left and imprisoned her; afterwards he carried off Bertrade, the wife of Foulque le Rechin, Count of Anjou, and married her. Pope Urban ordered the dissolution of this marriage, and on the refusal of Philip, a council, assembled at Autun in 1094, sentenced him to excommunication. Philip was not permitted to carry longer the outward marks of royalty: he was afflicted with grievous infirmities, in which he recognized the hand of God; at length, in the year 1100, he associated his son Louis with himself in the kingdom, and reigned only in name. A dreadful fear of hell seized him; he renounced through humility the regal privilege of being interred in the tomb of the kings at St. Denis, and died in 1108 in the habit of a Benedictine friar.

The extent of the royal possessions, properly speaking, varied little under the first Capets: its limits were those of the ancient duchy of France. The authority of the King was not exercised freely and directly, except in his quality of Duke of France, and only in some of the cities of that duchy; and between these even the communications were difficult. The great fiefs of the crown to the number of seven were the same as under Hugh Capet, the duchy of France, to the possession of which the royal title was attached, the duchies of Normandy, of Burgundy, and of Guienne or Aquitaine, and the baronies of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse; to these great states must be added, beyond the Pyrenees, the barony of Barcelona.* The seven great fiefs held each in their tenure inferior fiefs, of whom many were themselves very considerable.

The duchy of France had for its principal fiefs the baronies of Paris and Orléans, the barony of Maine, and that of Anjou.

From the duchy of Normandy arose the barony of Britanny, those of Alençon, Aumale, Evreux, Mortain, and many other great seigniories.

The duchy of Burgundy held in its tenure the baronies of Bar, Nevers, Charolais, &c.

Upon the vast duchy of Guienne or Aquitaine were dependent the duchy of Gascoigne, the baronies of Berry, Poitiers, Marche, Angoulême, and Périgord, &c.

The barony of Flanders comprised Ponthieu, Artois, Hainault, &c.

The barony of Champagne, which in 1019 annexed the vast possessions of the counts of Vermandois, comprised under its tenure the baronies of Meaux, Troyes, Blois, Chartres, Valois, Rhethel, &c.

The barony of Toulouse comprised within itself the baronies of Quercy and Romagne, the marquisate of Provence, detached from the ancient kingdom of Arles, and which received also the name of the barony of Venaissin. The Seven Great Fiefs became the viscounty of Narbonne, &c.

All the fiefs of the lower order had themselves in their tenure many

* Brittany and Anjou have often been declared as being fiefs to the crown under the early Capetian kings. This is an error. Brittany was directly allied to the duchy of Normandy, and Anjou to the duchy of France. Philip I. received direct homage from the Count of Anjou, not as King, but as Duke of France.

"arrière fiefs," which mostly consisted of "vicomtés des villes," "baronnies," "chatellenies," each one containing parishes or villages; below these fiefs we find those of simple possessors of châteaux.

The clergy possessed of itself a great number of very important fiefs. The archbishops and bishops were lords of the city, or part of the city where their seat was situated, and suzerains of many considerable baronies and seigniories. Many abbots at length were lords of the cities where their monastery raised its head, and possessed also other seigniories. The abbots of St. Germain, of St. Geneviève, and of St. Victor, were each one suzerain of a "quarter" of Paris. The abbot of Fécamp possessed ten baronies, that of St. Martin de Tours had twenty thousand serfs on his domains. And one may gain an idea of the immensity of the ecclesiastical possessions in the twelfth century, when we know that at that time France counted about 2,000 monasteries on her soil.

# CHAPTER III.

## REIGNS OF LOUIS VI. AND LOUIS VII.

## 1108–1179.

### LOUIS VI.

THE reign of Philip I. and of his immediate predecessors had been nothing but one long anarchy; yet France had not remained stationary, she had made great progress at the end of the eleventh century. Her cities were more numerous, more populous, more industrious. Her citizen class began to enfranchise itself, and defended its liberties by force of arms. The language and poetry of France arose; at length, the clergy encouraged with all their power the progress of literary and scientific instruction; they crowned with rewards and raised to the highest dignity those who distinguished themselves by their learning; but the studies of this age consisted solely of subtle discussions on logic and theology.

Accession of Louis VI. 1108.

The earlier of the Capetian kings had remained ignorant of, and almost indifferent to, the progress of France under their rule, and had outwardly exercised no personal influence. Louis VI., nicknamed at first L'Eveillé, afterwards Le Gros and Le Batailleur, understood best the spirit of his times. He was the first knight in his kingdom, and it was with casque on head and lance in rest that he sought and won the esteem of every one. His personal estates, almost confined to the cities of Paris, Orléans, Etamps, Mélun, Compeigne and their territories, were bordered on the north by those of Robert le Jérosolymitain, Count of Flanders, and on the east by the estates of Hugues I., Count of Champagne. The dominions of Thibaut, Count of Meaux, Chartres and Blois, and those of Foulque V., Count of Anjou and Touraine, closed in on the south this feeble kingdom of France, which the vast possessions of Henry I., son of William the Conqueror, King of England and Duke of Normandy, confined on the west. During the

whole of his life Louis had to contend with these powerful enemies, of whom the most formidable was Henry I. After a preliminary struggle, unfruitful in any important result, as to the possession of the Castle of Gisors, he embraced against Henry the cause of his nephew William Clinton, the son of Robert Curt-Hose, and dispossessed, as was his father, of the duchy of Normandy. Louis VI. was vanquished at the battle of Brenneville, fought in 1119. He made an appeal also to the militia of the cities and of the Church, and found them disposed to second him; the prelates ordered the inferior clergy to summon their parishioners to arms, and these, led by their pastors, ranged themselves under the royal standard, and entered with Louis VI. into Normandy, where they committed great ravages. A council was assembled at Rheims, under the presidency of Pope Calixtus II., with the intention of putting an end to this ruinous war. Louis presented himself there and recited his grievances. The conditions of peace were decided by the council. Henry was to remain in possession of Normandy, for which his son should render homage to the King of France.

Struggle of Louis VI. against Henry I., King of England.

Besides this important war, Louis le Gros sustained an almost incessant contest against his own barons, and amongst others against Thomas de Marles, son of Enguerrand de Coucy. They infested like brigands the roads around Paris and Orléans, pillaging villages and destroying the traders. The King, by force of arms, reduced a great number of them to obedience, or at least rendered them powerless for evil, thus securing public safety in his dominions. But such was the weakness at this period of a King of France, that Philip I. had all his life vainly endeavoured to seize on the castle of the sire de Monthery, six leagues from the capital. This baron was stained with the crime of brigandage, and very redoubtable. Louis le Gros overcame him in his stronghold, and reunited it by this change of owners to the seigniory of his territories.

War against his vassals.

The King associated his elder son Philip with himself in the government. This young prince, who gave bright promise, was killed accidentally, and the King substituted for him his second son Louis, surnamed the Young. He continued without success his war against Henry I., who died in 1135. A sanguinary struggle ensued for the succession to that prince's crown between Stephen of Boulogne, his

nephew, and his daughter Margaret, widow of the Emperor Henri V., and married a second time to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, the founder of the celebrated house of Plantagenet which reigned so long in England. William X., the powerful Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitou, supported the pretensions of Geoffrey, and with him carried fire and sword through Normandy, but returned covered with the maledictions of the people. William, overcome by remorse, undertook a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, in Spain, and offered his daughter Eleanor to Louis, son of the King of France. This alliance promised to double the estates of the King, who hastened to conclude it; he sent his son into Aquitaine with a brilliant cortège, and the marriage was celebrated between the solemnisation of two funerals;—that of William X., who sank on his pilgrimage, and that of Louis le Gros, who died the same year, in 1137.

Marriage of Louis the Young with Eleanor of Aquitaine.

Death of Louis VI. 1137.

We observe in this reign, and more especially after the battle of Brenneville, that the alliance of the King with the Church and with the commons of the kingdom becomes apparent. The support of the King was necessary to the Church and the rising bourgeoisie, to enable them to resist the oppression of the feudal nobility. It was to this community of interests that the kings of France owed in a great measure, firstly, the preservation of their crown, and subsequently their influence and their conquests. The sanction, accorded by Louis VI. to the enfranchisements of many communes, illustrated the spirit of his reign.* Nevertheless he did nothing but legitimize revolutions already accomplished, almost always sanctioning, under condition of a pecuniary compensation, arrangements or treaties concluded between the nobles and bourgeoisie; sometimes even, as we may see in the quarrel between the commune of Laon with its bishop, after having sold to the bourgeoisie for a heavy sum certain privileges, he would receive money from their seigneurs for permitting the latter to revoke them. On this occasion the inhabitants of the village revolted, murdered their lord, their bishop, and sought the support of the renowned Thomas de Marles, who defended them for some time against the King, and finished by falling with them. Louis VI. in his conduct towards the bourgeoisie of the cities was in no way actuated by zeal for the public liberty, he cared

* For an account of the condition of the commons in the twelfth century, see Chap. VI.

only for the needs of his treasury, which was recruited in this manner, and for the interests of his power, which continued to increase up to the time of his death, especially in the centre of France, where the royal authority had before him been almost disregarded, and where he caused it to be respected. He did not care to accord, within his own dominions, those privileges which he ratified on the territories of others, and we can recognize in him neither the founder of the liberties of the people, nor an enemy to the privileges of the nobility. An illustrious man, the Abbé Suger, acquired at this period a reputation as a statesman, a great politician, and a profound scholar; he obtained by his individual merit the celebrated abbacy of St. Denis, the sanctuary of the first patron-saint of the kingdom,* and was in the following reign charged with the regency of the State.

Suger, Abbé of St. Denis.

## LOUIS VII.

Louis VII., surnamed the Young, exhibited on ascending the throne a spirit as warlike as his father. He supported Geoffrey Plantagenet against his rival Stephen, and aided him to conquer Normandy, for which Geoffrey did homage. England remained to Stephen, who recognized the son of Geoffrey and Matilda as heir to his crown. Louis kept the barons and the clergy in order: he opposed the usurpations of Pope Innocent II., and refused to recognize the Archbishop of Bourges, elected by that Pontiff, who soon laid an interdict on every place where the King stayed. Louis the Young was the fourth Capetian King thus struck at by the Holy See. No family had shown more deference towards the Court of Rome, none had been treated by her with more rigour.

Accession of Louis VII. surnamed the Young, 1137.

The most memorable event of this reign is the second Crusade, preached with immense success by Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, and commanded by the King in person. Louis believed that he had a great crime to expiate: in a war with Thibaut, Count of Champagne, his sol-

* "Montjoie et Saint Denis!" was for a lengthened period the war-cry of the French; the banner under which the vassals of the abbey fought became the national standard. Louis the Fat and his successor took it from the altar on which it reposed when setting forth upon an expedition, and returned it thence in pomp at the conclusion of the war. It bore the name of "oriflamme," because the staff was covered with gold, whilst the edge of the flag was cut into the form of flames.

diers had set fire to the church of Vitry, and thirteen hundred persons perished in the flames. Terrified at this frightful disaster, he asked for absolution from the Pope, and only succeeded in obtaining it from Celestin II., successor to Innocent. It effected but little towards calming his conscience. Edessa in Palestine had succumbed to the arms of the Sultan Zinghi. Nothing was heard of throughout Christendom but the fall of this famous city and the massacre of its inhabitants; exclamations of fury and of vengeance arose on all sides. France was the first to be convulsed by the voice of Saint Bernard, and communicated the movement to Europe. Louis VII. took up the Cross, and asked permission to depart from Suger, Abbot of Saint Denis, from whom, by a singular effect of the feudal system, he held Vexin in fief, and received from his hands the oriflamme; he confided to him the regency of the kingdom and went forth on his journey at the head of a hundred thousand French. But here ended his reputation as king and knight. Conrad, Emperor of Germany, who had preceded him with a formidable army, was treacherously led by Greek guides to Asia Minor; his troops being surprised and annihilated amongst the defiles of Lycaonia. Louis VII. gathered together the remnants of the host, but himself lost the half of his own forces on the mountain of Laodicea. He fruitlessly undertook many enterprises, each of which was marked by a disaster; in fine, the whole of the expedition of Louis VII. was reduced, as far as he was concerned, to a pious pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. He returned to Europe with the Crusader princes, and brought back with him only a few soldiers. His entire host had been annihilated.

Massacre of Vitry.

Second Crusade, 1147.

Louis found his kingdom at peace, indeed almost flourishing, thanks to the wise administration of the great and modest Suger. But the deplorable result of that Crusade, for which he had laid a heavy tax on his people, had destroyed all the King's popularity, even his character seemed weakened by it, and from that time history sees in him less of the king than of the monk. Under pretext of too near blood relationship he divorced his Queen, Eleanor, who, thus abandoned, gave her hand to Henry Plantagenet, heir to the crown of England, and carried to him her dowry of Aquitaine, taken away from France by this fatal divorce. Louis saw with

Divorce of Louis VII. and Eleanor of Aquitaine, 1152.

emotion the half of his territories about to pass to his rival, and sought in vain to throw obstacles in the way of the marriage. The new husband of Eleanor succeeded Stephen on the throne of England, and became the celebrated Henry II. He conquered Ireland, menaced Scotland, and showed himself on the Continent the most redoubtable and powerful of sovereigns. He possessed in France Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Aquitaine, and Normandy. He professed great friendship toward Louis the Young, and united in marriage his son, seven years of age, to the daughter of Louis, still in her cradle. War broke out on the subject of the dowry of this princess, and suddenly Louis obtained a powerful auxiliary in the clergy of England, excited against Henry II. by the famous Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate, at first a courtier, afterwards chancellor of the King of England, and intended by him to occupy, as his creature, the first episcopal seat of his kingdom, scarcely found himself therein, when he surrendered the pleasures of the court for the austere duties which he regarded as inseparable from his new position. He took in hand and maintained to his death the defence of the cause which Gregory VII. had defended to the last extremity—that of the spiritual authority as opposed to the regal; and while Pope Alexander III. barely held his own against the anti-Pope Victor, and against the powerful Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor of Germany, à Becket constituted himself in the West the most intrepid champion of the Church, of which Henry II., by the edict of Clarendon, violated the privileges in suppressing ecclesiastical tribunals and the benefit of clergy. These privileges gave rise, no doubt, to numerous abuses and insured immunity to many culprits, but such were the barbarous ignorance and odious corruption of the lay tribunals in the twelfth century, that ecclesiastical jurisdiction alone inspired some confidence in the people, and the least heavy yoke was that of the Church.

Struggle between Henry and Thomas à Becket.

À Becket, pursued by the resentment of Henry II., took refuge in France, where Louis received him with great favour, and the war continued between the two kings until the peace of Montmirail. Thomas à Becket returned to England, and Henry exclaimed one day in a transport of fury: "Will none of the cowards whom I support rid me of this priest?" These words were heard; four knights, devoted to

the King, assassinated Thomas à Becket at the foot of he altar. There was an universal cry of malediction throughout the Church against the homicidal monarch, and the martyred and canonized prelate became more baleful to Henry II. after his death than he had ever been during his life. Every one turned with horror from the King, who, to appease the public clamour, submitted to a humiliating penance. Then was seen the most renowned prince in Christendom exhibiting tokens of the humblest contrition, remaining fasting and with bare feet during forty-eight hours in the cathedral, the scene of the murder, and submitting to be beaten with rods by the clergy, the monks, and choristers of that church.

Death of Thomas à Becket, 1172.

Henceforth Henry II. enjoyed no more quiet; his wife Eleanor, irritated by his infidelities, incited his three sons to revolt against him, and in accordance with the disgraceful custom of the times, Louis VII. supported them in the unholy war. They rendered him homage for Normandy, Aquitaine, and Brittany, but they were defeated by their father; the two kings were then reconciled. Louis placed the crown on the head of his son Philip Augustus, and made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint Thomas à Becket; he died immediately afterwards, leaving the reputation of being a devout monarch, full of reverence for the secular orders, and of benevolence towards his subjects; but in spite of all his grandeur and his able policy he lived too long for his own glory and for the prosperity of France, which lost in the latter part of his reign those provinces which she had acquired in the beginning of it by his marriage, and which she never finally recovered till after ages of warfare and disaster.

Death of Louis VII., 1179.

During the lifetime of this King, the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa commenced against the cities of Lombardy a sanguinary war, which for a long time involved Italy in bloodshed, and weakened the imperial power while increasing the influence of the Sovereign Pontiffs. This famous war is known in history under the name of the wars of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines; the former were supported by the Emperor, the latter were the partisans of the Pope, and fought for the independence of the cities of Lombardy. The Popes contended at this juncture for the liberty of the people against the despotism of the kings and of the feudal aristocracy.

War of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines.

# CHAPTER IV.

## REIGN OF PHILIP II., SURNAMED AUGUSTUS, AND OF LOUIS VIII.

## 1179–1226.

### PHILIP II.

When Philip II, surnamed Augustus,* ascended the throne, the territory which composes France of the present day was almost entirely under the sway of various powerful princes. The greater part of the provinces, at first independent, had recognized the sovereignty of some monarch; those of the west were subject, in a great measure, to the King of England, those of the east to the Emperor of Germany, and those of the north to the King of France; lastly, Provence and a part of Languedoc pertained to the sceptre of Arragon. Philip saw all the crowns rival to his eclipsed before him, and the glory is his of having been the first of his race who made his influence felt from the Scheldt to the Mediterranean, from the Rhine to the Ocean. Great events mark the course of his reign: there were the third and fourth Crusades; the sudden acquisition of monarchical power by the seizure of the continental provinces of the King of England; and lastly, the destruction of the Albigenses, or heretics, of Languedoc and Provence.

Before the age of fifteen years this prince signalized his accession to the throne by a frightful persecution of the Jews, whom he despoiled and drove from the kingdom. He showed himself yet more cruel with regard to a sect of heretics named "Patarins," and condemned them to the flames. These blasphemers found in him a pitiless judge: the rich were compelled to pay twenty "golden sous," the poor being thrown into the river. A series of contests and negotiations with the great vassals of the crown occupied the early years of this reign. Philip espoused the daughter of the Count of

Religious persecutions.

* Because he was born in the month of August.

Flanders, and obtained by this marriage the city of Amiens, and the barrier of the Somme, so important to the defence of his states. He increased his power by unfair means, fomenting civil wars among his neighbours, and exciting, up to the death of Henry II., the children of that king against their father. The latter signed a humiliating treaty with his son Richard and Philip Augustus. He heard of the revolt of John, his third son, and died of grief at Chinon. Richard succeeded him on the throne of England, and won by his fiery and impetuous valour the surname of Cœur de Lion.

Fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The enthusiasm of the Crusades was rekindled in Europe by the recital of the misfortunes which overwhelmed the kingdom of Jerusalem,* where Lusignan bore rule. Saladin, surnamed the Great, prince or sultan of the Mussulmans in Egypt and in Syria, had inflicted numerous reverses on the Christians of Palestine: these, succumbing to the baneful influence of the climate and manners of the East, had promptly degenerated, and most of their chiefs had hastened their misfortunes by conceiving themselves absolved from the obligation of keeping their oaths with the infidels. Saladin gained over them the celebrated battle of Tiberias: Jerusalem and her King fell before the power of the conqueror.

Third Crusade, 1138.

This terrible news struck Christendom with consternation, and filled it with mourning; a formidable expedition was prepared: the three greatest sovereigns of Europe, Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor of Germany, Richard, King of England, and Philip, King of France, took up the Cross, and each led into Palestine a numerous army. The results by no means corresponded to these grand efforts; Frederick, before arriving, was drowned crossing the river Selef, near Seleucia. Philip and Richard quarrelled over the siege of St. Jean d'Acre. Philip was jealous of the prodigious exploits of his rival, whilst Richard, indignant and irritated at the superiority which Philip affected towards him as lord suzerain, supported with impatience the feudal yoke. The King of

* This kingdom, founded by the Crusaders in 1099, had at first been circumscribed by the limits of the ancient kingdoms of Judah and of Israel; subsequently it spread itself over almost the whole of Syria. Godfrey of Bouillon was the first King of Jerusalem; Baldwin I., Baldwin II., Foulques, Baldwin III., Amaury, Baldwin IV., Baldwin V., Guy of Lusignan, were his successors. Thenceforward the title of King of Jerusalem became purely nominal.

France returned to his kingdom, leaving his army under the command of Richard. He swore, on leaving him, not to undertake anything against him in his absence, and to defend his territories as he would his own. Richard pursued his heroic career in Palestine; he gained brilliant but fruitless victories, wearing out the Crusaders, who murmured, wishing to return to their own country, till at length they compelled him to quit the Holy Land. Saladin offered to the Christians peaceable possession of the plains of Judea, and liberty to perform the pilgrimage to Jerusalem: Richard agreed to these conditions, and embarked for Europe; he landed in Austria, upon the territories of the Duke Leopold, his mortal enemy, who delivered him up to the Emperor Henry VI., whose hatred Richard had excited: Henry imprisoned him in the Castle of Dierstein, and sent to inform the King of France of it.

Captivity of Richard Cœur de Lion.

Philip had returned to his kingdom full of animosity towards the King of England. He had sworn not to attack his dominions in his absence; nevertheless, he had already applied to the Pope to be absolved from his oath, when he heard of the captivity of his rival. The Pope refused to release him from his word; but Philip, taking no heed of his refusal, commenced the war. Richard was then betrayed by his brother John, who had possessed himself of a portion of his territories, and who, as well as Philip, offered the Emperor enormous sums of money to keep the English monarch captive; but the imprisonment of that prince, the hero of the Crusade, outraged all Europe, and the public clamour compelled Henry VI. to give him his liberty, which he sold to him for a heavy ransom. He required of him, in a public diet of the empire, homage as his suzerain, and released him after ruining him by an exorbitant ransom. Richard returned unexpectedly to his dominions; he reduced his brother to submission, and avenged himself on Philip by forming an alliance with the most powerful of the barons inimical to the French monarch. The war was prolonged between these two rivals with divers success; they signed a truce for five years, and Richard was killed at the siege of the small fortress of Chaluz-Chabrol in Limousin (1199).

Death of Richard and usurpation of John, surnamed Lackland, 1199.

John, the youngest son of Henry II., seized the crown of England, and Philip supported against him the just pretensions

of Arthur of Brittany, his nephew, the son of his elder brother; this young prince promised homage to Philip for all his possessions in France, and ceded Normandy to him. A sanguinary war arose.

Death of Arthur of Brittany.

Arthur with his knights was captured by King John, and met his death by assassination. It is said that his uncle came by night to the tower of Rouen where he held him captive, and that after vainly striving to make him cede to him his rights, he stabbed him with his sword, fastened a heavy stone to the body, and himself threw it into the water. This frightful crime excited universal indignation, and it was to the interest of France that he should meet chastisement. It was in fact a measure which served the interests of the crown no less by its immediate results, than by the idea which it gave of the power of the French monarch and of the dependence thereupon of his great vassals. John, King of England,

Citation of King John before the Court of Peers.

and vassal of the crown for his continental possessions, was cited by Philip, his suzerain, before his peers to answer, among other heads of the accusation, for the murder of his nephew Arthur. He did not repudiate the jurisdiction of the tribunal, but dreading its sentence, he did not appear before it:

Condemnation of King John.

the court of peers condemned him to death as contumacious. Normandy, Brittany, Guienne,* Maine, Anjou,

Reunion of his continental possessions with the Crown of France, 1205.

and Touraine, lands which he held in fief from France, were declared confiscated, pertaining to the King, and reunited to the crown. This reunion, however, did not take place without numerous battles and a vast effusion of blood. In this war John was himself his worst enemy: his cruelties, exactions, and avarice roused the people against him; he attacked the clergy through their property, and was soon excommunicated; Pope Innocent III. offered his kingdom to Philip, who assembled an army, intending a descent upon England. John, in alarm, became as humble towards the Church as he had before been insolent; he submitted to the Pope, and did homage to him for his crown. Philip then marched against him in virtue of the Pontifical sentence, but the submission of King John had made a change in the views of the Holy See. It had been for Philip, but was now for the King of England.

* Guienne, however, remained long subsequently to the kings of England; but Poitou was detached from it by Philip Augustus, who conquered its territory.

Pandolph, legate of the Roman Pontiff, repaired to France and forbade Philip to proceed further; yet, to calm his resentment, he pointed out the Count of Flanders as a rich prey to promise to his army: Flanders might be accepted in exchange for England. Old grievances existed between Ferrand, count of that province, and Philip; the King could now obtain satisfaction by force of arms. Ferrand hastened to league himself with John of England, and with his father Otho IV., Emperor of Germany. The French army met that of the enemy between Lille and Tournay. They joined battle at the bridge of Bouvines; the Emperor and the King of France commanding in person, when the latter achieved a brilliant victory; five counts, and among them the Count of Flanders, fell into his hands, the communes of five French cities had sent their soldiers to the battle, and they rivalled the knights in glory. Philip was received in Paris amid the acclamations of his people, and the glorious battle of Bouvines, in which he vanquished three sovereigns, prodigiously increased the consideration and renown of the Capetian dynasty in the eyes of Europe.

Battle of Bouvines, 1214.

Nevertheless King John had never intended, in submitting his kingdom to the Church, to sacrifice to it his own criminal passions. He rendered himself so odious and so contemptible that his barons leagued themselves against him, and sword in hand forced him, on the 15th of June, 1215, to sign the charter which has become the basis of the liberties of the English people, and which is known as Magna Charta. By it the King engaged himself not to despoil widows and minors confided to his charge, to raise no taxes without the approbation of his Privy Council or of Parliament, never to imprison, mutilate, or condemn to death freeholders, merchants, or peasants without the consent of twelve of their equals. These clauses and some others appeared intolerable to the despotic King: he only made oath to that Charter in the hope of being released from it by the Pope, and in fact he was so released. His barons then offered the crown to Louis of France, the son of Philip Augustus. This prince, despite his father's vow and the prohibition of the Pope, whose legate excommunicated him, crossed over to England. He was received with open arms by the barons and possessed himself of the kingdom; but King John died at this time, and

Magna Charta, 1215.

Louis of France in England, 1216.

his partisans proclaimed his young son Henry, King. The English people attached themselves to the youth, and Louis, abandoned by his supporters, returned to France, after having contributed to establish on a more solid basis the liberties of England.

Philip Augustus found himself under the ban of excommunication, the common lot up to that time of almost all his race. He was anathematized on the occasion of his third marriage with Agnes de Meran, during the lifetime of his second wife, Ingeburge of Denmark. He showed signs of resistance: all his possessions were placed under interdict. No one could be married, or receive communion, nor could the dead be buried. The people were seized with terror, and the King was finally driven to submit.

A fourth Crusade took place under his reign. It was preached by the enthusiastic Fulk, curé of Nouilly-sur-Marne. The powerful Counts of Flanders and Champagne set the example and took up the Cross; they were followed by Dampierre, by Montmorency, by the famous Simon de Montfort, and a multitude of nobles from the north of France, to whom the Venetians furnished fifty galleys for the transport of the army; the Marquis de Montferrat and the Count of Flanders were the recognized chiefs of this expedition, which was really directed by the old blind Doge Dandolo. It was he who, under pretext of having furnished the expense of their transport, carried the Crusaders to the conquest of Zara, the capital of Dalmatia, which he seized in the name of the Venetian Republic; then, taking advantage of a civil war which was desolating the Byzantine empire, and of the promises of a young Greek prince, who came to the camp of the Crusaders to implore their succour, to re-establish on the throne the Emperor Comnenus, his father, Dandolo pointed out to them that Constantinople was a rich prey and easy to seize, and decided them to commence the Crusade by that conquest. In vain the Pope threw obstacles in the way of this adventurous expedition; in vain a great number of the Crusaders separated themselves from it, and proceeded straight to Palestine. Dandolo threw the army against Constantinople, which disputed with Venice the empire of the sea. The Crusaders carried that famous capital by assault, and re-established on the throne Isaac Comnenus, whom an usurper had driven from it;

Fourth Crusade. Taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders, 1202—1204.

but very shortly a popular tumult took place, the old Emperor was strangled, and the Crusaders were obliged once more to gain the city by assault. This time the Greek empire was divided amongst the conquerors, and Baldwin, Count of Flanders, descendant of Charlemagne, elected Emperor. Thus was founded the Latin empire of Constantinople, which endured for fifty-seven years. The Venetians required for their share three of the eight quarters of that city, and obtained besides the greater part of the isles and sea-board of the empire. The Marquis de Montferrat had the kingdom of Thessalonica. The Morea became a principality, and the territory of Athens a feudal duchy. The Crusaders never crossed the Bosphorus.

Foundation of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204.

The event which agitated Europe most profoundly during the reign of Philip Augustus was the war of the Albigenses, or the crusade undertaken against the sectarians of the South. There was a great number of these in Provence, in Catalonia, and especially in Languedoc. The inhabitants of these provinces were industrious, given to commerce, to the arts, and to poetry: their numerous cities flourished, governed by consuls under a somewhat republican form of rule. Suddenly this beautiful region was abandoned to the fury of fanaticism, its cities were ruined, its arts and commerce destroyed. All these massacres, all this devastation, had for their end a purpose—the stifling of the first germs of a religious reformation.

Crusade against the Albigenses, 1208—1229.

In these countries the clergy were not distinguished, as in France and in the northern provinces, by their zeal in instruction and in diffusing the light of religion. They were notorious for disorderly living, and fell every day into greater contempt. The need for reform made itself felt before long in the breast of the provincial populations, and many reformers had already appeared. Long before this they had formed themselves into associations, which had for their aim the purification of the morals and doctrines of the Church. There were those of the Patarins,* and of the Catharins,† or "poor" of Lyons, better known under the name of Vaudois. But the operative reforms extended themselves gradually, the dogmas themselves were attacked, the

* So called from *pater*, because these sectarians admitted of none but the Lord's Prayer.

† From the Greek *kaiharos*, pure, on account of the purity of their lives.

priests exposed to the insults of the people, and the domains of the Church invaded. Such was the state of affairs when the famous Innocent III., aged 39, ascended the Pontifical throne in 1198, bringing thereto a domineering spirit, and the fiery energy of a violent and inflexible character. This Pontiff, who kept Europe in fear, sought out and punished any free exercise of thought in religious matters. He was the first to perceive the serious menace to the Romish Church, apparent in a liberty of conscience which went so far as to break into revolt against her tenets. He saw with inquietude and anger the new tendency of feeling in Provence and Languedoc, and proscribed the reformers.

Religious doctrines of the Albigenses.

Some among them, above all those denominated Albigenses, were Manicheans, that is to say, they admitted the dangerous doctrine of two eternal principles and powers of good and evil; but a great number, known under the name of Vaudois, professed opinions but little different from those which, three centuries later, were preached by Luther. They denied the Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, rejected confession, and the Sacraments of confirmation and marriage, and stigmatized as idolatry the worship of images. These latter were spread over Lyons, Dauphiné, and Provence; the Albigenses occupied more particularly Languedoc: their principal centres of action were Béziers, Carcassone, above all Toulouse, a very large, powerful, and industrious city, whose count, Raymond VI., was the richest prince in Christendom; his nephew, Raymond Roger, a young man full of ardour and courage, was Count of Béziers. Both the one and the other, without breaking with Rome, had favoured the new doctrines.

Innocent III., impatient to stifle the heresy, sent in the first place inquisitors into the province of Narbonne: they were badly received. The legate Pierre Castelnau succeeded them; he excommunicated Raymond, who, fearing the menaces of the Roman Pontiff, was forced to submit and to permit the persecutions. A gentleman, vassal of the count, indignant at the humiliation of his suzerain and the cruelty of the legate, assassinated the latter, and by this murder gave the Pope pretext to preach a crusade against the dominions of Raymond VI. and of his nephew. The monks of Citeaux seconded the vengeance of Innocent; they offered ample indulgences to all those who would bear arms for forty days

Assassination of the legate by a gentleman of Toulouse, 1208.

against the sectarians. A multitude of English, French, and Germans, eager to gain them, flocked under the banners of the Pope. The immense preparations of the crusaders struck terror into Raymond VI., who, worn with age and unable to offer a vigorous resistance, submitted himself and went to the Abbot of Citeaux, the new legate of the Pope. This latter reconciled him to the Church by causing him to be beaten with rods at the foot of the altar; he ordered him to guide the enemy's columns into the heart of his states, and to deliver up his chief castles. The young Viscount de Béziers, nephew of Raymond, indignant at the pusillanimous conduct of his uncle, declared war, and determined to be buried with his knights in the ruins of his strongholds. The crusaders threw themselves in a body on his lands, seized his castles, burnt all the men they found in them, violated the women, massacred the children, and carried Béziers by assault. An immense number of the inhabitants of the neighbouring country had taken refuge within the walls of that city; the legate being consulted by the conquerors as to the fate of these unhappy creatures, of whom only a portion were heretics, pronounced these execrable words: "*Kill them all; God will know his own.*" A frightful massacre followed these words, and the city was reduced to ashes. The army of crusaders marched thereupon to Carcassonne, and was sharply repulsed by the Viscount de Béziers. This young hero afterwards repaired to the legate to treat for peace, and was captured with three hundred knights in spite of a safe conduct, in virtue of the maxim "that one is not bound to keep faith towards heretics and infidels." The inhabitants of Carcassonne evacuated the city by secret subterranean passages unknown to the crusaders, but four hundred and fifty of them were taken and put to death. The crusaders themselves, weary of such horrors, desired to retire at the end of the forty days. The legate made fruitless efforts to detain them, and gave all the conquered country to the ferocious Simon, Count de Montfort; he delivered over to him also the Viscount de Béziers, who died by poison.

Massacre of Béziers, 1209.

Death of the Viscount de Béziers.

A part only of the Albigenses had been subjected and destroyed in this first crusade. The states of the Count of Toulouse remained intact, and against these in following years the monks of Citeaux preached new crusades throughout Europe. In vain the unfortunate

Count Raymond wished to allay the storm; the Council of Saint Gilles imposed infamous conditions on him, and ordered him to deliver over to the stake those whom the priests pointed out to him. The aged Raymond remembered his heroic nephew, and the thousands of men slain, whose blood cried out for vengeance; his indignation re-animated his valour, and he prepared for war to the death. The crusaders arrived from all parts; Simon de Montfort was at their head and distinguished himself by frightful cruelties: immense piles were prepared; the legate and Foulquet, Bishop of Toulouse, confounded in the same holocaust heretics and Catholics suspected of heresy. The battle of Muret, fought in 1213, terminated this war; Don Pedro, King of Arragon, who had brought succour to the Count of Toulouse, perished there. The Albigenses were defeated, and that defeat gave a mortal blow to their cause.

Battle of Muret, 1213.

The victorious executioners quarrelled among themselves and fought; the people regained courage. Toulouse rose. Montfort made himself master of it by the horrible treachery of the Bishop, Foulquet; the latter invited, in the name of the God of peace, all the inhabitants to come out and meet Montfort, who, with his knights, was awaiting them, and put them all in chains. The war was continued with various success, till at last all Languedoc rose in arms. Montfort was killed before Toulouse, which he was besieging; Count Raymond was recalled, and received in that city with the acclamations of the people: he died, the priests refused him sepulture, and his coffin remained many days exposed at the door of a church. These were the principal events in the wars of the Albigenses, but this was not the end of the misfortunes of that country. The conquerors desired to desolate the very soil which had supported these heretics. The Popes preached new crusades against Raymond VII., son and successor of the old Count Raymond. Great calamities again overwhelmed these people; their cities were destroyed, their fields desolated: at length, after twenty-two years of atrocities, when the language, the arts, and industry of these provinces had disappeared with the reformation, the executioners were wearied, and the war ceased under the following reign, to the great advantage of France. Raymond VII. ceded to it a portion of his territories by the treaty of Paris, signed in 1229.

Cessation of the war against the Albigenses.

Philip Augustus took no active part in this war of extermination; he sought, on the contrary, to repair its disasters, and while fanaticism was steeping the southern countries with blood, he extended his dominions and rendered them flourishing. The national assemblies had fallen into desuetude: Philip appealed to his chief barons to form his council and sanction his decrees.

Government and administration of Philip Augustus.

He conquered Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou, formerly forfeited to the King of England; he conquered also the county of Auvergne. Under his reign Valois, part of Vermandois, and Amienois, fell to the crown by the extinction of the families who possessed them; this King also re-annexed Artois to his crown by his union with Isabelle of Flanders and Hainault: finally, he gave the inheritance of Brittany to Pierre Mauclerc, a member of his family, and a Capetian dynasty was founded in that country. Thus was formed the new duchy of Brittany, which became one of the great immediate fiefs of the crown of France. These results were as much the work of his policy as of his fortune and valour. He caused his great vassals to bend before him, and obtained by his victories over them the superiority which belonged to him by right of his royal title. The citation of King John to his tribunal, and the judgment pronounced against him, dealt a mortal blow to feudal aristocracy.

New Duchy of Brittany.

Philip Augustus was occupied all his life in warfare, treaties, reforms, laws for his fiefs, and secured upon a firm basis the relations between lords and vassals, which until then had been only in an unsettled and arbitrary condition, and was thus the principal founder of feudal monarchy. The military art owed some progress to him; soldiers received pay, and for this purpose he established the first permanent imposts, he appointed three maritime armaments, and obtained by his activity, his prudence, and his talents, the respect both of sovereigns and people.

Labours of Philip Augustus.

The important foundation of the University of Paris dates from this prince, who defined its privileges. The name of University was given to this celebrated school because it was universal in its scope, and admitted masters and students without regard to the nation to which they belonged; thus,

Foundation of the University of Paris, 1200.

there were found in it the sections of France, England, Normandy, and Picardy. Paris saw at this time a multitude of colleges spring up in its midst, several of which acquired a great celebrity. All the schools were placed under the authority of the provost of Paris, and Philip Augustus confirmed a bull of Pope Celestin III. by which the scholars were released from ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The University thus rose under the double patronage of the Holy See and of Royalty. It alone possessed the right of granting the degrees of bachelor, licentiate, and doctor in the different faculties of letters and sciences; and though its rights and privileges were frequently the source of great disorders, it acquired a high renown and became one of the great powers of the state. The majority of the students, at that time, devoted themselves to the priesthood: the French Church sought with admirable learning and patience for the scattered memorials of ancient literature, and struggled successfully against barbarism and ignorance. Philip had comprehended the grand effect of the rising University: he encouraged the studies with all his power, and desired that the abode of those who abandoned themselves to learning should be an inviolable asylum. So much care for an object of such general interest did not, however, divert his attention from matters of a secondary importance. Paris, especially, was indebted to him for useful alterations. Up till that time all the streets of the capital became, in rainy weather, infectious sewers; but the principal thoroughfares were paved and embellished by his orders. He enlarged the city, enclosed it with walls, built market-places, and surrounded the Cemetery of the Innocents with cloisters; he built a palace by the side of the large tower of the Louvre, and continued the Cathedral, which had been commenced prior to his reign. He gained by his conquests and institutions the esteem of his contemporaries, and died at Nantes in 1223, after a reign of forty-three years, leaving a portion of his immense wealth to the priests and crusaders, and also making considerable gifts to the poor.

Death of Philip Augustus, 1223.

## LOUIS VIII.

LOUIS VIII., son of Philip Augustus, only reigned three years. This prince, whom his flatterers named Cœur de Lion, was descended on

the female side from Charlemagne, and seemed to unite in his person the claims of the Carlovingian and Capetian houses. During his father's life he had been recognized King of England by the barons hostile to King John, but being abandoned by his partisans he was obliged to quit the kingdom. On returning to France, he took from the English Poitou, which they had reconquered, as well as several important places in Aunis, Périgord, and Limousin, among others Rochelle, and signalized the end of his reign by a second crusade against the unhappy Albigenses. The principal cities of Languedoc, Beaucaire, Carcassonne, and Béziers, opened their gates to him, and the south of France, with the exception of Guienne and Toulouse, recognized the royal authority. Louis was marching against the latter city when an epidemic fever attacked his army, and he died at Montpensier, either from an attack of the malady, or, as some believed, from poison, administered to him by Thibaut of Champagne, who was violently enamoured of Queen Blanche of Castille, whom the King left a widow, with five children of tender years. The eldest of her sons was St. Louis.

Accession of Louis VIII. 1223.

Second crusade against the Albigenses, 1226.

Death of Louis VIII. 1226.

## CHAPTER V.

### REIGN OF LOUIS IX. (SAINT LOUIS), 1226–1270.

LOUIS IX., justly venerated under the name of St. Louis, was only eleven years of age on the death of his father, and the regency of the kingdom was disputed between Queen Blanche, his mother, and his uncle, Philip Hurepel, son of Philip Augustus and Agnes de Meran, whose marriage the Church had refused to recognize. A great number of the nobility supported the claims of Philip, and Henry III. of England declared himself their leader; but the devotion of the powerful Thibaut, Count of Champagne, insured the advantage to the queen-mother, and caused the submission of a portion of the rebels. Blanche had a mind at once great, proud, and Christian: she gave excellent masters to her children, and had them carefully brought up in the fear of God. "My son," she said to the young King, "you know how dear you are to me, and yet I would sooner see you dead than guilty of a mortal sin." This pious Queen also possessed political talent, and kept a firm hand over the malcontent lords, who wished to oppose the coronation of her son. Surprised by their troops on the Orléans road, she took refuge in the tower of Montlhéry and summoned to her aid the citizens of Paris, who arrived in arms to deliver her. She enabled France to reap the fruit of the horrible war with the Albigenses.

Regency of Queen Blanche.

The treaty of Paris, signed in 1229, between her and Raymond VII., Count of Toulouse, attached to the crown a large portion of Lower Languedoc, forming the seneschalship of Beaucaire and Carcassonne, and Raymond recognized as his heir in the rest of his territory his son-in-law Alphonse, one of the brothers of Louis IX., declaring the inheritance should revert to the crown if there were no child of the marriage of Alphonse with his only daughter, Jane: an eventuality which came to pass. Blanche next brought into

Treaty of Paris, 1229.

obedience the Dukes of Brittany and Burgundy, in spite of the assistance afforded them by the King of England; and a truce, which terminated this civil war, was signed at St. Aubin du Cormier between her, the barons, and her brother-in-law.

Peace of St. Aubin du Cormier, 1231.

Louis IX. was nineteen years of age when he married Margaret of Provence, then only thirteen. Queen Blanche separated them for six years, and always afterwards showed a jealousy about Margaret's influence over the King. A few years afterwards the sister of this princess married Henry III., King of England, who thus became the brother-in-law of St. Louis. The picture which France presents from the treaty of St. Aubin up to the time when the King attained his majority is that of general peace; but Louis IX. had soon to contend against the great vassals and nobles, to whom his grandfather, Philip Augustus, had dealt such terrible blows. The Counts de la Marche, of Foix, and several other vassals, united with Henry III., who crossed the sea with an army, and claimed the provinces taken from John Lackland. The English and their allies were conquered by Louis at the bridge of Taillebourg, and again before Saintes, which city he united to the crown, with a part of Saintonge, by the treaty of Bordeaux. The rebellious lords submitted to a master who generously pardoned them, and Henry returned to England.

Battle of Taillebourg, 1242.

All the East shook at this time in the expectation of a frightful catastrophe. The Mongols had set themselves in motion, and their countless hordes, emerging from Upper Asia, exterminated every nation they passed through. Their vanguard had invaded the Holy Land, and gained a sanguinary victory over the Christians and Mussulmans, whom terror had united: five hundred Templars were left on the field of battle, and Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of the ferocious conquerors. St. Louis was ill and almost dying when the news of this disaster reached Europe. As soon as he felt better, to the astonishment of all, he ordered that the red cross should be placed on his bed and on his garments, and made a vow to go and fight for the tomb of Christ. His mother and even the priests implored him to renounce this fatal design: it was in vain; and no sooner was he

Invasion of the East by Mongols.

Battle of Gaza, 1244.

convalescent than he summoned his mother and the Bishop of Paris to his bedside, and said to them: "As you believe that I was not perfectly in my senses when I pronounced my vows, here is my cross, which I tear from my shoulders and hand to you. But now you must acknowledge that I am in full possession of my faculties. Restore me my cross, then; for He who knows all things knows also that no food will enter my lips till I have been marked anew with His sign." "It is the finger of God," exclaimed all present; "His will be done."

Fifth Crusade.

The religious enthusiasm of Louis grew with his years, and dominated every other feeling in him. It is in his conscience, and not in his interests, that we must seek the motives of all his actions. He joined to an enlightened reason, a tender, pure, and generous mind; but his ardent faith was sometimes blind, and a false scruple on his part caused the greatest misfortunes. Determined on leading an army to the Holy Land, he felt that the safety of that army depended in great measure on the route which he selected for it. The safest was that by Sicily, a country subject to Frederick II.; but this Emperor was excommunicated by the Pope, his implacable enemy, and Louis, after impotent efforts to procure absolution for him, was afraid of halting in the states of a reprobate monarch, and resolved to proceed towards Egypt by Cyprus, instead of going to Syria by Sicily. This pious fault was his ruin. After settling all the affairs of his states and appointing his mother regent, Louis took the pilgrim's staff and the oriflamme from St. Denis, and left Paris on the 12th of June, 1248, to embark at Aigues-Mortes, a town he had founded at a great cost, in order to have a port in the Mediterranean.*

Departure of Saint Louis for the Holy Land, 1248.

The King sojourned a year at Nicosium, the capital of Cyprus, and then set out for Egypt. On arriving in sight of Damietta he leaped into the sea, sword in hand, at the head of his knights, repulsed the enemy, and seized this strong city and all its immense resources.

The only course open was to march on Cairo and subjugate Egypt by a rapid invasion; but the swelling of the Nile alarmed the King,

* This port is now dried up: the water in retiring has left a space of half a league between the sea and the shore.

and he remained for five months inactive at Damietta. At length he left that town, and marched without any precautions on Mansourah. The Turks surrounded him on a burning plain, and hurled on his baggage and camp blazing bitumen, known by the name of "Greek fire." Louis, in this desperate situation, made a violent effort: he gave orders for the battle; the Count Artois, his brother, rushed imprudently on Mansourah and surprised the town, but was surrounded there and killed, with the knights who followed him. The King, who had been unable to relieve them, fell back on a camp of the Saracens, carried it and shut himself up in it, but his position became as dangerous there as his preceding one. Disease and repeated assaults carried off one half of his army, and he was himself taken dangerously ill. He ordered a retreat on Damietta, where he had left the Queen and a powerful garrison, but Turkish galleys blocked the passage of the river, and finding himself without resources he fell a prisoner, with all his knights, into the hands of the Mussulmans. A great number of his soldiers apostatized to escape death, but he, thrown into irons and under the most atrocious menaces, preserved the majesty of a king and the resignation of a Christian. Queen Margaret, at Damietta, proved herself worthy of her husband. On hearing of the reverses of the army she shuddered at the thought of falling into the hands of the Turks, and asked an old knight who never left her to grant her one favour, that of running her through with his sword, rather than allow the Mussulmans to seize her. "I had thought of that, Madam," replied the old warrior. But Damietta was not taken by storm: Margaret kept the city as a pledge for the safety of the King, and it was offered with 400,000 livres for the royal ransom. At this price Louis recovered his liberty. His barons returned to France, but he remained four years longer in Syria, exhorting his knights to rejoin him, and employing his treasures in fortifying Tyre, Sidon, and all the other places in Palestine that belonged to the Christians.

Battle of Mansourah, 1249.

Before the news of his deliverance became known a crusade of a new description was set on foot. The people felt as much love for the King as hatred for the nobles who oppressed them. A man suddenly appeared who affirmed that he had received from the Virgin a letter,

which he held in one of his hands, which was always closed. She ordered him, so he said, to collect all the Christian shepherds he could find and march at their head to deliver the King. Victory was refused to the mighty, and promised to the feeble and humble. This uneducated man possessed eloquence, and ere long a multitude of shepherds followed his flag, and outlaws and bandits also joined themselves to him. The priests excommunicated this undisciplined mob, who avenged themselves by massacring a great number of ecclesiastics at Orleans. Queen Blanche, who at first had favoured the association, from this moment did everything in her power to dissolve it. The preachers of the shepherds excited the people against the priests. They were in the habit of preaching surrounded by a guard of armed men; and one day Blanche introduced among them an executioner, who stepped behind their chief, and with one stroke sent his head rolling at the feet of his horrified audience. Knights then galloped up and dispersed the shepherds, who were massacred by the people who had previously honoured them.

Crusade of the Christian shepherds.

Queen Blanche died in 1253, after a wise regency, and the King felt the most bitter grief at his loss. He returned to France, and made his entry into Paris, in September, 1254, displaying on his countenance the seared impression of all his disasters.

Death of Queen Blanche, and return of the King, 1254.

On his return, Louis occupied himself actively with the reformation of his kingdom, and displayed the lofty qualities of a legislator. He completely destroyed the sovereign authority of the nobles by depriving them of the right of dealing justice arbitrarily. An important discovery seconded his efforts: the code of Roman laws known by the name of the Pandects of Justinian, and which governed the Empire of Constantinople, became known at this period in France. This collection of laws, so justly celebrated, had, at the time, such a superiority over every other code, that it was hailed as written reason. It gave a living impulse to the minds of men, and its application was immediately demanded; but the ignorance of the nobles was so great that it was found necessary to call in men versed in the study of the laws to explain it. Saint Louis was the first to introduce these lawyers into a parliament, which he

Legislation and administration of Saint Louis.

constituted as a court of justice. This court was composed of three high barons, three prelates, nineteen knights, and eighteen clerks, or lawyers, who drew up the decrees. The latter succeeded in securing the entire management of affairs by disgusting the barons through the wearisomeness of the proceedings; they then exercised a portion of the feudal authority, and wished to render that of the King absolute by actively seconding him in all his projects of reform and attacks upon feudal rights.

This pious and humane monarch attempted to put an end to the private wars between his barons, and prohibited judicial combats. He decreed that when an insult was offered, the two parties, before having recourse to arms, should observe a truce of forty days, called "the king's quarantine," thus granting time for passions to calm. He ordered that judicial debates should be substituted for judicial combats; and considerably enlarged the authority of the crown by establishing "royal cases," in which he himself heard causes between his subjects and their lords. The lawyers gave the greatest extension to these appeals. Nor did the King permit cities to be rendered independent of his authority; he transformed many communes into royal towns by the ordinance of 1256, which ordered them to put forward four candidates, from among whom the King should choose the mayor, who was to be responsible to him for his conduct. It was then settled that the King alone had the right to make communes, that they should owe him fidelity against all, and that the title of "King's citizen" should be a safeguard under all circumstances.

The name of "Establishments of Saint Louis" has been given to a collection of decrees passed by this King for the people of his domains. This celebrated collection contains wise and useful laws against venality in the administration of justice, the greediness of creditors, imprisonment for debt, and usurious profits. Louis IX. also displayed the independence and firmness of his judicious mind by publishing the Pragmatic * Sanction, which became the basis of the liberties of the Gallican or French Church. This famous ordinance prohibited the raising of money for the Court of Rome within the kingdom without the King's permission, and fixed the cases in which it would be permissible to appeal from ecclesiastic to royal

Pragmatic Sanction.

* This word is derived from the Greek *pragma*, which means "a rule."

justice. Lastly, in spite of his great devotion, he managed to keep in check the extravagant zeal of the bishops. "Several prelates," says Joinville, "having come to see the King at the palace, the Bishop of Auxerre said to him, 'Sire, the lords here present, archbishops and bishops, have commissioned me to tell you that Christianity is perishing in your hands.' The King crossed himself and asked, 'How so?' 'Sire,' the bishop resumed, 'because so little heed is paid to-day, and every day, to excommunications, that people will die excommunicated rather than obtain absolution, and will not give satisfaction to the Church. The prelates enjoin you, Sire, by the love of God, to command your provosts and bailiffs that all those who remain excommunicated for a year and a day shall be forced to seek absolution by the seizure of their property.' The King replied that he would readily give such an order with respect to all those who were proved to him to be in the wrong. The bishop said that it was not for the King to judge their causes; but the King replied that he would not order otherwise, for it would be contrary to God and all reason if he forced people to obtain absolution when the clerks acted unjustly to them. 'As an example of this,' the King added, 'I will give you the Count of Brittany, who has pleaded for seven years, while excommunicated, against the prelates of Brittany, and has eventually induced the Pope to condemn them all. Hence, if I had constrained the Count of Brittany in the first year to obtain absolution I should have acted wrongly towards God and towards him.'"

Louis's last reform was that of the coinage. Eighty nobles had the right of coining in their domains, but Louis fixed the value of the coinage in each case, and brought his own everywhere into currency. He also effected greater security on the highways of the kingdom, by obliging the nobles who levied a toll to guarantee the security of the roads through their domains.

So much care devoted to the prosperity of the kingdom and to the salutary establishment of his authority did not so fully occupy the great mind of this King as to divert him from occupations of less general interest, but of no less useful kind. He founded a public library in Paris; created the hospital of the Quinze-vingts, intended to receive 300 blind people; and built the Holy Chapel, which may still be

Important foundations: The Quinze-vingts, the Holy Chapel, the Sorbonne.

admired at Paris, near the Palace of Justice, at that period the palace of the King. During his reign, Robert de Sorbon also founded the college which bears his name—the Sorbonne, which became the seat of the celebrated faculty of theology, whose decisions were so respected that it was called "the perpetual Council of Gaul."

Piety of Louis the Ninth.

This King's truly great and really Christian piety did not solely consist in the external observance of the practices of the Church: it sprang from the heart, and consisted chiefly in the love of God and an internal sanctity of the soul. Appropriate to this, Joinville relates an affecting interview which he had with this prince: "'Seneschal,' the King said to me, in the presence of several priests, 'what is God?' And I answered him, 'Sire, so good a thing that there can be nothing better.' 'Truly,' the King replied, 'that is a very good answer, for the answer you have made is written in this book which I hold in my hand. Now, I ask you, which would you prefer: to be a leper, or to have committed a mortal sin?' And I, who never lied to him, replied, that 'I would sooner have committed thirty, than be a leper.' And when the brothers had departed, he called me aside, made me sit at his feet, and said, 'You speak without reflection, like a thoughtless man; for there is no leprosy so villanous as that of being in deadly sin; because the soul then resembles the fiend of hell. This is why no leprosy can be so loathsome. When a man dies, he is cured of the leprosy of the body; but when the man who has committed a deadly sin dies, it is not certain that he has been so penitent as to cause God to pardon him. Thence he should feel a great fear lest this leprosy may endure so long as God is in Paradise. Therefore, I pray you,' he added, 'as strongly as I can, that, for the love of God and myself, you will prefer to have any malady affect your body rather than a mortal sin affect your soul.' Then he asked me if I washed the feet of the poor on Holy Thursday? 'Sire,' I said to him, 'I will never wash the feet of those churls.' 'Truly,' he replied, 'that is wrongly spoken, for you ought not to hold in disdain what God has done for our instruction. Hence I pray you, for the love of God and me, to accustom yourself to wash the feet of the poor.'"

Joining to this touching piety a great zeal for equity, Louis himself taught the respect due to the laws. He liked to render justice to his

subjects in person. "Many times," Joinville also says, "it happened that in summer he would go and sit in the wood of Vincennes after mass, and leaning against an oak, he made us sit down round him, and all those who had business came to speak with him freely, unimpeded by ushers or others."

More than once he passed severe sentences on members of his own family, and nobles with whom he was intimate. Still, in spite of such wisdom and pure zeal, he committed several faults, the consequence of errors which belonged to his age rather than to himself: laid cruel penalties on Jews and heretics; and four hundred and fifty bankers or merchants of Asti were seized by his orders and cast into dungeons for lending money on interest, though at a very moderate rate.* A scruple fatal to France disturbed the mind of this holy monarch. The conquests of Philip Augustus and the confiscation of the property of the English crown oppressed him, and appeared to him in the light of usurpations; and he concluded at Abbeville, in 1259, contrary to the advice of his barons and his family, a treaty, by which he restored to Henry III. Périgord, Limousin, Agenois, Querey, and Saintonge; while Henry on his side gave up his claims to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou. The prejudices and scruples of Saint Louis alone urged him to conclude this unfavourable treaty, which the English monarch could never have obtained by force. This prince was at the time at war with his barons, who extorted from him the concessions known as "the Provisions of Oxford," by which they exercised a portion of the royal authority. Such was the reputation of Saint Louis, that by common accord he was selected as arbitrator between them and their sovereign. He decided in favour of Henry III., and the Provisions of Oxford were annulled.

Treaty of Abbeville. Restoration of a portion of the conquests of Philip Augustus.

Arbitration of Louis IX. between Henry III. and his barons.

Almost at the same time that Louis signed the treaty of Abbeville he signed with the King of Arragon the treaty of Corbeil, by which that prince gave up all the fiefs he still possessed in Languedoc, and his claims to Provence; in return for which France surrendered her suzerainty over the countries of Bar-

Treaty of Corbeil, 1264.

* According to the Laws of the Church, and in the ideas of the middle ages, lending money on interest was regarded as a crime.

celona, Roussillon, and Cerdagne. The King of Arragon only retained in France the lordship of Montpellier, and the Pyrenees became the frontier of the two States.

Saint Louis had lost his eldest son, and several members of his family proved to be turbulent and dangerous to France. Charles of Anjou, his brother, an ambitious and cruel prince, heir by his marriage with Beatrice of Provence to the powerful counts of that name,* caused him very great anxiety, and, with the intention of removing him, Louis favoured his projects with regard to Naples and Sicily, then possessions of the Imperial crown.

The illustrious house of Suabia was humbled; Frederic II., its last Emperor, met with his death in struggling against the Pope, who sold his heritage, and offered to the King of France the kingdom of Naples, where Manfred, the bastard son of Frederic II., then reigned. Saint Louis refused the offer for himself, but allowed his brother to accept it. Charles of Anjou left France with an army gathered together in Provence; and six years later, in 1266, the battle of *Grandella*, where Manfred perished, placed the crown of Naples and Sicily securely on his head.

Foundation of the first house of Anjou, at Naples. Battle of Grandella, 1266.

The East now attracted more forcibly than ever the attention of Saint Louis. The Roman Empire in Constantinople was no more; the Greeks had retaken that city in 1261. Taking advantage of the divisions among the Christians in Syria, Bendocdard, the sultan of Egypt, made a series of rapid conquests in Palestine: Cæsarea, Jaffa, and Antioch, had fallen into his power, and a hundred thousand Christians had been massacred in the last-named town. On receiving intelligence of this frightful disaster, Saint Louis made a vow that he would take up the Cross for the second time. After making pilgrimages to the principal churches in his

Fall of the Roman Empire in Constantinople, 1261.

* Provence had for a long time formed part of the kingdom of Arles, composed of the two Burgundies, Cis and Transjuran. In 1033 Conrad II., having joined this kingdom to the German Empire, Provence, which comprised the four republics of Nice, Arles, Avignon, and Marseilles, was detached from it and remained independent under sovereign counts. Raymond Berengarius was the last, and Beatrice, his daughter and heiress, having married Charles, Count of Anjou, Provence passed into the possession of the latter, who soon after became King of Naples and Sicily. Such was the origin of the powerful house of the Counts of Anjou, Kings of Sicily, and Counts of Provence, which became extinct with "Good King René," who died in 1480.

kingdom, he embarked again at Aigues-Mortes, in 1270, and set sail for Tunis. He had appointed a rendezvous with his brother, Charles d'Anjou, within the walls of ancient Carthage. He disembarked opposite to this ruined town, and had to suffer an infinity of evils, from the dryness of the soil, the heat of the sun, and the arrows of the Moors. The plague carried away part of his army, which he was compelled to hold back in fatal inaction; it struck down his second son, the Count de Nevers, and he himself was attacked at the end of a month. He employed his last moments in giving good counsels to Philip, his third son and his heir. "Dear son," said he to him, "the first thing that I wish to impress upon thee is that thou love God; for without that no one can be saved. . . . . Have a gentle and compassionate heart for the poor, for the feeble, and comfort and aid them whenever it is in thy power. Maintain the good customs of the kingdom, and destroy the bad. Do not covet the property of thy people, and do not charge it with rates or taxes. . . . . Be careful to have the society of prudent men, and loyal, who are not full of covetousness. Flee and escape from the society of evil men. Listen willingly to the word of God, and retain it in thy heart; seek also willingly for prayers and pardons. Love thine honour, and hate evil, of whatever nature it may be. Be loyal and firm in rendering justice to thy subjects, neither turning to the right hand nor to the left; but aid and sustain the cause of the poor until the truth is brought to light. Guard the customs of thy kingdom, and if there be anything to amend, amend it and correct it. Give the livings of the holy Church to good men, with spotless lives, and act under the advice of men of probity. Keep thyself from being moved into war, without great necessity, against Christian men. Take care that the expenses of thy household are reasonable. Lastly, dear son, see that masses are sung for my soul, and prayers offered up for thy kingdom. . . . . I bestow on you all the blessings that a good father can give to his son. . . . . May God give you grace to do always His will, in order that after this mortal life we may be with Him, my son, and praise Him together." *

Sixth Crusade. Second Departure of Saint Louis for the Holy Land, 1270.

The King delivered himself up at last entirely to religious observances; he expressed a wish before death to be raised from his bed and

* Mémoires du Sire du Joinville.

laid upon ashes, and there he expired, holding the crucifix in his arms. "On the Monday, the good King raised his clasped hands to heaven, and said:—'Lord God, have mercy on the people who dwell here, and conduct them into their own land; let them not fall into the hands of their enemies; and let them not be led to forswear Thy holy name!' Shortly before his death, and while he was slumbering, he sighed and said, in a low tone, 'O Jerusalem! O Jerusalem!'" * His last thoughts were concerning God, the Holy City, and France, and he gave up the ghost on the 25th of August, 1270, after having appointed as regents of the kingdom, Mathieu de Saint-Denis and Roger de Nesle. No other king was more worthy of the admiration of his fellow-men, and alone, out of all his race, the Church bestowed on him the honours of canonization.

Death of Saint Louis, 1270.

* *Petri Epist. ap. Spicilegium.*

## CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE STATE OF FRANCE, AND UPON THE EVENTS WHICH TRANSPIRED DURING THE PAST THREE CENTURIES, FROM THE ACCESSION OF HUGH CAPET TO THE DEATH OF SAINT LOUIS.

The two hundred and ninety years of which we are about to trace the principal events were fertile with calamities and also with progress. Among the latter, the most worthy of attention are the gradual and constant increase of the royal authority, the birth of the *bourgoisie*, or the Third Estate, which, almost imperceptible at the end of the tenth century, started into existence suddenly towards the year 1100, as a social power in the first communal revolutions, and finished by absorbing nearly the whole nation.

We have shown, in the preceding chapters, the gradual and successive progress of royalty; we have seen it grow great under Louis the Fat, then afterwards to acquire reality under Philip Augustus, by the prodigious extension given to the possessions of the Crown; by the building of large ships; and by the superiority which public opinion accorded to it in virtue of an ancient right attached to the royal title and majesty. We see it later adding to its prerogatives by the wise decrees of Saint Louis, and removing from the nobles the essential rights of feudal power, by the restrictions placed on private warfare, and above all by the establishment of a court of justice. The people recognized, in the authority of the monarch, the sole power capable of struggling with success against their numerous oppressors. They desired that this authority should be powerful and awe-inspiring, hoping in case of need to lean upon it, and applauded with fervour its rapid progress, which was then of a noble and incontestible utility. Louis the Fat, in fact, bestowed upon royalty its character of public power and protection; Philip Augustus reconstructed the kingdom, and inspired in the people under his sceptre the sentiment of nationality;

Conquests by the Crown under the Feudal system.

Louis IX. impressed on his government a character of equity, a respect for the public rights, and a love for the public welfare, unknown until his time. At this time, then, the development of the royal power had produced an epoch of happiness for France; but the progress of this power afterwards, without any counterbalance, insomuch as it is considered connected with the true interests and prosperity of the nation, ceased with Saint Louis, and was afterwards suspended during more than a hundred and fifty years.

This prince did not regard his authority as absolute; it had, however, no precise limit with him, and the proneness towards despotism was easy. Royalty, upon thus being abandoned to it, created great perils against France and against itself. Before recalling the new destinies, it is necessary to throw a glance at the results which had been produced upon the civilization and manners of the French by the great events which had agitated Europe for three centuries. One of the most remarkable facts of this important period was the rapid development of the middle classes. It will be convenient, in the first place, in order to give an account of this, to examine the principal constituent elements of the *communes* of France, and the manner in which the greater part obtained their charters of freedom.

Ancient Gaul was then divided into two parties, distinguished by their language. The provinces of the North, where they spoke the Roman Walloon dialect,* were called Provinces of the Langue d'Oil, in consequence of the inhabitants making use of the word *oil* instead of *oui* when answering in the affirmative; they were ruled by customs derived probably from ancient Gaul, or perhaps from the German people. The provinces of the South, where they spoke the Roman Provençal, received from the monosyllable *oc*, of which the meaning is equally affirmative, the name of the Provinces of the Langue d'Oc; they were ruled by the Roman or written law. A great number of the towns throughout the southern provinces had preserved the form of municipal government which they had held under the Romans; others had for a long time lost the liberties which that power had bestowed on them. As to the towns of recent origin, they were built

Division of Gaul into the Langue d'Oc, and the Langue d'Oil.

State of the towns in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

* That is to say, one composed of corrupt Latin *mixed* with the language of ancient Gaul. The Walloon country comprised a portion of Belgium.

under the auspices of the most powerful noble in the province or neighbourhood, and their inhabitants enjoyed those civil rights and privileges which it pleased that nobleman to grant or guarantee to them. At the time when the feudal system was established, the nobles, both ecclesiastical and lay, opposed with all their power the municipal franchises. They substituted in great part their own authority where franchises existed, and usurped all the rights where the franchises were either destroyed or unknown. Those also who, in the hope of increasing the population of their fiefs, had guaranteed rights and liberties to men who came to settle there, afterwards violated, for the most part, their engagements and their charters. Nearly all raised arbitrary taxes in the towns, forbade the citizens to unite together and arm themselves for the common defence, and usurped the right of high and low justice. They disposed also of the fortunes and the lives of the citizens, and their oppression soon became intolerable. Reduced to despair, the oppressed people frequently had recourse to arms; they recalled their ancient franchises, requested guarantees for their property and persons, and took advantage of the avidity of the nobles either to buy back again or conquer their liberties.

Enfranchisement of the communes.

The period when the energy of the inhabitants of the towns roused itself coincides with that of the first Crusade; that event had a powerful though indirect influence upon the enterprise, and was favourable to it. The nobles needed gold for their distant expeditions; large numbers consented, on receiving considerable sums of money, to resign an authority which a great portion of them had usurped. They quitted France for a lengthened period, taking with them in their suite a multitude of knights, who, under their orders, had been the terror of both town and country. The absence of the oppressing party or the weakening of their numbers favoured the citizens in their attempts at independence; but they did not unite everywhere so easily. Many towns, after having bought their franchises, were obliged to resort to arms in order to preserve them. These liberties differed slightly from those which secured municipal institutions; but they gave to those holding them a certain extension and offered more guarantee. Citizens obtained by them the right to form *conjurations* or *communes*, that is to say, to defend themselves

with arms, to elect their mayors, their civil magistrates, their councilmen, to assess their own taxes, to dispense justice, and manage their own public affairs as they pleased. The engagements which they undertook amongst them indicated a deep feeling for the rights of humanity, and their oath had a grand character of independence and energy. They assembled in the principal church or in the market-place, and there they swore on holy relics that they would support each other. All those who bound themselves in this manner took the name of *communiers* or of *jurés*, and these titles expressed the idea of reciprocal devotedness. The liberties which they asked for, however, were not political liberties, such as we understand them at the present day. They did not request the power to make laws and participate in the government of the State, they wished to obtain strong guarantees against servitude, and to free themselves from an insupportable tyranny. They demanded the right to acquire property and preserve it, to live in security under established laws, and lastly, that civil liberty which at the present day social progress assures to every citizen in nearly every part of Europe.

After being constituted, the first act of a *commune* was to choose a tower in order to establish a *bell* or *belfry*, and the first clause of the oath taken by the inhabitants was the obligation to repair to the public place of the town, fully armed, as soon as the sound of this bell was heard. The communes enfranchised by the nobles engaged generally to give them a part of the harvests, to pay a rent for each person, and another for each room in their house, and the monopoly of the mills and ovens, while the inhabitants were bound to a personal service of a fixed number of days. Lastly, the merchants were obliged to hold an open credit with their ancient master, up to a certain sum. Notwithstanding these hard conditions, and the most solemn oaths, a great number of nobles wished to break the treaties, the price of which they had spent, as soon as they felt powerful enough to violate them with impunity. The citizens struggled almost everywhere with courage, but they understood the necessity of obtaining a sanction which would be respected by the nobles themselves. They appealed to the kings, and prayed to be delivered from the charters of enfranchisement, and to be taken under their protection. The kings of France saw in this demand a source of riches for themselves and a means of

patronage directly opposed to the nobles, whom they distrusted; they sold, then, their support to the communes of the kingdom, and so added much to their own authority. Louis VI. was the first who granted these charters, but he did not create the communes, nor did he enfranchise their inhabitants. The towns conquered their liberties for themselves, and the King only made legitimate liberties already obtained, by selling his supreme sanction. These royal acts, done with that special motive, strengthened the monarchy, by uniting its cause with that of the people. But at this period the effective royal power only made itself felt between the Somme and the Loire, and the only towns to which Louis VI. sold his charters were Beauvais, Noyou, Soissons, Amiens, Saint-Riquier, Saint-Quentin, and Abbeville. In the other parts of France proper, the kings, until the time of Saint Louis, had no part in the maintenance of the liberties of the communes, as the counts would not suffer the royal intervention.

In the towns of the southern country the establishment of communes met with fewer obstacles than in the north, the struggle was shorter, and the success more decisive; the feudal system laid itself less heavily upon them; while the greater part preserved something of the ancient municipal institutions which Rome had bestowed on them. These flourishing towns, such as Arles, Narbonne, and Toulouse, kept up, besides, frequent commercial relations with the cities of Lombardy, where the republican spirit commenced to rule, and we see rapidly the *consulat municipal** pass from Italy into southern France: there the commercial system only helped to develope and guarantee the liberty of the citizens.

We have seen the restrictions brought to bear by Saint Louis on the independence of the towns which he preserved from anarchy by maintaining there the royal authority: wisely checked, the communal revolution was fruitful in happy results. The country gentlemen living near the towns envied the fate of their inhabitants; a large number of them abandoned their seigneurial lands, in order to become themselves members of the communes, and many towns, of which the population increased by this means, placed their walls farther back. It was in

* Until the French Revolution, the name of *consul* was preserved by the municipal magistrates of the towns of the south. At Toulouse the hotel-de-ville is still called the *capitole*.

this manner that the power of the cities increased by degrees, while that of the châteaux was enfeebled. When each person in the towns had obtained security for his life, for his fortune, and for the free enjoyment of the fruits of his work, industry arose and commerce extended itself. The bourgeois class became every day stronger, richer, more respectable; the general feeling of ease increased, and civilization made rapid steps. This progress was more perceptible and more prompt in Flanders than in the other countries of the north. The maritime situation of most of the great cities favoured the establishment of manufactories which enriched the citizens, and accustomed them at all times to unite together all their efforts against ravages by sea. After having ascertained that it was sufficient for them to associate together to rule the ocean, they were all prepared to unite in order to struggle against feudal oppression and to triumph over it.

But among all the events which characterized the eleventh and twelfth centuries, those which ruled the epoch, and which exercised the greatest influence upon the spirit, the manners, and the existence of all classes of the nation, were the *Crusades*. Until then the wild valour of the warriors of the East, excited by a thirst for domination and riches, had only had for its aim conquests of a material kind. The Crusades in the Holy Land did not soften the soldier-rudeness of manners; but they gave to courage a more noble and more elevated aim. They spiritualized its origin. Men accustomed themselves to fight, to undergo the most cruel privations, to give their lives for something that was immaterial and ideal, for a cause that elevated their souls; they felt themselves destined for another end than that of gratifying their own gross inclinations. Those distant expeditions, in transporting innumerable multitudes to so great a distance from their country, weakened the national hates and prejudices of the different classes. It was impossible that so many men, armed for the same cause, could close their hearts to all sentiment of fraternity. The manners of the nobility, above all, proved the happy effects of the Crusades. The religious enthusiasm gave birth to chivalry, which shone forth with the most sparkling brilliancy at the end of this epoch. To serve God, and to cherish and respect his lady, to defend intrepidly, lance in hand, towards and against all, this double object of an enthusiastic worship,—

Influence of the Crusades upon manners.

Chivalry.

such was the duty of a *preux chevalier*. Domesticity was considered noble service; the court of the sovereign, the castles of the nobles, became schools where young gentlemen learnt to serve under the names of varlets, gallants, knights, and to merit also themselves the supreme honour of chivalry. The study of letters or science did not enter into the education of a gentleman, who passed for an accomplished man when he knew how to pray to God, to serve the ladies, to fight, to hunt, and to manage his horse and lance. Beyond that his ignorance was absolute, and we must attribute, above all things, to the want of intellectual instruction, the singular mixture of fanatical superstition, brutal violence, sincere purity, enthusiasm for women, and the mixture of courtesy and ferocity which the chivalresque character displayed for so long a time.

Armorial bearings. Heraldry.

It is to the first Crusade that we must go back for the usages concerning the family names of the nobility. It was necessary in these immense collections of men of many nations, that every knight should be recognized by a name that should be proper to himself, and for the most part they adopted that of their fief. Armorial bearings and heraldic emblems are of the same date. An extraordinary brilliancy was connected in public opinion with the exploits of the Crusades. The nobles, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of them, placed in their castles, in the most conspicuous place, the banners under which they had fought in the Holy Land; they were the monuments of their glory, and the members of their families, on going out themselves, communicated these signs of illustration. The ladies embroidered the device on their furniture, on their robes, and on those of their husbands; the warriors caused them to be painted upon their shields, and indicated in an abridged manner the exploits that these ensigns recalled. An arch signified a bridge defended or taken; by a battlement, a tower was designated; by a helmet, the complete armour of a vanquished enemy. Each of these distinctive signs became the escutcheon of a family, and the domestics exhibited themselves bedizened with it on the occasion of ceremonies. Heraldry was the art of interpreting these emblems; it was in principle a species of language by which alliances and rights to public esteem were made known.

The first essays of French poetry belong to this time. The *trouvères*

in the north, and the *troubadours* in the south, composed songs which the *minstrels* or *singers* recited from castle to castle, accompanying themselves on instruments. The *trouvères* were distinguished above all in the epic style. The adventures of the Crusades or some marvellous legend inspired them. Their most celebrated works are: *L'Alexandre*, by Alexandre de Bernay (the originator of the Alexandrine verse); *Gérard de Nevers*, by Gilbert de Montreuil; *Garin le Loherain*, by Jehan de Flagy; and above all the famous *Roman de la Rose*, or the Art of Loving, by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung. To them also we are indebted for several lays, virelays, and fables, remarkable for their natural grace.

The troubadours, on the contrary, among whom we reckon Bertrand de Born, Raimond Béranger, Arnauld Daniel, William IX. Count of Poictiers, cultivated in preference the lyric style, which they named the "gay science."

The French language then disengaged itself from the Latin forms, and became that of the legists, of the chroniclers and romancers, or *trouvères.* The *Assises* or laws of the kingdom of Jerusalem were written in this language, so also were the chronicles of Ville-Hardouin, Marshal of Champagne, who describes the fourth Crusade; and that of the Sire de Joinville, a biography of Saint Louis. This latter work, charmingly written, is perhaps the most curious monument of the French language in the thirteenth century.

The arts also made progress during the period of the Crusades. We see these arising in several of the most curious monuments of architecture, called Ogival, which we admire in the Gothic cathedrals. These were decorated with the productions of a statuary, coarse as yet, but full of originality, and by the rich paintings which illuminate their glass, of which the secret, it is said, goes back as far as the tenth century. The greatest progress in painting at this period manifested itself in the *chefs-d'œuvre* in miniature which decorated the missals and the *livres d'heures*, of which a great number have been handed down from age to age, and are still admired at the present day.

Architecture, Sculpture, Painting.

Tournaments also date their birth from the same period. These military games were intimately connected with the manners of chivalry. The times which preceded and followed that of chivalry offer nothing resembling them. People

Tournaments.

hurried from all parts of the kingdom, as to national fêtes; gentlemen fought there armed cap-à-pie, with lances, axes, and swords, of which the steel had been blunted; sometimes the combat was allowed to proceed to extremity. The cavaliers sought to surpass each other in the games, not only in magnificence but in strength, in address, and in courage. They appeared there distinguished by their mottoes, under the eyes of kings, of princes, and of ladies, the applause of whom they were ambitious to gain: the ladies gave the prizes to the victors. The tournaments were regulated by a particular legislation, of which the principal author was Geoffroi de Preuilly.

Religious Orders.

The most celebrated religious military orders were founded by the French on the occasion of the first Crusade, and from France they spread themselves over the whole of Europe. The first were the *Hospitallers of Saint John* and the *Templars;* they devoted themselves humbly to the service of the Holy Land, and from soldier-monks, as they were at first, they became sovereigns. A third order, that of the *Antonines*, consecrated themselves to the relief of those who were attacked by a species of plague called *holy fire.* It is to Christian charity that humanity was indebted for the foundation of Ecclesiastical Orders, which, for the most part, enriched at last by pious largesses, deviated from their aim, and degenerated from their holy origin. The orders of Hospitallers, instituted for the purpose of ransoming prisoners taken by the Infidels, and for the relief of the sick, were founded later; also the celebrated order of the *Dominicans* or *Frères prêcheurs*, and also that of the *Franciscans* or *Cordeliers*, so called from the cord which served them for a girdle. These two last were called *mendicant orders*, because they made a vow of poverty and lived upon alms, according to the formal instructions of their illustrious founders Saint François d'Assise and Saint Dominique de Guzman. They acquired great power in a short time; in virtue of papal commissions they preached, administered the sacraments, and directed the consciences of kings and people, thus taking away by degrees all the functions of the bishops and of the secular clergy.* *Not having anything, they possess all things*, said the chancellor Pierre des Vignes

* The *secular clergy* was so called because it lived in the world, in the *siècle.* It was composed of all the ecclesiastics who were not under vows in a religious community. The ecclesiastical members of communities, or inhabitants of convents, composed the *regular clergy.*

to the Emperor Frederic II. They sapped into the bases of the ancient hierarchy of the Church; for they annulled in some sort the power of the bishops, whose authority they braved. They wished also to direct the schools and to take to themselves the chairs of the University, where the secular clergy still ruled. The latter resisted, and an obstinate struggle resulted. The dispute lasted thirty years, and was prolonged during a large portion of the reign of Saint Louis. At last, after lengthened storms and reciprocal excommunications, the University was compelled to yield by Pope Alexander IV. The mendicant orders obtained some of the chairs in the schools, and the University conferred the grade of Doctor upon two illustrious members of these orders, on the Franciscan, Bonaventura, and on the Dominican, Saint Thomas d'Aquinas, who was surnamed the *Angel of the School*, and whose theological writings excited the enthusiastic admiration of his contemporaries.

Struggle of the Mendicant Orders against the University.

The religious movement of the Crusades was very favourable to this prodigious increase of the power of the monks, and provoked the establishment of a multitude of pious foundations. The vast and magnificent monasteries of *Cluny* and *Citeaux* were gorged with wealth; they served as places of assembly for the nobility, and the abbés were admitted into the councils of the kings.

The Crusades communicated in everything a lively and strong impulse to civilization and to manners. Propitious to the enfranchisement of the communes, they favoured also the progress of the bourgeoisie by the extension which they gave to commerce. The delicacies of the East caused new wants to arise; the merchants, hitherto despised, acquired more consideration, and formed the link between Europe and Asia. Maritime commerce, above all, which scarcely existed before the Crusades, acquired by them a very vast development; European industry gained equally by the expeditions of the Crusaders. Silk stuffs, spices, perfumes, and the other treasures of the East, were known in Europe from the time of the Carlovingians; but they were only seen in the courts of princes or the dwellings of the great. During this period the art of dyeing the tissues of silk was brought to perfection, and amongst the principal conquests of industry in the thirteenth century we must reckon saffron,

Commerce. Industry.

indigo, the sugar-cane, and the art of extracting its precious contents. The rich tissues of Damascus, the glass of Tyre, imitated in Venice, and which was afterwards substituted for metallic mirrors, windmills, and cotton stuffs, were also made known at this period to Europeans, who learnt at the same time damaskeening, the engraving of seals and money, and the manner of applying enamel to metals. The towns had become, partly by the effect of the Crusades, the centres of free activity, of commerce, and of wealth; luxury extended itself in every direction. The manner of living, of furnishing, of feeding, became different; ease increased in the houses of the nobles and the bourgeoisie, and the Third Estate made with these rapid progress.

Progress of the Third Estate.

In all the towns workmen of different professions formed particular associations, called *corporations*, in which the members found a support in one another, and an assistance for the aged, the widows, and the orphans. Each of these was instituted under the invocation of a saint, who was looked upon as its patron. They had all chiefs, and syndics or juries, who prevented frauds and watched the observation of the rules. These assured to the members of each corporation the monopoly of their industry after a long and severe apprenticeship. The rules of Saint Louis constituted the chiefs of the trades the police of their corporation, and rendered them responsible for the disorders committed in their body.

Corporations.

The last and most numerous class of the nation was that which received the least advantages from these expeditions; nevertheless, the unfortunate serfs were not total strangers to their results. The Popes decided that no Christian, in whatever condition he might be born, could be prevented from taking up the Cross and departing for the Holy Land. This was to sever at one blow the ties which bound the serfs to the glebe or the land of their lord. It admitted them to a species of fraternity in arms, and displayed to their eyes the consoling sentiment of their individual dignity as members of the human family. But although these peasants, who had become soldiers of the Church, obtained their enfranchisement, the establishment of a free class of peasants did not follow as a result. Of that great multitude of men who left for Palestine, only a small number returned to their country; the greater part perished of misery,

The serfs.

of fatigue, and of excess, or were cut down by the scimitars of the Mussulmans.

The human mind, stimulated by different and powerful causes, made notable progress during the period of the Crusades; and already, under Louis VI., the schools of Paris had attained great celebrity. This was the first epoch of *scholastic philosophy*,* only taught from the chairs of the University, and of the famous quarrels between the philosophic sect of the *Realists* and that of the *Nominals*. The first only admitted reality in that which they called the *universaux*, that is to say, *general ideas*, *collective beings*, and attached itself to the Platonic theories; the second only saw in the *universaux*, words, names, simple abstractions of the mind, and depended in preference on the theories of Aristotle. These two schools had for their chiefs two men of great renown. Roscelin de Compiègne professed with brilliancy, in the twelfth century, the doctrine of the *Nominals*, while his realistic adversary, Guillaume de Champeaux, was director of the school of the cloister, Nôtre Dame, at Paris. Then appeared the Breton, Pierre Abeilard, as much celebrated for his amours with Héloïse and by his own misfortunes, as by his science and his immortal genius. Profound logician, without a rival in dialectics, and of a marvellous eloquence, Abeilard shone forth in the first ranks of the *Nominals*. His prodigious success in philosophy did not shake his religious and Christian faith; but he wished to submit the Catholic dogmas to analysis, to comment upon them reasonably. His principles upon different points of theology, and among others upon *Free Will*, appeared to be in opposition to the decisions of the councils, and for the first time he was condemned by the Council of Soissons for having taught without previously obtaining the approbation of the Pope and of the Church. Abeilard retired into the solitary, sandy district of Champagne, where he raised with his own hands an oratory, composed of thatch and rushes, which afterwards became the celebrated Abbey of *Paraclet*. His disciples, and among them the illustrious Arnold of Brescia, discovered his retreat; they hurried from all parts; they braved the austerities of the desert in order to follow their master, to hear his words, to pray and

Schools of Paris.

Schools of the Realists and of the Nominals.

Abeilard.

* The philosophy called *scholastic* was subordinate in all its affirmations to theology.

to meditate with him. Persecuted, condemned afresh, Abeilard sought a more profound retreat in the Abbey of Saint-Gildas, in Brittany. Then, suddenly, braving his enemies, he reappeared brilliantly in Paris, where his renown drew together a number of students from all parts of Europe. His books flew from hand to hand, his doctrines spread themselves from the capital to the extremities of the kingdom, his glory was at its height, when a redoubtable antagonist crushed him under the thunderbolts of the irritated Church. This was Saint Bernard, founder of the celebrated Abbey of *Clairvaux*. This illustrious man pushed the monasterial austerities to an almost unheard-of rigour, living a life more ecstatic than terrestrial. Bearing in a body weak, pale, reduced by watchings and fastings, an incomparable vigour of soul, leaning his words and his acts on the authority that gives the conviction of a holy mission and a supernatural inspiration, no one exercised more power over his contemporaries in an age when the faith of the people was so strong and their reason so weak. The Pope, the emperor, the kings, the bishops, the people, submitted to the authority of his genius; at one time he extinguished a schism, or drew up in the solitude of his cell the constitution of a religious order; at another, disposing at his pleasure of the sword of kings, he directed their armies to the east or the south, according to the interests of the Church. *His word*, they said, *was as a law of fire, which went forth out of his mouth*, and everywhere there were reports of the marvellous cures which followed his steps. This prodigious man taxed with pride the reason which attempted to explore mysteries; he was irritated with the efforts of Abeilard to explain inexplicable dogmas, and cried out in the bitterness of his spirit,—"They would search even into the entrails, the secrets, of God." A new council assembled at Sens, and the two great adversaries appeared there in presence of the King, the princes, and the bishops; but Abeilard foresaw, without doubt, that the discussion would not be free; he declined the solemn debate, making an appeal to the Pope as he retired from it, and was condemned to seclusion in a convent to the end of his days. Then, bending his head, he confessed himself vanquished, and concealed his life in the monastery of Cluny; he closed it in 1142, in the priory near to Chalons, where he died, reconciled with Saint Bernard. He had had to combat with a far

Struggle between Abeilard and Saint Bernard.

more redoubtable adversary than that great man. Abeilard struggled all his life against the dominant spirit of his age, which regarded every attempt made by human reason to attain at independence as a culpable insurrection. The genius which had animated him survived him, but many years passed away before any part of Europe dared to proclaim and admit the principle of which Abeilard could not assure the triumph—the liberty of examination and discussion in matters of conscience and of faith.

Science.

Already, however, the secrets of nature were studied, but the darkness was as yet too profound to permit the human mind to attain its aim. The study of mathematics became that of astrology. Medicine degenerated into sorcery, and natural philosophy into alchemy. Nevertheless, in the midst of these gropings in the dark, science made some important discoveries: the alchemists, who endeavoured obstinately to find the *grand œuvre*, or the philosopher's stone, discovered by chance various properties of the bodies submitted to analysis, and the world was enriched by these discoveries, which they looked upon as nothing. It is thus that distillation was brought to light, the fabrication of acids, salts, convex lenses, and lastly, gunpowder, the composition of which was discovered by the monk, Roger Bacon, towards the close of the thirteenth century.

Finally, many sciences are indebted to the Crusades for great progress, among others the military art, navigation, history, and geography. The aspect of so many different countries, the observation of new and varied manners, and the comparison of a multitude of customs, extended the ideas of the people, and uprooted a great number of errors and prejudices. Nevertheless, a great part of the ameliorations of which the Crusades were the cause only manifested themselves very slowly, while others did not bear their fruit until long after Europe had given up these religious expeditions. The Crusades were also accompanied and followed by a great number of calamities, and it is necessary to recognize one of their most mournful results in the sanguinary ardour which they appear to have communicated to the Christians, a disposition entirely contrary to that of the Divine founder of their religion. The Christian people for a long time back, it is true, regarded as accursed of God all those who did not belong to their faith; the Crusades strengthened this fatal tendency of their

minds. People who were reputed heretics were soon persecuted with as much fury as the Mussulmans and Jews, and the extermination of the Albigenses opened the field for a long series of cruel wars. The weakness of the progress of Christianity in the East, and several of the disasters among the Christians in Palestine, ought to be in great part attributed to the barbarities of the Crusaders, who believed themselves entitled to act as they pleased towards infidels, and did not consider themselves bound to keep their word with them. They forgot that the best proof that men can give of the superiority of their civilization and of the sanctity of their religion is the respect that they show for virtue and truth.

# BOOK II.

## FROM THE DEATH OF ST. LOUIS TO THAT OF CHARLES VI.

DESPOTISM OF THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT AND AUTHORITY OF THE LEGISTS. —ACCESSION OF THE VALOIS TO THE THRONE.—HUNDRED YEARS' WAR WITH ENGLAND. — THE CELEBRATED STATES-GENERAL. — DISASTERS IN FRANCE.—GREAT SCHISM OF THE EAST.—ANARCHY.— 1270–1422.

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## CHAPTER I.

REIGNS OF THE SUCCESSORS OF SAINT LOUIS, UNTIL THE ACCESSION OF THE VALOIS.—PHILIP III.—PHILIP IV.—LOUIS X.—PHILIP V.—CHARLES IV. 1270–1328.

### PHILIP III.

THE third son of Saint Louis, Philip III., called without any known reason Philip the Bold, did not follow the glorious example of his father; he reigned surrounded by valets, and wholly given up to superstitious practices.

The same day that Saint Louis died he received Charles d'Anjou, his uncle, who entered into the port of Carthage with a fleet and an army. Notwithstanding this reinforcement the Crusaders rested in inaction, rightly accusing Charles d'Anjou of having directed his brother to Tunis in his own interest, so that he might force the Moorish king to pay to him the tribute which ancient Neapolitan treaties imposed upon him. Peace was concluded that year; a large sum of money was handed over by the African prince, and all the prisoners given up. Then the army returned to Europe, diminished to one-half by the heat, the fatigue, and the plague. In sight of the

coast of Sicily, a tempest swallowed up eighteen French vessels, together with all the rich tribute paid by the King of Tunis. The Crusaders saw in this disaster the hand of God, which chastised them for having returned without visiting the Holy Land. Philip re-entered France preceded by five coffins, those of his father, his wife, his son, his brother, the Count of Nevers, and of his brother-in-law, Thibaut II., Count of Champagne, King of Navarre. His uncle Alphonso* died shortly afterwards without offspring, and his death made Philip heir to the county of Toulouse, which, notwithstanding all the disasters of the war with the Albigenses, was still the most considerable fief in France. It comprised, together with ancient Languedoc, the Marquisate of Provence, or county of Venaissin, the county of Poitiers, the land of Auvergne, the Aunis, and a part of the Saintonge. Gregory X., one of the most venerable men that ever occupied the Pontifical throne, was elected Pope. Philip ceded to him the county of Venaissin, to which he himself had only doubtful rights, and engaged himself in wars of succession. Alphonso X., King of Léon and Castille, was dead, without having been able to cause his grandsons to be recognized as his successors; they were the children of Ferdinand of Cerda, and Blanche, the daughter of Saint Louis. Philip III. appealed in vain concerning their rights to the throne of their grandfather. The *Cortes*† of Segovia had designed as the successor of Alphonso, Sancho, his second son, already celebrated for his warlike talents; their decision overthrew all the principles of legitimacy.

Aggrandizement of the Royal Domain.

Cession of the county of Venaissin to the Pope, 1274.

A thick cloud conceals from us the particular actions of Philip III.; he appeared to see and to act only through Pierre de la Brosse, who had been his chamberlain, and who, raised by base intrigues to the post of prime minister, had drawn upon himself the hate of all the court. A bloody catastrophe terminated the days of that favourite. Jealous of the influence of the Queen, Marie de Brabant, second wife of the King, he had accused her of the death of Prince Louis, eldest son of his first wife. Philip

Disgrace and execution of Pierre de la Brosse, 1278.

* Alphonso, brother of Saint Louis, had married Jeanne, daughter and heiress of Raymond VII., last Count of Toulouse.

† *Cortes.* The national assemblies of Spain were so called.

ordered inquiries to be made on the subject. At that time they believed that they could not find out the authors of a crime except by the torture of the accused, or by the intervention of the celestial and infernal powers. Philip consulted those persons whom the superstition of the time looked upon as being endowed with the power of reading the future. The *Vidame* of the Church of Laon, a Sarabaite,* and a nun of Nivelles, were considered to have revelations. All three at once began to give credence to the reports spread about against the Queen; but afterwards they retracted, and advised the King to beware of Pierre de la Brosse. Two years passed away, when one day a monk brought to the King at Milan letters sealed with the seal of his minister. The contents of these letters remain a mystery; but La Brosse was arrested immediately and thrown into prison. Philip appointed as his judges three of the greatest nobles in his court, his enemies; and La Brosse was condemned, and hanged at the gibbet of Montfaucon in 1278.

The reign of Philip III. left no glorious souvenir for France, either in the interior of the kingdom or in foreign lands, and this period was marked by the frightful disaster which overthrew the French Government in Sicily. Charles d'Anjou, after having caused his rival, the young Conradin, son of Conrad IV. and grandson of Frederic II., to be condemned to death and executed, believed himself securely seated upon his new throne. Conradin was the last prince of the house of Hohenstaufen; his death left the field clear for Charles d'Anjou, who from that time believed that he could oppress Naples and Sicily under a frightful tyranny.

Vengeance brooded in every heart; John of Procida became the soul of the conspiracy: he was certain of the assistance of the Greek Emperor, Michael Paleologus, and of the King of Aragon, Don Pedro III. The latter assembled together a fleet, which he entrusted to the celebrated Roger of Loria, his admiral, with the order to await events upon the coast of Africa. Suddenly, on the 30th of March, 1282, the people of Palermo arose at the moment when the vesper bells sounded. At the stroke of

The Sicilian Vespers, 1282.

* Monks who did not live in community and did not submit themselves to any rule were so called; they, however, wore the tonsure and gave themselves out as rigorists. (Du Cange: Glossary.)

this tocsin, the French were massacred in the streets of Palermo, and in a month afterwards the same thing had occurred throughout the whole of Sicily. Charles d'Anjou, furious, attacked Messina; Roger of Loria came forward and destroyed his fleet under his very eyes. Charles gave vent to cries of rage, and demanded vengeance from King Philip, his nephew. The Pontiff, Martin IV., sustained his cause with ardour; he declared Don Pedro deprived of the crown of Aragon, in order to punish him for having assisted the Sicilians, and by the same bull he named Charles de Valois, second son of Philip, successor to Don Pedro, against whom he preached a crusade. Philip III. commanded the expedition, but it was unfortunate: Gironne opposed a long resistance to France, while the King of Aragon, with his faithful Almogavares,* half savage soldiers, held the neighbouring mountains. His unexpected and multiplied attacks, together with dearth and fever, mowed down the army of Philip; he returned to France ill and almost alone, carried on a litter, and expired in the course of the year. Charles d'Anjou died shortly before him, through disappointment at having lost Sicily; and Martin IV. and the King of Aragon followed Philip closely to the grave.

Crusade of the French into Aragon.

Death of Philip III., 1284.

During this reign, a simple gentleman, called Rodolph, Count of Hapsburg, was elected Emperor in 1273, and became the founder of the new house of Austria. One of the most remarkable events of this period was the sudden reunion of the Greek and Roman Churches, effected by Gregory X. in 1274, at the second General Council of Lyons. The Emperor, Michael Paleologus, was received by the Pope into the number of the faithful; but the Greeks did not lend themselves to this reconciliation, which nearly cost the Emperor his life.

Foundation of the imperial house of Hapsburg, 1273.

## PHILIP IV.

### 1284–1314.

Philip IV., surnamed the Fair, was sixteen years of age when he succeeded to the throne of Philip the Bold,

Accession of Philip IV., 1284.

* This name, borrowed from the Arabs, was applied in Catalonia to light infantry soldiers.

his father. His extreme youth did not offer an occasion for any trouble; and such was the progress of the monarchical spirit in France, that the nobles of the kingdom, instead of claiming to be either his equals or masters, assembled round him as his servants. Philip at once continued the war against Aragon, which his brother had commenced, and which was prolonged for many years without any decisive success. It was terminated by the Treaty of *Tarascon*, signed in 1291, and confirmed by that of *Aragon*. These treaties recognized Alphonso III., son of Pedro III., King of Aragon, and Charles II., son of Charles d'Anjou, King of Naples. The new house of Anjou was thus firmly established in the possession of this beautiful kingdom, from which, however, Sicily was detached and given up to the sovereigns of *Aragon*. Charles II., crowned by the Pope, ceded his hereditary domains, Maine and Anjou, to Charles de Valois, second son of Philip the Bold.

War with Aragon.

Treaties of Tarascon and of Aragon, 1289.

The first ordinances of the new King were favourable to the bourgeoisie and the Jews; but Philip, whose character was hard, irascible, and rapacious, put no curb on his pride and cupidity. He oppressed his subjects without pity, and in his exactions was supported by unprincipled men of law, notorious for their skill in the art of chicanery, as well as for their base servility. These legists, judges, councillors, and royal officers, were, under him, the tyrants of France; their work, however, in so far as it touched legislation, had a useful influence which cannot be forgotten. Imbued with the ideas of the Roman imperial law, they proceeded with an impassible perseverance to introduce it into the French political law by joining together the privileges of the sovereignty in the sole hands of the prince, and by the equality of the subjects before the law. In civil law they played the same part; the *Pandects* always before them, they tried to introduce the same spirit of reason and of natural equity which had inspired the great jurisconsults of the empire. In this manner they demolished the social order, as it had been created under the feudal system, organized at the same time monarchical centralization, and became the true founders of the civil order in modern times.

Authority of the legists.

The court of the King, or Parliament, the supreme tribunal of the

Parliament of Paris, 1302.

kingdom, became the seat of their power. This body, founded by Saint Louis with the political and judicial privileges of the time, was modified by Philip IV.; the judicial element at this period alone was preserved.* The Parliament in the meantime ceased to be itinerant. An ordinance of the 23rd of March, 1302, fixed it in Paris, and established it in the Cité, at the ancient palace of the kings, which took from that time the name of the Palace of Justice. It was composed of clerks and jurisconsults, all persons of the Third Estate, and it became the focus of the anti-feudal revolution.

In order to sustain this new form of government, to make it respected, and to execute the judgments of the men of law, it was necessary to have an imposing force. The King had to pay a judicial and administrative army, and the maintenance of the horse and foot sergeants alone cost large sums, and it was necessary to wrest this money by violence from the unfortunate population. Thence sprang the despotism, thence the cruel miseries, which held in suspense for so long a time the advantages of the central and monarchical power, and the barbarous rule established by the feudal government.

No prince employed more iniquitous and odious means of increasing his treasury than Philip the Fair. History recounts a thousand instances of his violent and cruel extortions. The revenues of most of the provinces were pledged to two Italian brothers, rich traders, for the price of supplies which they had furnished to the King. He, in order to settle with them, caused all the Italian bankers and traders to be arrested on the same day, under the pretext of usurious traffic, and compelled them to redeem themselves from torture at an enormous sum. He renewed this execrable expedient on the French, and the tribunals were the accomplices of his hateful violence.

Culpable exactions.

This king, far from warlike, saw without emotion the disasters among the Christians, and the capture of Saint Jean d'Acre, their last stronghold in Palestine. He had obtained from the Pope the permission to levy tithes upon the clergy for the purpose of undertaking a crusade; but this impost only profited himself, and he alone reaped

* It was not so in the course of time; and a century later, the Parliament recovered by union with the Court of Peers its political privileges.

the produce. The successes of Edward I., King of England, troubled him more. That prince, at the death of Alexander III., King of Scotland, caused himself to be recognized as arbiter between the aspirants to the throne, and had awarded it to John Baliol, whose weakness he knew. He threatened to invade that kingdom, when Philip caused him to be summoned before the Parliament of Paris as his vassal for Aquitaine. Peace had reigned for thirty-five years between the two crowns, and Philip, in summoning his powerful rival to appear, alleged as a pretext certain troubles caused by the rivalry of commerce between the two nations. Edward, indignant, stirred up as enemies to France, Adolph of Nassau, King of the Romans,* and Guy de Dampierre, Count of Flanders. But Philip seized the daughter of that count by treachery, and held her as a hostage, while a French army invaded Guienne, of which Philip the Fair took possession. He pledged himself, on the other side, to King Baliol to take up arms, and support the celebrated Scotchman, William Wallace, against the English monarch.

Troubles in Scotland.

War in Guienne.

He afterwards formed an alliance with the revolted Flemings, and excited Albert of Austria, son of Rodolph of Hapsburg, to take up arms against Adolph of Nassau. Many of the electors of the empire supported him. Adolph of Nassau was slain, or perhaps assassinated, in a battle; Albert of Austria succeeded him in the empire, and defended the interests of France. Philip the Fair displayed remarkable talent in all these negotiations. Edward, pressed on all sides, proposed to Philip to submit their differences to the decision of Pope Boniface VIII. That Pontiff was, in some respects, indebted for his tiara to the King of France, who accepted him as arbiter. Boniface pronounced in his favour, and only ordered the restitution of a part of the lands confiscated under Edward. He imposed a long truce between the two kings, and united their interests by means of marriages. The King of England abandoned the Count of Flanders, and Philip no longer defended Scotland, which Edward seized for the second time. The French monarch then, with flattering promises, invited the Count of Flanders to place himself at his discretion. That unfortunate nobleman gave

Boniface VIII. arbiter between Edward I. and Philip IV., 1298.

* The term "King of the Romans" was applied to th chief elected for the empire of Germany before his coronation by the Pope.

himself up with confidence to the King. He was immediately thrown into prison, and all his states were seized by Philip, who gave to the Flemings Jacques de Châtillon for a governor.

Confiscation of Flanders.

The French gentlemen despised the bourgeois of that industrious country, and believed that they had the right to despoil them. The tyranny which they exercised excited the people of Flanders to revolt. The trades corporations assembled together, massacred the French in Bruges, and in the other towns, restoring independence to their country. The Flemish militia occupied Courtray, in front of which town the French army was encamped. They went out to meet it, and waited bravely for the battle. The Flemings attended mass and took the sacrament together. The knights who were with them embraced the chiefs of the trades. They gave no quarter to the French, and repeated that Châtillon was coming with casks full of cords to hang them with. The Constable, Raoul de Nesle, proposed to turn the flank of the Flemings by cutting them off from Courtray; but the cousin of the King, Robert d'Artois, was indignant at this prudent counsel, and asked him if he was afraid of the Flemings, or whether he had an understanding with them. The Constable, son-in-law of the Count of Flanders, answered haughtily—"Sir, if you come where I shall go, you will be well in front," and then rushed forward blindly at the head of his cavalry. Each one wished to follow him, those behind pressing on those before. On approaching the Flemish army they found a ditch five fathoms deep, into which they fell huddled together, and pierced through by the stakes of the enemy. In that spot was interred the flower of the chivalry of France — Artois, Châtillon, Nesle, Aumale, Dammartin, Dreux, Tancarville, and a crowd of others. The Flemings had only the trouble of killing them —smashing in the heads of the conquered with iron mallets. This defeat weakened the feudal power in France, and strengthened royalty.

Revolt of the Flemings, 1301. War in Flanders.

Battle of Courtray. Sanguinary defeat of the French, 1302.

Philip resolved to avenge in person the affronts on his nobility at Courtray. He entered Flanders at the head of a powerful army, and occupied Tournay. His fleet, united with a Genoese squadron, overcame the Flemings at Zeriksee, and his knights achieved a brilliant victory at Mons-en-Puelle, where six thousand of the bourgeois of Flanders were left upon the field of battle. But when he believed that these people

Victories of the French at Zeriksee, and at Mons-en-Puelle. Treaty of peace, 1304.

were subdued, he saw with surprise a new Flemish army, sixteen thousand strong, appear under the walls of Lille, which he was besieging. These were the brave bourgeois of Ghent, of Bruges, of Ypres, and of other towns in Flanders, who had bound themselves by an oath never to see their hearths again until they had obtained an honourable peace or victory. "Better," said they, "to die in battle than live in servitude." Defied in his camp by this formidable army, the King listened to the prudent counsel and advice of his generals. He signed a treaty by which the Flemings gave up to him French Flanders, as far as the Lys, with the towns of Lille and Douai. Philip set at liberty the new Count of Flanders, Robert de Béthune, son of Guy de Dampierre, and recognized the independence of the Flemings.

Reunion of Lille and Douai with France.

The pride of the King had been already deeply wounded by the haughty Boniface VIII., who had shown that he was his rival in ambition, violence, and cupidity. Founding his power partly on his wealth, he had, at the expiration of the thirteenth century, again established the *Centenary Jubilee*, promising entire remission of sins to every one who visited, during thirty consecutive days, all the churches of Rome. An enormous multitude of pilgrims hurried to place their rich offerings at the feet of the Pontiff. Boniface then extended his hand over all the sceptres: he wished to sell Sicily to Charles II., King of Naples; he called to justice Albert of Austria for the murder of Adolph of Nassau; protected the children of La Cerda in Castile; claimed to interpose between England and Scotland, issued a bull against the King of Hungary, and supported the Bishop of Pamiers, his legate, against the implacable vengeance of Philip the Fair, whom that prelate had insulted.

Struggle between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair.

Philip had already, on his own authority, levied tithes upon the clergy, and often abused the *royal right*;* irritated by the pretensions of the Pope and the reproaches of the bishop, he caused those of his men of law who were most devoted to his will to obtain an

* This *royal right* was one of the causes of frequent quarrels, which took place at different epochs between the court of France and that of Rome. It was the right bestowed on the King by the Gallican Church to receive the revenues of the bishoprics and abbeys during the vacancy of the sees.

accusation against the latter—and in the number of these it is necessary to cite Pierre Flotte, his chancellor; Enguerrand de Marigny, his confidant; Guillaume de Plaisian and Guillaume de Nogaret. These men, always skilful in finding guilty those whom the King wished to strike, soon discovered charges against the Bishop of Pamiers sufficient to give a motive for his arrest. Philip ordered it for the crime of *lèse-majesté*, or high treason against the King, and demanded his degradation from the Archbishop of Narbonne, his metropolitan. But Boniface, indignant that the archers of the King should lay hands on a bishop, revoked the judgment, and warned the King of his wrong doings in the bull *Ausculta, fili* (Listen, O my son), where these words may be read:—"Do you think, then, O my son, that you have not a superior, and that you must not submit yourself to the supreme hierarchy? We cannot conceal from you that you disquiet us, that you oppress your subjects, both those in the churches and ecclesiastical persons generally, the peers, counts, and barons, also the universities, and that you scandalize the multitude. . . . We have warned you, and far from correcting your errors, we see that your hate has only increased," &c. Philip, excited to fury, supported by the University of Paris, caused the Pope's bull to be burned, and convoked the first States-General where the deputies of the *common people** had been sum-

Bull, *Ausculta, fili.*

* For several centuries the great assemblies of all the freemen, the *mals*, had ceased. Already, at the end of the Merovingian dynasty, the *Champs de Mars* were almost out of use. Pepin, carried to the throne by a Germanic movement, reinstated with vigour the ancient customs, and the nation was often convoked, no longer at the *Champs de Mars*, on account of the severity of the weather, but at the *Champs de Mai*. Although these assemblies still bore the name of *placites généraux* of the Franks, the nobles alone participated in the business. Under Charlemagne these assemblies became regular, and were only composed of *majors* and *minors* (see the reign of Charlemagne); the people were only spectators. The successors of the great Emperor preserved this custom, and it existed until nearly the end of the Carlovingian dynasty, of synods, of plenary courts, and of parliaments held in the name of the people, where the people were never represented. This was one of the assemblies which decreed the crown to Hugh Capet. Under the third race the assemblies continued to be composed of barons and feudal prelates. Philip the Fair was the first of the Capets who recognized the right of suffrage belonging to the Third Estate; still, this right, even as late as the fifteenth century, only belonged to walled towns, or *bonnes villes*. Otherwise there was nothing fixed, either concerning the forms of the convocations, or upon the mode of the elections, not only for the Third Estate, but also for the two other orders; and this uncertainty continued almost till 1788. No law, no ordinance, had regulated these forms. For a

moned alongside the barons and bishops. The mayors, aldermen, jurats, consuls of the *bonnes villes*, hurried to Paris, and took their places in Nôtre Dame, where, on the 10th of April, 1302, the first sitting was opened. The King assisted in person, and, after having made known to the assembly the pontifical bulls, a letter of remonstrance addressed to the court of Rome was obtained from each order. In it, the nobility, the clergy, and the Third Estate proclaimed the complete independence of the crown. Boniface avenged himself by excommunicating the King; and the two rivals prepared themselves for an obstinate struggle by reconciling themselves with their enemies, and sacrificing every other interest to that of their hate. The Pope allied himself with Albert of Austria, and Philip restored Guienne in fief to Edward. Strengthened by the support of the States-General, which he convoked for a second time at the Louvre, Philip wished to strike a great blow. His representative, William de Nogaret, betook himself to Anagni, where the Pope resided, and made himself master of his person; Sciarra Colonna, a Roman gentleman who accompanied Nogaret, struck the old man with his iron gauntlet. However, Boniface astonished his enemies by his courage. "Behold my neck—behold my head!" said he to them; "betrayed like Jesus Christ, and ready to die, at least I will die Pope!" Freed by the people of Anagni, he expired at Rome, a month afterwards, of a fever caused by the shock, and by anger, at the age of eighty-six years.

First States-General of the three orders, 1302.

Boniface VIII. outraged by Nogaret. His death, 1303.

Arbiter of the election, in consequence of his influence with the French cardinals, after the death of Benedict XI., in 1305, Philip promised to the Cardinal Bertrand de Goth, his enemy in old times, to cause him to be elected Pope if he engaged to hand over to him for five years tithes on the members of the clergy, to render to Philip an important service, which he would claim and name at the proper time, and, lastly, to stain the memory of Boniface VIII. This bargain, which the people called *the Diabolical Bargain*, was, it is said, concluded in a forest of Saintonge, near Saint Jean d'Angéley. Bertrand de Goth accepted the terms, consented to all, placed himself

profound research into this subject the reader is referred to the *Histoire des Etats généraux de France*, by M. E. Rathery.

under the discretion of the King in the county Venaissin, where he was the first to establish the residence of the Holy See,* and became Pope under the name of Clement V. He did not leave France before he had kept all his promises. The service which Philip had exacted without naming it beforehand was the suppression of the Order of the Templars. Their power wounded the pride of the monarch, while their immense wealth tempted his cupidity. Before they had any suspicion of his design, he caused all those in his kingdom to be seized and thrown into dungeons. Then commenced a frightful prosecution against them, where torture furnished the evidence, and where the men of law won over by Philip filled the places of judges. The King confiscated the property of his victims, while, at the same time, he stained their characters with horrible imputations without legal proofs. The Templars perished by the sword, by hunger, and by fire, retracting in the face of execution the confessions which torture had torn from them. Jacques Molay, their Grand Master, rendered himself illustrious by his courage; he protested his innocence in the middle of the flames, and it is said that he summoned both the monarch and the Pontiff to appear before God during the year.

Election of Pope Clement V.

Destruction of the Order of the Templars, 1309.

Philip was then the most powerful king in Europe. He invited all the sovereigns to follow his example; Edward II., King of England, and Charles II., King of Naples, acceded to his wishes, and seized upon the Templars in their states: fifteen thousand families were broken up by this terrible measure.

Philip IV., dishonoured among the people by the surname of the False Coiner, continued his hateful and vexatious acts; he levied enormous taxes, and debased the coinage, and,

Philip IV. alters the coinage.

* At first this was at Carpentras, the capital of the county Venaissin, gained by Gregory X., and at which Clement V. established himself in 1308. Avignon did not form a part of this county—indeed did not belong, at this period, to the Holy See. This town, where the Popes had already resided for many years, was sold, in 1348, by Clement VI., to the Countess of Provence, Jeanne de Naples, and her successors remained there till 1377. Notwithstanding their return to Rome, and without excluding some temporary occupations, particularly under Louis XIV., the county Venaissin never ceased to belong to the Holy See until the legislative assembly, in 1791, declared its union, together with that of Avignon, with France, thus forming the department of Vaucluse.

after the money was issued, he refused to receive it again thus altered by himself. In one day he caused all the Jews in his kingdom to be imprisoned, and despoiled them of their wealth. He was the most absolute despot who had reigned in France; yet he was the first of his race who granted a representative privilege to the communes. He showed a sort of favour to the bourgeois, consulting their deputies more freely than those of the nobility. He knew that men elevated from a low degree, gratified with their prominent position, would offer little resistance; and it was from among obscure men that he selected his favourites and ministers, of whom the most celebrated was Enguerrand de Marigny. He wanted support in order to sustain him in his perfidious and cruel measures, and, in summoning the bourgeois to the councils of the kingdom, he felt strong enough to fear nothing from a liberty which was only so in name; torture was used profusely, and the whole nation was ruled by terror. Towards the close of his days he exercised severities upon his own family: the wives of his three sons were accused, at the same time, of adultery; he threw them into prison, and caused those whom he suspected to be their lovers to be flayed alive. He expired shortly afterwards, recommending to his son piety, clemency, and justice. Clement V., his accomplice, died shortly afterwards; while Henry VII. had expired in the preceding year.

His policy.

His death, 1314.

Under Philip the Fair the domain of the crown was increased by La Marche and Angoumois, which he confiscated; by Lyonnais, which he detached from the empire; and a part of French Flanders. He had married Jeanne, heiress of the kingdom of Navarre, of the county of Champagne, and of Brie. The results of that union were favourable to France.

Acquisitions of the crown under Philip IV.

The reign of Philip is one of the most gloomy in the history of France. At this period—from towards the end of the thirteenth century till the commencement of the fourteenth—the French lived beneath a yoke of iron; and, notwithstanding the heroism displayed two hundred years before in the communal revolutions, they were in general strangers to the spirit of independence which agitated most of the countries around them, and to which Italy and Flanders owed their arts and their industry. Robert Bruce in Scotland, and William Tell

in Switzerland, had restored freedom to their countries. Still, the great events which then shook some states were caused much less by the spirit of individual liberty than by the love of national independence; and the greater part of the people of Europe, after constituting themselves nations, fell again under a yoke as hard as that which they had shaken off.

## LOUIS X.

PHILIP left three sons and one daughter. Louis X., the eldest, surnamed *Le Hutin*,* in consequence of his vicious tastes, was twenty-five years of age at the death of his father, and had already worn for fifteen years the crown of Navarre, which he had inherited from his mother, together with that of Champagne and Brie. His two brothers, Philip and Charles, like himself, were given up to vicious habits, and their sister Isabella, wife of Edward II., only distinguished herself by crime and infamy.

Accession of Louis X., 1314.

Philip the Fair, as a matter of policy, had entrusted the great offices of the state to obscure men, who owed all they possessed to his favour. His family censured this system, and one of the first acts of Louis was to arrest and bring to judgment the Chancellor Pierre Latelli, who was pardoned, and Enguerrand de Marigny, prime minister of the late King. Charles de Valois, uncle of the monarch, begged that sentence of death should be passed on Marigny, in consequence of a personal injury. This minister, who was held responsible for all the tyrannical acts of his master, and accused of sorcery, was condemned, and hanged at the gibbet of Montfaucon. Marguerite of Burgundy, wife of the King, was shut up in the Château Gaillard des Andelys, on a charge of adultery. Louis caused her to be strangled, and afterwards married Clemence of Hungary. He always lived surrounded by prodigal young noblemen, whom he made the companions of his pleasures; and the nobility, taking advantage of their influence, obtained from him the right to be restored in possession of their ancient privileges. He thus weakened the mainspring of the monarchy, so anxiously cared for by his father. The

Trial and execution of Marigny, 1315.

feeb - ent of e roya power.

* An old French word, long out of use.

judicial combat was re-established; confederations of the nobles were formed in most parts of the provinces, and each obtained a charter, and the nobles of the north recovered their royal rights. But the King, pressed by want of money, issued also some decrees favourable to the national liberties, offering to the peasants of the crown, and to the serfs held in mortmain, to sell them their liberty; but he gave no guarantee of the rights that he recognized, and such was the misery of the people, and such the distrust that the King inspired, that his decree was only received by a small number, and brought little money into the treasury. Great disorder in the financial department, and the horrors of a famine, accompanied by astounding scandals, marked the rapid course of this reign. Then might be seen the clergy themselves conducting in the provinces processions of penitents, entirely naked, for the purpose of obtaining from Heaven favourable weather for the harvests. Louis X. died in 1316, in consequence of an imprudence, leaving his wife, Clemence of Hungary, *enceinte*. By his first marriage he had only one daughter, called Jeanne, then six years old.

Death of Louis X., 1316.

## PHILIP V.

Philip V., called the Long, brother of Louis le Hutin, took possession of the regency, to the prejudice of the Queen, who gave birth to a son, named John. This child only survived a few days, and Philip, uncle of the Princess Jeanne, already in possession of the royal authority, caused it to be decreed by the States-General, and by the University of France, that the law of succession established among the ancient Franks for the Salic land,* should be applied to the crown of France, and that, in virtue of that law, women should never inherit the throne. This was the first application of that celebrated law.

Accession of Philip V., 1316.

The Salic law.

The new King felt the want of being supported by the legists, and showed towards them an altogether special favour. He bestowed attention on the administration of the interior, appointed the captains-general of the provinces and the captains of the towns, and organized the militia of the communes, decreeing, however, that the arms

* See page 27.

should remain deposited in the houses of the captains till there was a necessity for their use. Save a rapid and useless expedition into Italy, he had no interior or exterior war to sustain, and yet blood streamed in France under his reign. A new religious fury seized the shepherds and inhabitants of the plains, designated under the name of *Pastoureaux.* They met together in crowds, with the intention of passing into the Holy Land and setting free the Holy Sepulchre. From mendicants, however, they turned into plunderers, and it became necessary to punish them. They offered in a holocaust to God all the Jews that they met, and, after having committed a multitude of highway robberies and murders, they were nearly all massacred and destroyed by the Seneschal of Carcassonne. A horrible proscription included those attacked with leprosy, during the same reign; they were accused of having poisoned the wells of drinking water throughout the kingdom. Philip V. and Pope John XXII. both believed in magic; they gave credence to the crime of the lepers without any proof except that forced out by horrible tortures. From that time all those who were attacked by skin disease were arrested and accused of sorcery; and as such, they were forbidden to have recourse to the tribunals of the kingdom. The Jews, suspected of being in complicity with them, perished in the same torments. In the midst of these atrocious executions the King fell ill of a wasting disease. The relics from the Sainte-Chapelle, which they brought him, and which he kissed devoutly, could not revive him: he died at Longchamp, in 1322.

Pastoureaux.

Persecution of the lepers and of the Jews.

Death of Philip V., 1322.

Most of the ordinances of Philip V. are remarkable for the continual confusion of the personal interests of the King with those of the kingdom, and for the desire to regulate the use of the sovereign will without at the same time recognizing any limit to it. By a decree of 1318, the King ordered himself to attend mass every morning, and regulated the manner of making his bed; by another he denied to himself the right to transfer the domains of the crown, and revoked all the gifts of his father. This prince gave letters of nobility to persons of mean origin. At last these letters were sold for money, and this innovation, in renewing the aristocracy, altered its character and weakened it. Amongst the

Letters of nobility.

numerous edicts of Philip V., those which organized the militia, the chambers of exchequer, the administration of the woods and forests, and the office of the collectors, indicate the progress of order, and the substitution of the despotism supported by law for the despotism sustained by the sword.

Useful edicts of this prince.

## CHARLES IV., CALLED THE FAIR.

Philip V. had one son and four daughters when he asked the States to exclude, in perpetuity, daughters from the throne. A few months afterwards he lost his son, and was the first person wounded in his paternal love by the law which he had caused to be passed. His brother Charles inherited the sceptre; he was the third son of Philip the Fair, and was then twenty-eight years of age. He issued ordinances for the purpose of ameliorating the lot of the lepers and Jews; there are few things besides in his reign that history has handed down to us. The foundation of the Floral Games, at Toulouse, dates from this epoch.

Accession of Charles IV., 1322.

Floral Games.

While the civil war desolated England, Charles, at the instigation of his sister Isabella, wife of Edward II., usurped the rights of that prince in Aquitaine. The English monarch sent his son to him, in order to pay him homage; Charles held back the young prince at his court, as a hostage, and furnished soldiers and money to his sister in order to fight against her husband. That unfortunate king was made prisoner, and shortly afterwards a frightful death put an end to his days. Charles IV. fell ill at this period, and decreed that if the queen, then *enceinte*, should give birth to a son, his cousin-german, Philip of Valois, should be regent of the kingdom; if she gave birth to a daughter, his intention was that the twelve peers and the high barons of France should sit in parliament and decree the crown to whomsoever it belonged by law. He died on Christmas day, in the same year, carried off, like his brothers, in the vigour of his life. Thus appeared to be accomplished the judgment of God, with which the house of Philip the Fair had for a long time been threatened, in the eyes of the people, in punishment for its crimes.

Will of Charles IV.

His death, 1327.

We have seen the successive enlargements of the royal domain

since the time of Philip I. It had acquired during these two centuries by conquest, by confiscation, or by inheritance, Berry, or the viscounty of Bourges, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Poitou, Valois, Vermandois, the counties of Auvergne and Boulogne, a part of Champagne and Brie, Lyonnais, Angoumois, Marche, nearly the whole of Languedoc, and lastly, the kingdom of Navarre, which, belonging in her own right to Queen Jeanne, mother of the last three Capetians, Charles IV. united with the crown. But the custom among the kings of giving apanages or estates to the princes of their house detached afresh from the domain a great part of the reunited territories, and created powerful feudal princely houses, of which the chiefs often made themselves formidable to the monarchs. Among these great houses of the Capetian race, the most formidable were —the house of *Burgundy*, which traced back to King Robert; the house of *Dreux*, issue of a son of Louis the Big, and which added by a marriage the duchy of Brittany to the county of that name; the house of *Anjou*, issue of Charles, brother of Saint Louis, which was united, in 1290, with that of Valois; the house of *Bourbon*, descending from Robert, Count of Clermont, sixth son of Saint Louis; and the house of *Alençon*, which traced back to Philip III., and possessed the duchy of Alençon and Perche.

Recapitulation of the acquisitions made by the royal domain, from the end of the eleventh century until the fourteenth century.

Princely feudal houses.

Besides these great princely houses of Capetian stock, which owed their grandeur and their origin to their apanages, there were many others which held considerable rank in France, and of which the possessions were transmissible to women; while the apanages were all masculine fiefs. The most powerful of these houses were those of Flanders, Penthièvre, Châtillon, Montmorency, Brienne, Coucy, Vendôme, Auvergne, Foix, and Armagnac. The vast possessions of the two last houses were in the country of the Langue d'Oc. The Counts of Foix were also masters of Béarn, and those of Armagnac possessed Fezensac, Rouergue, and other large seigniories.

Other feudal houses.

Many foreign princes, besides, had possessions in France at the accession of the Valois. The King of England was lord of Ponthieu, of Aunis, of Saintonge, and of the duchy of Aquitaine; the King of Navarre was Count of Evreux,

Foreign princes landowners in France.

and possessor of many other towns in Normandy; the King of Majorca was proprietor of the seigniory of Montpellier; the Duke of Lorraine, vassal of the German empire, paid homage to the King of France for many fiefs that he held in Champagne; and, lastly, the Pope possessed the county Venaissin, detached from Provence.

## CHAPTER II.

### ACCESSION OF THE VALOIS.—REIGN OF PHILIP VI.

### 1327—1350.

WITH the new reign commenced a long series of disastrous wars between England and France. When the calamities to which they gave birth had transformed, in the eyes of the two nations, the particular rivalries of their kings to national rivalries, the French and the English persuaded themselves that they were natural enemies, and this prejudice existed, to the misfortune of humanity, for five centuries. Nevertheless, in the fourteenth century, the war only broke out between them, as in the preceding centuries, in the interest of their sovereigns, who both raised rival pretensions to the succession of Charles IV.

Jeanne d'Evreux, widow of that monarch, gave birth to a daughter, and, according to the will of the late King, the Parliament was summoned to decide between the candidates for the throne. The two principal were the Regent, Philip of Valois,* grandson of Philip the Bold, and cousin-german of the last three kings of France; and Edward III., King of England, son of Isabella, sister of those princes. The interpretation already twice given during twelve years to the Salic law then received a third and last sanction. Women were declared to be deprived of all right to the crown, which the Parliament solemnly awarded to Philip of Valois. This decision was from that time recognized as a fundamental law of the state. Ideas of legality began to make their way into the spirit of the nation, and law was appealed to, supported by force; however, no constitution up to that time had fixed the rights of heirdom to the crown, and Philip, in his office of Regent, had exercised so great an influence on the jurisconsults, creatures of the kings and flatterers of power, that

Accession of the Valois: Philip VI., 1328.

The Salic law recognized as a fundamental law of the state.

* Valois, a small tract of country in the Ile de France, had been given in apanage, with the title of count, to Charles, youngest son of Philip the Bold, and father of Philip of Valois.

Edward, in appealing himself to the law, would not recognize the authority of the men charged with its interpretation, and appealed from their decision to his sword. But many years rolled away before he declared war against Philip of Valois; and in the meantime he still paid him homage for the fiefs which he possessed in France.

Philip, Count d'Evreux,* another grandson of Philip the Bold, and husband of Jeanne, daughter of Louis X., the eldest of the last three Capetians, was the third candidate for the crown. He received from the monarch the kingdom of Navarre, to which his wife had legitimate rights through her grandfather,† and which was also detached from the crown of France. But the royal domain, by the accession of Philip of Valois, gained the county of Valois, Maine, and Anjou; these latter provinces had been ceded by the house of Anjou to the house of Valois, under Philip IV.

The crown of France loses the kingdom of Navarre; it gains Valois, Maine, and Anjou.

Philip VI. was thirty-six years old when, in 1328, he was recognized as king. This prince was brave, violent, vindictive, and cruel; skilful in all muscular exercises, he was ignorant of the first notions of the military art and of financial administration. With him the art of reigning was to inspire terror by executions, and admiration by pomp and magnificence. The first acts of his reign were the alteration of the coinage and the judgment of death on Pierre Rémy, treasurer of finances under the previous reign. Philip VI. accused him of embezzlement: Rémy was executed, and the King took possession of his rich spoils. Soon after he marched into Flanders to the assistance of the ferocious Count Louis, who was always at war with his subjects; and the bloody battle of Cassel, where thirteen thousand Flemings were slaughtered, restored to the Count his states.

Execution of the treasurer, Pierre Rémy, 1327.

Battle of Cassel, 1328.

The issue of a scandalous lawsuit caused the first germs of discord to spring up between Edward III. and Philip VI. Robert d'Artois, brother-in-law of Philip, had vainly bribed witnesses, in order to obtain from the King and Parliament that the county of Artois, adjudicated to his

Preliminaries of the Hundred Years War between England and France, 1331–1338.

* The county of Evreux had been given in apanage, in 1307, by Philip the Fair to his brother Louis, younger son of Philip the Bold.

† See page 224.

aunt Mahaut, should be given up to him. Blinded by his fury, after having uselessly employed assassins, he had recourse to demons; and the King, filled with the superstitious beliefs of that age, learned with fright that he, as well as his son, were *envoultés* (bewitched) by his brother-in-law. They then believed that if a little image of wax, representing any person, were baptized by a priest, and afterwards pierced with a needle in the place of the heart, the person whom the figure represented would suffer from the wound, and soon die. The demons were invoked in this magical operation, which was called "making a *voult* (a vow) against any one," or "*l'envoulter.*" The King was no more exempt than his people from the fear which this superstitious belief inspired. Robert, pursued by his vengeance, found an asylum with Edward, and never desisted from urging him on to war.

That monarch was then recognized on the continent by most powerful allies. The cruelties of the Count of Flanders had again caused a revolt among his subjects. Ghent, the richest and most populous town of the Low Countries, had revolted, and placed itself under obedience to the celebrated brewer, Jacquemart Artevelt, who was the soul of a new league against Count Louis and France. Having need of the support of England, Artevelt, in the name of the Flemings, recognized Edward as the King of France. About the same time, the Emperor Louis IV. of Bavaria, irritated against Philip, who had refused homage for the fiefs which he held from the empire upon the left bank of the Rhine, declared solemnly at the Diet of Coblentz, held in 1336, that Philip was entirely deprived of all protection from the empire until he had restored his maternal inheritance to Edward. He also named the latter monarch his representative for all the lands on the left bank of the Rhine held by the imperial crown.

However, the chivalrous King John of Bohemia allied himself with Philip, and, loaded with wealth, seduced the German princes and the Emperor himself, and held neutrality during the terrible struggle about to take place between the Kings of France and England. He strove also to bring about an excommunication of the Flemings by Pope Benedict XII., but Edward submitted himself to the will of the Pontiff, threatening him with the fate of Boniface VIII.

Edward then took the title of King of France; he entered Flanders

at the head of an army, and confirmed all the privileges of the Flemings. Philip sustained against him, with superior forces, a defensive warfare, refusing to engage in any general action. The English, nevertheless, took the French fleet by surprise, shut up in a narrow creek near Ecluse. They gave them battle, and obtained a complete victory. France lost ninety vessels and more than thirty thousand men. This battle was followed by an armistice between the two nations.

First hostilities, 1338.

Battle of Ecluse, 1340.

A bloody and fatal war to France broke out in the following year in Brittany. John III., duke of that province, had died without issue, and two rivals disputed his inheritance. The one was Charles de Blois, husband of one of his nieces and nephew of the King of France; the other, Montfort, conqueror of the Albigenses: he was the younger brother of the last duke, and had been disinherited by him. The Court of Peers, devoted to the King, adjudged the duchy to Charles de Blois, his nephew. Montfort immediately made himself master of the strongest places, and rendered homage for Brittany to King Edward, whose assistance he implored. This war, in which Charles de Blois was supported by France and Montfort by England, lasted for twenty-four years without interruption, and presented, in the midst of heroic actions, a long course of treacheries and atrocious robberies. Amongst the most famous combats of this terrible struggle history quotes, during a truce with England, *the Combat of the Thirty*, a bloody duel between thirty Bretons under Jean de Beaumanoir, and thirty English commanded by Bemborough. Victory remained with the Bretons; but it had no influence upon the issue of the war. Two women—two heroines—vied in courage at this time with the most celebrated warriors. They were Jeanne la Boiteuse, wife of Charles de Blois, and Jeanne la Flamande, wife of Montfort. They were the soul of their parties; and the defence of Hennebon rendered Jeanne de Montfort immortal.

Commencement of the civil war in Brittany, 1341.

Combat of the Thirty.

Charles de Blois, nephew of Philip VI., only inherited on the female side the duchy of Brittany. The King sustained his cause for a family interest, and he had recourse to perfidy and cruelty. In a tournament, to which the Breton knights had repaired without mistrust, he caused

Perfidy and cruelty of Philip VI. in regard to the Breton nobles devoted to Montfort.

twelve of the party of Montfort to be arrested. Oliver Clisson, one of the most powerful nobles of Brittany, was of this number. All were beheaded, without legitimate cause and without a trial. The widow of Clisson immediately took by surprise a fortress belonging to the King, and caused the whole of the garrison to be slaughtered before her eyes. The parents and friends of the knights put to death by treachery all passed over to the side of Montfort, and called their enemies to their assistance. One of them, Geoffroy d'Harcourt, being threatened with the same fate by Philip, obtained from King Edward a vow to avenge them; and in the year following, an English army, commanded by Edward, and conducted by this same Harcourt, disembarked in Normandy, and ravaged the kingdom without obstacle, until they arrived beneath the walls of Paris.

Philip, appealing to all the nobility of France, assembled round him a formidable army, before which Edward retired. The retreat of the English was difficult; very inferior in numbers to the French, they passed over the Somme at the ford of Blanquetaque, and, compelled to fight, they fortified themselves upon a hill which commanded the village of *Cressy*, and there placed cannons, which were then for the first time used in European armies. The French had come by forced marches. If they had taken some repose, by prudent arrangements victory would have been assured to them; but the impatient Philip, who had scarcely arrived in sight of the enemy, ordered an attack to be made by his Genoese archers, who formed the advanced guard. They endeavoured vainly to make him observe that they were exhausted by hunger and fatigue, and that the rain had rendered their bows useless. He renewed the order; they advanced with bravery, and were repulsed. Philip, furious, caused them to be massacred, and his brother, the Duke d'Alençon, trod them down under the hoofs of his cavalry. This ferocious act caused the loss of the army; the English took advantage of the confusion in the front ranks, and rushed upon them, and the advanced guard was thrown back upon the general body of the army, where a frightful carnage took place. Thirty thousand Frenchmen lost their lives, and amongst them eleven princes, twelve hundred nobles or knights, and the chivalrous King of Bohemia, allied with Philip, who, although blind, caused himself to

First employment of artillery in warfare, 1346.

Battle of Cressy, 1346.

be led into the midst of the affray, in order to perish valiantly. The *élite* of the nobility was cut down in that bloody day's work. The celebrated Black Prince, fifteen years of age, commanded the English, under King Edward, his father, and powerfully contributed to the victory. Philip, twice wounded, and carried away by his men far from the field of battle, presented himself before the castle of Braye, only accompanied by five knights. "*Open*," said he, as he knocked at the gate, "*it is the fortune of France!*" *

The taking of Calais was one of the most fatal results of the defeat of Cressy. The inhabitants of that town, reduced by famine to capitulate after eleven months of courageous defence, were summoned to deliver up to Edward six persons from among them upon whom that King could satiate his vengeance. At this news the people broke out into wailing. "But then," says Froissart, "there uprose the richest bourgeois of the town, whom they called Sieur Eustache de Saint-Pierre, and he spoke thus before them:—'Great pity and great misfortune would it be to see such a people as this perish. I have so great a hope of having grace and pardon from our Lord if I die to save this people, that I wish to be the first, and I will place myself willingly at the mercy of the King of England.' When Eustache had said these words the crowd was moved, men and women throwing themselves down at his feet, weeping. Then another bourgeois, who had two daughters, and was called Jean d'Aïre, arose, and said that he would accompany his friend Sieur Eustache."† This noble example was followed by two brothers named Wissant; lastly, two other bourgeois, whose names history has not preserved, offered to share their fate. The whole six, with ropes round their necks, and bearing the keys of the town, were conducted by the governor, John de Vienne, to the English camp. Edward, on seeing them, called for the executioner; but the Queen and his son interceded for them and obtained their pardon. All the inhabitants of Calais were driven from

Siege and capture of Calais by the King of England, 1346.

* Some authors have denied, but without sufficient proof, the authenticity of this speech, and also that of most of the historical sayings of our kings and great men. These are, in our view, efforts to be regretted, as they tend systematically to despoil history of its poetry and its grandeur, in order to profit a doubtful and most frequently sterile science.

† Froissart.

the town, which became an English colony; and for two hundred years it was an entrance-place into France for foreign armies. The capture of this important place was followed by a truce between the two monarchs.

Truce, 1346–1385.

The disasters of the war took away nothing from the pride or the magnificence of Philip of Valois. When his treasury was empty he altered the coinage, or else united together the prelates, barons, and certain deputies of the towns, upon whom he imposed his will. Through them he caused new taxes to be sanctioned, and it was thus that he decreed the tax of the twentieth denier on the price of all merchandise sold, and thus that he established *La Gabelle*,* transferring to the fiscal power the monopoly of salt throughout all the kingdom. The preamble of his edicts tended to show that they were issued for the welfare and in the interest of good people, and by the national will; however, the States-General were only on one single occasion legally convoked during this reign, and merely distinguished themselves by their servility.

New taxes.

Establishment of La Gabelle.

The frightful plague, known under the name of *The Plague of Florence*, spread its ravages throughout France during the year 1348. It is estimated that the disease cut down about one-third of the inhabitants of the kingdom. The ignorant and ferocious populace accused the Jews of having poisoned the rivers and fountains, and those unfortunates were burnt and massacred by thousands. So many calamities served as food for superstition and fanaticism. Enthusiasts, of both sexes, believed, like the Fakirs of India, that their sufferings were agreeable to the divine power. They could then be seen in numerous bands, traversing, half-naked, the towns and the country, cutting their shoulders with blows from the lash, in order, as they said, to blot out the sins of the world; they called themselves *Flagellants*. Their sect, persecuted and exterminated by the Church, had only a short existence. Philip VI. had rendered the power of the Inquisition formidable in France; nevertheless, he authorized *the appeals from abuse* of the ecclesiastical tribunals to the Parliament.†

Plague, 1348.

Flagellants.

* *See* Book II., Chapter III.

‡ This appellation was given, from the time of Saint Louis, to the appeal authorized

In 1350, already well advanced in years, he married the young Blanche de Navarre, sister of King Charles surnamed *The Bad*, and died in less than a month afterwards, at the age of fifty-eight years. He had bought the seigniory of Montpellier, for a hundred and twenty thousand crowns, from James II., last King of Majorca, and acquired from the Dauphin, Humbert II., the province of Dauphiné, which was given in apanage to the eldest sons of the kings of France. From that time they bore the name of *Dauphins*,* and the frontiers of the kingdom were thus extended as far as the Alps.

Death of Philip VI., 1350. Reunion of the seigniory of Montpellier and of Dauphiné with France, 1349.

by the Gallican Church against certain ecclesiastical acts in the case of usurpation or excess of power, such as the publication of bulls, pastoral letters, and other despatches of the Court of Rome, without the approbation of the Government, and, in general, all violations of the liberties and customs of the Gallican Church. There were other cases of abuse, which only interested private individuals. In this second category must be ranged the acts which, in the exercise of religion, could compromise the reputation of the citizens, or disturb their consciences by an arbitrary persecution. The injuries pronounced publicly from the pulpit, the refusal, without grounds, to proceed to a burial, &c., belong to these cases of abuse. From Philip of Valois to the French Revolution, Parliament always took up these questions; at the present day they are submitted to the Council of State.

* This surname had been given to the Counts of Vienne (in Dauphiné) on account of the *dolphin* which they carried upon their helmets and on their armorial bearings.

## CHAPTER III.

### REIGN OF KING JOHN.

### 1350–1364.

THE disasters of the last war with the English, the prodigalities, the frauds, the exactions of King John, and the dishonest acts of his ministers, were the principal causes which, under his reign, rendered the States-General independent of the crown, and gave them a new authority, which was almost absolute. This revolution was also partly due to the growing importance of the bourgeoisie, or of the Third Estate, in numbers and in wealth. Continual transactions with the Italians and people of the East had rapidly developed in the French nobility habits of great luxury. In the fourteenth century, above all, expensive tastes made marked progress, and gave full career to new branches of industry, which added to the welfare of the bourgeois class. They, when they acquired wealth, acquired also the feeling of power, and exercised more courage and perseverance in appealing to and defending the laws of individual liberty and property.

Progress of the bourgeoisie, or Third Estate.

Until the reign of King John the members of this class had not appeared to be animated with any national spirit; they appeared to remain strangers to the political interests of the kingdom. As far as they were concerned, the country was restricted to the walled precincts of the city; they abandoned to the great vassals and the King the care of watching over the destinies of the state, and all their energy displayed itself at first, not against the government, which had often protected them, but against the tyrannical oppression of their respective seigniors. However, when in its turn the royal authority crushed them under an intolerable yoke, they seized, in order to resist it, upon the moment when they saw it shaken by unheard-of misfortunes and incredible mistakes, and united together against it with the nobility and clergy. The States-General from that time took an imposing

aspect; but the result of their energetic efforts was only transitory. Soon, the first two orders of the nation became frightened at the success obtained in the States against the authority of the prince; they became indignant at the importance which the order of the Third Estate had suddenly acquired, and began to see that the interests of that order, which tended to social equality, were directly opposed to their own, whose existence depended upon privileges: they abandoned it to itself. Hostile to the crown in other respects, they united with it against the Third Estate, and the disasters with which the bourgeoisie were burdened, in consequence of some ephemeral triumphs, were turned to the advantage of royal despotism.

John was more than thirty years of age when, in 1350, he succeeded Philip de Valois, his father. His education, although it had been carefully conducted, had made him more a valiant knight than a wise and experienced king. Impetuous in character, irresolute in mind, rash rather than brave, prodigal, obstinate, vindictive, and full of pride, perfectly instructed in the laws of chivalry, and ignorant of the duties of the throne, he was always ready to sacrifice to the prejudices of honour, as then understood, the rights of his subjects and the interests of the state. France was exhausted at the time of his accession; nevertheless, he spared nothing at the fêtes of his coronation. The expense was so prodigious, and the empoverishment of the royal treasury so great, that the King, in the following year, found himself obliged to call together the States of the kingdom.

Accession of King John, 1350.

The first acts of his reign were characterized by violence and despotism. He seized upon the person of the Count d'Eu, constable, who, a prisoner of the English and free upon his parole, had come to France to gather together his ransom. John accused him of treason, and caused his head to be cut off without trial. During the same year he issued eighteen ordinances concerning the alteration of the coinage, increasing and diminishing alternately the value of the gold mark, and confiscated to his own profit all the claims of the Jew and Lombard merchants established in the kingdom. He forbade his subjects to pay what they owed to them, under penalty of being compelled to pay a second time. These disastrous ordinances struck a blow

Violence and despotism of King John. Execution of the Count d'Eu.

at the heart of commerce and threatened to destroy it. Through the Jews and Italians nearly all the commerce of France was negotiated: a great number left the country; the others, in order to compensate themselves for their risk, exacted enormous profits, which increased the general misery. The King felt no fear, after these iniquitous acts, in summoning together the States of his kingdom; and such was still, at that period, the ignorance or submission of the deputies, that they did not raise a murmur. The monarch treated with those of each state in particular, obtained from each that which he wished, and then dismissed them.*

Competition for the throne of France.

These new resources were exhausted at the moment when the truce concluded between England and France had expired. Edward reproached King John with having deprived him of the ransom of the Constable by assassinating him, and swore to avenge himself for that crime. Another enemy, nearly as formidable, declared, about the same time, war against France; this was Charles, King of Navarre and Count of Evreux. This prince, as well as Edward, had, on the female side, rights to the throne, and he was, moreover, nearer by a degree, as he was son of a daughter of Louis le Hutin. King John, of whom he was the son-in-law, had the imprudence to incur his enmity by not paying faithfully over the dower of his daughter, while he himself piled up his wealth, and appointed as Constable the Spaniard Charles de la Cerda, the personal enemy of the King of Navarre. That monarch, whose vices and cruelties had fixed upon him the surname of *The Bad*, took the Constable by surprise at Aigle, in Normandy, and assassinated him. Then calling round him all his barons and his Norman nobles, he braved the fury of King John, who, powerless to reduce him by arms, summoned him to the throne. Charles of Navarre consented to appear there, received the pardon of the King, and became reconciled to him by the treaty of Valogne.

Assassination of the Constable Charles de la Cerda by the King of Navarre, Charles the Bad.

War, however, broke out with England. The King issued new ordinances for the falsification of the coinage; the gold mark mounted

* This first assembly, of which the roll was afterwards rendered void, was the only one under John where the deputies of the two great divisions of the kingdom, the countries of the Langue d'Oil and the Langue d'Oc, were represented.

up from four livres to seventeen, and then fell back again to four livres. These odious proceedings only brought into the treasury insufficient resources. The King, in order to create new means, convoked the States-General of the Langue d'Oil to Paris in 1355.

States-General of the Langue d'Oil, 1355.

The States met together on the 2nd of December, in the Great Chamber of Parliament. The Archbishop of Rouen, Pierre de la Forest, Chancellor of France, opened the Assembly, and requested subsidies for the war. John de Craon, Archbishop of Reims, in the name of the clergy; Gauthier de Brienne, Duke of Athens, in the name of the nobility; Etienne Marcel, head magistrate of the merchants, in the name of the Third Estate,—requested permission to consult among themselves concerning the subsidies to be granted and the abuses to be reformed. Their first declaration announced that a revolution had taken place in their minds. They carried, that no rule should have the force of law until it had been approved by the three orders, and that any order which had refused its consent should not be bound by the vote of the other two. By this famous declaration, the Third Estate caused itself to be recognized as a political power, equal to that of the clergy and the nobility. The demands of the King were solemnly discussed; and, before subscribing to them, the States enacted that the value of the silver mark should be stable, and remain fixed at four livres and twelve sous. They suppressed the law of taking possession, which gave to the purveyors of the King, to the princes, and to the great officers, the right of taking, without payment, in their journeys, everything that they considered necessary for their convenience. They forbade all prosecution for the recovery of property seized from the Italian merchants, and abolished the monopolies established by people in government places. In return, they undertook to furnish thirty thousand soldiers and five millions of livres to make up the balance for a year; but they wished that this money should remain in the hands of their receivers and be levied by them. They made it also necessary that they should assemble again on the 1st of March in the following year to receive the accounts of the treasurers; then at the end of a year to renew the taxes, if there were necessity, and to provide for the expenses of the war. The King undertook to respect these conditions.

Important acts of the States.

In this manner the nation appears to have regained its ancient periodical assemblies, and the monarchy was brought to recognize the share of sovereign power between itself and the three orders of the States-General. But these latter, skilful in reforming abuses, and in gaining for themselves precious rights, showed in the assessment of taxes * a deplorable incapacity. Composed of men without experience, assembled from all parts of the kingdom, and unknown to one another; only having obtained from the King three days in order to agree upon the means of filling the treasury, of reinsuring confidence, of organizing the army, and of driving the enemy from the kingdom, they raised the tax of the *gabelle*, or the tax upon salt, and established an *aide* of eight deniers in the livre upon the sale of all merchandise.

New taxes.

The first of these taxes fell upon a commodity indispensable to all, and struck at the poorest and most numerous class; the second, in

* From the fall of the Roman Empire, among the Gauls, there no longer existed a *general annual revenue*, and the feudal taxes, exacted upon the domains of the crown, constituted the only revenues of the King of France, who, in this respect, was looked upon as a simple seignior. The military service at their own expense was the only duty imposed upon the great vassals, and the natural consequence of this absence of revenue was that perpetual and arbitrary variation of the market price of money decreed by the sovereigns, in order, fictitiously, to raise the value of their feeble resources. However, in certain critical positions, the kings addressed themselves to the States-General, in order to obtain the *aides*, or extraordinary help, of which the assemblies voted the gathering for a limited period; the taxes might be upon the revenue, upon the sale of merchandise, or upon landed property. Such was the nature of the taxes established in 1335. This system continued until 1439, at which period Charles VII. established an annual and permanent tax.

There were then in France four principal branches of public revenue, the names of which reappear every moment in this history, and it is of importance to know them.

1st. The land tax, called *taille*, because in ancient times, the use of writing being little diffused, they noted the payment of this tax by means of *entailles*, or notches cut in a piece of wood. It was only collected by people of mean origin.

2nd. The *aides*. This name, which at first included all the taxes, ended by being applied specially to the taxes laid upon drinks, beasts, fish, wood, tallow and candles, the weirs of rivers and canals—in one word, to that which we call, at the present day, indirect taxation.

3rd. The *gabelle* (from the German word *gabe*, which signifies a tax). This was the tax upon salt. Little burdensome in its origin, this tax became at last the most heavy charge and the most vexatious of the whole ancient system of French finance, every head of a family throughout the most part of the provinces being compelled to buy very dearly from the *royal granaries* a certain quantity of salt, fixed by edicts, and representing the supposed consumption of his family.

4th. The revenues of the domain of the crown.

which persons of every estate and all conditions were included, wounded the pretensions of the nobility and clergy, and caused an intolerable inquisition to weigh heavily upon the mercantile classes, and interfered with every commercial operation.

Soon fatal symptoms of discord made themselves manifest. The people murmured, the foreign merchants abandoned the kingdom, the French merchants gave up their business, and commerce was extinguished; both town and country were opposed to the *gabelle*, and spread complaints against the States everywhere. The ecclesiastics refused to pay the tax, threatening to suspend altogether the divine service. Many seditions broke out. Arras arose, and fourteen of the bourgeois were slaughtered by the mob. In the middle of these calamities the time arrived when the States ought to assemble anew; but already the people, incapable of going back to the source of evil, saw the deputies with mere distrust; they suspected them of complicity with their oppressors. A large number of the towns abstained from sending representatives to the States; the Normans and the Picards refused to be represented there, and declared that they would not pay the two established taxes. The King of Navarre and the Count d'Harcourt supported the disaffected. The new States-General, much less numerous than their predecessors, abolished the *gabelle* and the *aide* of eight deniers in the pound on the sale of all merchandise, and replaced those imposts by a tax rendered proportional to the fortune of each person.

Civil troubles.

However, the King, who had only granted a pardon to Charles of Navarre for the murder of his Constable through impotence to avenge him, seized an occasion to satisfy, at one blow, his ancient and his new resentments. He learned that on a fixed day the Dauphin had invited to his table, at the château of Rouen, the King of Navarre, the Count d'Harcourt, and some other noblemen. He immediately left Orleans, where he then resided, entered Rouen on the day appointed, followed by a numerous escort, and presented himself at the entrance of the hall where the nobles were seated at table. Lord Arnould d'Andeneham preceded him, and, drawing his sword, said, "Let no one stir for anything that he may see, unless he wishes to die by this sword." King John advanced towards the table, and the guests, seized with terror, rose in order to salute him, when, laying

his hand upon Charles of Navarre, the King stopped him, and, shaking him with rudeness, "Traitor," said he, "you are not worthy of sitting at the table of my son. I neither wish to eat nor to drink as long as you shall live." A witness of this violence, Collinet de Bréville, a knight of the King of Navarre, pointed his sword at the breast of the King, and said that he would slay him. "Let this man and his master be arrested," said King John. His sergeant-at-arms immediately seized the King of Navarre, who vainly implored mercy. The Dauphin, then very young, threw himself at the feet of his father. "Oh, sire!" said he, "you will dishonour me. What will they say of me, when I have invited the King and the nobles to my house, and you have treated them thus? They will say that I have been treacherous." "Hold your peace, Charles!" answered the King; "they are evil traitors: you know not all that I know." The King then advanced some paces, and, seizing a club, he struck the Count d'Harcourt with it between the shoulders, and said, "Proud traitor! by the soul of my father you shall not escape." Two nobles of the suite of the King of Navarre were arrested with that prince and his knight. King John caused his prisoners to be dragged outside the château, and said to the chief of his guards, "Free us from these men." D'Harcourt and the three noblemen were then immediately beheaded before him. Royal dignity saved Charles of Navarre. John spared his head, but he held him prisoner closely confined in a tower of the Louvre, and seized his French apanage.*

Arrest of Charles of Navarre by King John.

Execution of the Count d'Harcourt and other noblemen, 1355.

This act of violence drew down great misfortunes on the kingdom. Philip of Navarre, father of King Charles, and Geoffroy d'Harcourt, uncle of the beheaded Count, immediately united themselves with the King of England, and recognized him as the King of France, and paid him homage for their domains. Edward proclaimed himself the avenger of the executed gentlemen. He sent a formidable army into Normandy, while the Prince of Wales carried fire and sword into the heart of the country, ravaged Auvergne, Limousin, and Berry, and approached Tours. John, whose vindictive fury had brought down this tempest upon France, made an oath that he would fight with the Prince of Wales wherever he should meet him, and called together all

* Froissart, Chronicles.

his nobility. The army assembled in 1356, in the plains of Chartres, and overtook the English in the neighbourhood of Poitiers. Already scarcity had made itself felt in the camp of the enemy, and the Black Prince offered very advantageous terms for France. If John had not fought, the English would have been conquered by famine and compelled to lay down their arms; but so much prudence did not enter into the spirit of those chivalric times. Battles were not founded on calculations, but were merely the fruit of an unexpected meeting and a warlike impulse; they decided less the existence than the honour of nations. The French army, besides, was more than fifty thousand strong, while the army of the enemy only consisted of eight thousand. King John, then, resolved to fight: he felt confident of victory.

The Black Prince had only two thousand knights, four thousand archers, and two thousand foot soldiers, and he saw before him an army of fifty thousand men, amongst whom, besides the King of France and his four sons, there were twenty-six dukes or counts, and a hundred and forty knights banneret. Battle of Poitiers, 1356. He fixed his camp at Maupertuis, two leagues north of Poitiers, upon a hill covered with hedges, bushes, and vines, impracticable for cavalry, and favourable to sharpshooters; he concealed his archers in the bushes, dug ditches, and surrounded himself with palisades and waggons. In fact, he converted his camp into a great redoubt, open only in the centre by a narrow defile, which was lined by a double hedge. At the top of this defile was the little English army, crowded together, and protected on every side. There was, moreover, an ambuscade of six hundred knights and archers behind a small hill which separated the two armies.

The French army was disposed in an oblique line, in three battalions or divisions. The left and most advanced wing was commanded by the Duke of Orleans, brother of the King; the centre, somewhat further back, by the sons of the King; the right wing or reserve by the King himself. The cries of the combatants could already have been heard, when two legates interposed their mediation. The Prince of Wales offered to restore his conquests and his prisoners, and not to serve against France for seven years; but John exacted that he should give himself up as a prisoner with a hundred knights.

The English refused, and the King, who could have taken him by famine, ordered the battle.

A corps of three hundred French men-at-arms rushed into the defile; a shower of arrows destroyed it. The corps which followed, disturbed by this attack, threw itself back upon the left wing, and threw it into disorder. This was only a combat of the advanced guard; but the English ambuscade throwing itself suddenly upon the centre division, that also was seized with panic and terror, and took to flight without having fought. At this sight, Chandos, the most illustrious captain of the English army, said to the Black Prince, "Ride forward: the day is yours!" The English descended the hill, and carried everything before them. "Three sons of the King," says Froissart, "with more than eight hundred lances, in good condition and whole, took to flight without ever approaching their enemies."* The left wing took refuge in disorder behind the division of the King, which was already in trouble, but intact. The English went out from the defile in good order, and advancing into the plain found before them that division where was the King, his youngest son, and his brilliant staff of nobles. The French had still the advantage over their enemies, who were very inferior to them in numbers; but John, remembering, to his misfortune, that the disaster at Cressy had been caused by the French cavalry, cried out, "On foot! on foot!" He himself descended from his horse and placed himself at the head of his own men, a battle-axe in his hand. The engagement was fierce and bloody; but the French knights were unable to struggle on foot against the great horses of the English and the arrows of the archers. They fought until they were all killed or taken, but without order, by troops or by companies, as they found themselves gathered together or scattered. Thus perished all the flower of the chivalry of France. The King remained almost alone, with bare head, wounded, intrepid, fighting bravely with his axe, accompanied by his young son, who parried the blows of his enemies. He was obliged to give himself up.

King John is made prisoner.

The Black Prince, scarcely twenty-six years of age, showed himself worthy of his good fortune; he surrounded the vanquished King with respect, serving him at table, standing, with head uncovered, and declaring that he had deserved the prize

* Chronicles.

for valour on that memorable day. Such was the disastrous issue of the celebrated battle of Poitiers. The Dauphin, already named by his father lieutenant-general of the kingdom, took the reins of state during the captivity of the King; he issued six ordinances concerning the coinage, in order to provide for the first wants of the treasury, and assembled at Paris in the same year the States of the Langue d'Oil.

The disaster of Poitiers and the captivity of the King had plunged the kingdom in sorrow, and every one, at the height of this dangerous crisis, understood the extreme importance of the States-General convoked by the Dauphin in 1356: eight hundred deputies were sent to it, and it was presided over by Charles de Blois, Duke of Brittany. On the demand for fresh subsidies, they answered by the election of several commissioners, taken from each order, and who in their imperious requests demanded—the sole power in matters of finance throughout the states; the power to bring to judgment the counsellors of the King; the creation of a permanent council of four prelates, twelve knights, and twelve bourgeois, in order to assist the young regent; lastly, the right of the States to meet together without royal convocation. Upon these conditions they agreed to furnish an army of thirty thousand men.

States-General of 1356.

Jealous of the authority which the States arrogated to themselves, the Dauphin requested time for reflection; he dragged out the discussions to great length, flattered the deputies, deceived them by vain speeches, and tired them; the greater part returned to their homes; and at last the assembly separated without obtaining anything or granting anything.

The English then desolated the most beautiful provinces of the kingdom; commerce was annihilated; the soldiers, disbanded and without pay, ravaged the country. There was no more safety for the peasants in their cottages, for the monks and nuns in their convents; the fields abandoned remained uncultivated, and the towns received a multitude of men without asylum and without bread, who caused famine to enter with them within their walls; the enemy, in short, was at the gates of Paris.

Desolation of the kingdom.

In the midst of so much calamity, Etienne Marcel, chief of the

merchants of the capital, a true representative of the Third Estate in the fourteenth century, displayed great courage and the qualities of a superior genius. He reanimated the Parisians, finished and fortified the precincts within the walls of the town, caused iron chains to be stretched across the streets, accustomed the bourgeois to arms, and, strengthened by an immense popularity, he presented himself at the famous States of 1357, convoked at Paris, in general assembly, by the Dauphin. Robert le Coq, Bishop of Laon, spoke for the clergy, John de Péquigny for the nobility, and Etienne for the Third Estate. Assembled in a time of disorder, convoked by a prince who could do nothing without their concurrence, in the heart of an excited country, the new States reproduced the requests of the preceding assembly, adding to them other pretensions, and forcing upon him all their demands. In exchange for a subsidy destined to furnish thirty thousand men, and which was to be collected and managed, not by the people of the King, but by those of the States, the Dauphin engaged solemnly to turn aside nothing for his personal interest, from the money consecrated to the defence of the kingdom, to refuse every letter of pardon for atrocious crimes, no more to sell or farm out the offices of judicature, to seek out and to punish prevaricators in the Chamber of Exchequer and in that of Public Inquiry, to establish good money, and to bring about no further change without the consent of the three States, to prohibit every *prize* for royal service, and to cause the collectors accused of embezzlement to render an account. Such were, in brief, the principal dispositions of the celebrated ordinance of 1357. The Dauphin swore besides that he would conclude no truce without the sanction of the States, and that he would dismiss as "unworthy of all charge," twenty-two counsellors, to whom public hatred attributed all the misfortunes of the country. The States before separating agreed to meet again three times before the end of the year, and appointed thirty-six commissioners, taken from their midst, to administrate finances and direct affairs, in concert with the prince, during the intervals of the sittings.

Celebrated States-General of 1357.

Concessions of the Dauphin. Ordinance of 1357.

By these conditions, to which the Dauphin consented, we can judge

of the number of grievances raised against the court and the nobles, and of the enormity of the abuses under which the nation groaned. These reforms were attempted by the *prévôt* Etienne Marcel, and by the Bishop Robert le Coq, ancient legist, both of whom used culpable violence to sustain them. The lasting success of their great enterprise was impossible. The only class which could then rightly believe itself interested in the triumph of the principles which they established was the class of the Third Estate, or bourgeoisie, and they did not form a body animated throughout by the same spirit. Disseminated through a great number of towns, feudally in submission to a similar number of powerful nobles, and, for the most part, recently united with the kingdom, the diversity of their customs, their manners, their prejudices, and of their material interests, rendered the men of the bourgeois class rivals, and jealous of one another; no social tie existed between them; feebly affected by the general destinies of the state, which offered to them no advantage, they revolted against the sacrifices which its defence exacted. When they could do so with impunity, they disavowed their representatives, and did not lend them the support necessary against the jealousy of the privileged orders. It was necessary that the action of a central and energetic power should make itself felt in the time still to come, in order to blend together so many particular wishes in one general will, and before there could arise in France a national spirit wise enough to comprehend the advantages that a vast and powerful association could procure, and the duties that it would impose; a spirit also enlightened enough to appreciate at its just value public liberty, and strong enough to conquer it and defend it. The year 1357 was the period when the States-General had greatest power during the Middle Ages; from that time they rapidly declined; they lost, as did also the Third Estate, all political influence, and for some centuries were only empty shadows of national assemblies.

Considerations upon the reforms ordered by the States, in 1327.

King John had been conducted from Poitiers to Bordeaux, thence to London, and during the negotiations on the subject of his ransom a truce of two years was concluded between England and France. About the same time the death of Geoffroy d'Harcourt freed the Dauphin from an implacable foe. Charles breathed again; he had only given way by constraint to the wish of the States, and he

hastened to break from their yoke as soon as he could dispense with dissimulation. He retained the ministers whom he had promised to dismiss and prosecute, and, at their instigation, he encouraged the pretensions of the nobles and the murmurs of the people in opposition to the votes of the States. The contributions consented to by them were never paid; the prince then declared that he alone ruled, and dismissed the thirty-six commissioners. They, feeling that public opinion, the only power capable of sustaining them, had abandoned them, separated without any resistance. From that time the struggle was only sustained by the bourgeoisie of Paris, and its magistrates stretched their authority over the whole of France.* Troubled with the hostile disposition of the Dauphin, the chiefs of the movement desired to gain a protector capable of defending them, and cast their regards upon the King of Navarre, then a prisoner in the castle of Arleux. John de Péquigny took the fortress, and set free the King, who returned to Paris, where he was received as the future liberator of the kingdom.

The King of Navarre set at liberty by John de Péquigny, 1358.

The new States assembled on the 17th of November, 1357, but they only found a few deputies for the clergy, and not a single noble; their influence was void, and the struggle continued between the Commons of Paris and the Dauphin, who failed in his promises, and braved public opinion by drawing nearer to his person the ministers and great officers condemned by the preceding States. No tribunal had dared to prosecute them; they affected the most profound contempt for the nation, threatening to re-establish all the abuses. The moment of the crisis had arrived. The celebrated *prévôt* of the merchants, Marcel, had recourse to violent measures. He made the Parisians adopt a national colour, and gave them for a rallying sign a red and blue hood, the colours of the town of Paris. He appeared, followed by armed men, before the Dauphin, on either side of whom he found the Lord of Conflans, Marshal of Champagne, and Robert de Clermont, Marshal of Normandy, both of whom had been proscribed by the

* The convocation of the States-General, at Paris, on the 7th of November, 1357, was made conjointly by the Dauphin and by the *prévôt* of the merchants of Paris. "And sent his letters to the people of the Church, to the nobles, and to the walled towns, and summoned them. The said *prévôt* also sent his letters, spoken of above, with the letters of my lord the Duke."—*Chronicles of Saint-Denis.*

States. Some words were exchanged between the prince and Marcel; then, upon a sign from the *prévôt*, the men of his suite drew their swords and massacred the two marshals. The Dauphin, covered with their blood, implored his life from Marcel, who placed upon his head the red and blue hood, and conducted him to the Hotel de Ville under the safeguard of the popular colours. There the Dauphin, seized with fright, declared to the people that the two assassinated marshals were traitors, and that they had deserved their fate. Marcel was king in Paris.

Murder of the marshals of Champagne and Normandy, by the order of Etienne Marcel, prévôt of the merchants. Marcel makes himself master of Paris, 1358.

This double assassination, in restoring for some time power to the States, did not consolidate them, but, on the contrary, only rendered their fall more certain; it raised up implacable resentments in the heart of the Dauphin and amongst the nobility. Already the two privileged orders were indignant at seeing the despised bourgeois exercising a power equal to their own; secret hates fermented, the prejudices of the nobility divided the three orders, while the murder of the marshals caused discord to break out. The nobles of Champagne assembled together and demanded vengeance from the Dauphin; he, who had become regent of the kingdom by his majority, profited by these arrangements, so favourable to his designs, and called together the States at Compiègne, far from the centre of agitation; the nobility alone presented themselves in great numbers, and the reaction became imminent. Marcel foresaw the storm, and prepared for the combat; he attacked the Louvre, then out of the capital, and took possession of it; he united the town with the château, and fortified the precinct within the walls. The regent called round him the nobility, and assembled seven thousand lancers, while, by the advice of Marcel, the bourgeois of Paris proclaimed the King of Navarre their captain-general. Civil war commenced, and with it a new scourge showed itself.

Civil war, 1358.

The people in the country, utterly powerless against the oppression which presented itself on every side, overcharged with taxes by the nobles, despised by the bourgeois, pillaged by the soldiers, suffered at this period from intolerable evils. A proverb of the time describes with energy their excessive misery. The nobles were in the habit of calling these unfortunate people by the name of Jacques Bonhomme,

and said ironically, "*Jacques Bonhomme does not part with his money unless he is thrashed; but Jacques Bonhomme will pay, for he knows that he will be thrashed.* The disaster of Poitiers increased the evils of this unfortunate class. The barons and gentlemen taken prisoners by the English, and released upon parole, submitted their serfs to atrocious persecutions in order to tear from them the price of their ransoms. Then the instinct of despair united the peasants; one sole sentiment seized their minds, that of a mad vengeance. In the Beauvoisis* they arose in a mass, and swore war to the death against the nobles. They burnt their castles, the inhabitants of which they tortured and massacred; they violated and murdered women and girls, and pushed their fury even to forcing children to eat the body of their father, which they had burnt before their eyes. In fact, they committed every excess to which ignorant and barbarous men, for a long period victims of a cruel oppression, could abandon themselves to. In a short time they were masters of all the country between the Oise and the Seine; many towns, Paris even, received them as allies against the common enemy. This rising received in history the name of *the Jacquerie.* It was soon suppressed; the nobility, invincible under its iron armour, exterminated these half-naked wretches. Dispersed before Meaux, they nearly all perished, and the plains throughout many provinces became deserted.

The Jacquerie, 1358.

Paris was then besieged by the army of the Dauphin; the bourgeois suspected Charles the Bad of treachery, and dismissed him. Soon the peril of the capital became extreme, and Marcel had no other hope than that which he reposed in the prince whom they had just expelled. He had an interview with the King of Navarre; he reminded him that on the female side he was the nearest

Siege of Paris by the Dauphin.

* Some people from the rural towns, without any chief, assembled in Beauvoisis, and at first did not number one hundred men, and said that all the nobles in the kingdom of France, chevaliers and knights, disgraced and betrayed the kingdom, and that it would be to the general good if they were destroyed. Then they assembled, and without further counsel, and no arms except sticks tipped with iron and knives, they issued forth. . . . And they multiplied so greatly that they were soon six thousand in number; and wherever they went their number increased; for each one of their own class followed them. (*Chronicles of Froissart*, Book I., Second Part, chap. lxv.) But they were already so multiplied that if they had been together they would have numbered a hundred thousand men. And when they were asked why they acted so, they answered that they did not know, but they vowed to make others do the same, and did it also.—(*Ibid.*, chap. lxvi.)

heir to the throne, and invited him to return to Paris. He engaged at the same time to give to him the title of captain-general, perhaps to proclaim him king. The King of Navarre, dazzled, accepted the offer, and it was arranged that, on the night between the 31st of July and the 1st of August, the gate and bastille of Saint-Denis should be delivered up to him. But a bourgeois named Maillard, a partisan of the Dauphin, had discovered the plot. Accompanied by armed men, he presented himself at midnight at the gate Saint-Denis, took Marcel with the keys in his hand, cried out "Treason!" and slew him with a blow on the forehead from a battle-axe. The same blow struck all the party of the tribune. The death of the famous *prévôt* smoothed the way for the regent, who entered Paris as a conqueror, leaning on the shoulder of Maillard, and signalized his power by numerous executions.

The assassination of Marcel, 1358.

Meanwhile, King John, weary of his long captivity, had signed a disgraceful treaty, which gave over half of France to England. This treaty was rejected with one voice by the regent and the States of 1359. The Dauphin, who had gained popularity by this patriotic act, then declared that the ministers and great officers proscribed by the preceding States had never lost his confidence, and re-established them in their posts. He received some subsidies, but the people could not pay, and in order to sustain the war against the English—encamped at Bourg-la-Reine, two leagues from Paris—he again altered the coinage. The celebrated treaty of Brétigny (near to Chartres) terminated at last the hostilities between France and England. Its principal articles declared that Guienne, Poitou, South Gascony, Ponthieu, Calais, and some fiefs, should remain entirely in the possession of the King of England; that Edward should renounce his pretensions to the crown of France, to Normandy, Brittany, Maine, Touraine and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors, and that John should pay three millions of gold crowns for his ransom. The two sovereigns confirmed this treaty at Calais in 1360.

Treaty of Brétigny, 1360.

Great calamities followed the deliverance of King John. That prince, in granting his daughter to Galeas Visconti of Milan, had caused him to purchase the honour of his alliance for a hundred thousand florins. This sum was useful to France for the ransom of

the King, but was far from being sufficient. The people were laid under arbitrary taxation, and their misery increased. Numerous companies of adventurers, always in the pay of the party who offered the most, and without employment in time of peace, infested the plains; the fields remained uncultivated; and famine, followed by a plague of three years' duration, devastated the kingdom.

Sufferings throughout the kingdom.

In the midst of so many evils a happy circumstance occurred for France. John acquired Burgundy by the death of Philip de Rouvre,* the last duke, to whom he succeeded, in his capacity of nearest relative. But he did not at all understand the importance of this acquisition in the national interest, and hastened to detach this beautiful province anew from his crown, giving it as an apanage to his fourth son Philip, whose valorous conduct at Poitiers had gained for him the surname of *the Bold*, and the paternal predilection. Thus the second house of Burgundy was founded, which rendered itself so formidable in France. Each of the acts of this King appears to be marked with the stamp of the most deplorable fatality. After so many faults, and in the midst of cries of distress from the nation, he contemplated uniting himself with the King of Cyprus, who was engaged in a new crusade, and, encouraged by the Pope Urban V., he took up the cross at Avignon; but he soon learned that his son, the Duke of Anjou, had fled from England, where he had left him as a hostage: from this circumstance he experienced very great affliction. If guilty of complicity with his son, the King would have violated the laws of chivalry, which he respected even to a nicety. Impatient to justify himself, he demanded a safe conduct, obtained it, and returned to England, where he died in 1364. Few kings, with his estimable qualities and right intentions, have drawn down more evils upon their people. The following beautiful sentiment has been attributed to this prince:—*If good faith were banished from the rest of the world, it ought still to be found in the hearts of kings;* a noble maxim, which would have done more honour to King John if it had always inspired his actions.

Philip the Bold, first duke of the second house of Burgundy, 1362.

Death of King John, 1364.

* This name came to him from the castle of Rouvre, where he was born. Philip de Rouvre was the last descendant of Robert, son of Robert King of France, and founder of the first Capetian house of Burgundy.

## CHAPTER IV.

### REIGN OF CHARLES V., CALLED THE WISE.

### 1364–1380.

When Charles V. mounted the throne he was twenty-nine years of age. He had already governed France for nearly eight years. Nothing then announced in him the restorer of the monarchy. Not much esteemed by the nobility, on account of his unwarlike qualities and his conduct at Poitiers; hated by the bourgeoisie, which he had subdued by executions; weak in body, and of a sickly constitution, everything appeared likely to become an obstacle during his reign. And yet, by his address and prudence, more than by great talent, he was enabled to reconquer a large part of the provinces which his father had lost. He re-established order in the interior of the kingdom; but all this could only be done at the expense of the authority of the States-General, whom he strove to annul. His principal merit consisted in the sagacity with which he appreciated circumstances and men, arranged useful alliances, seized always the favourable moment to attack his enemies, and attached to himself skilful ministers and great generals, at the head of whom appeared Boucicaut, Olivier de Clisson, and the brave Du Guesclin. He is justly reproached with having neither respected the rights of the people nor the treaties with his enemies; but, having occupied the throne between two disastrous epochs, he ought to have double credit for the repose which France appeared to enjoy under his reign, and posterity confirmed the surname of *Wise* which he received from his contemporaries.

Charles V., 1364.

Nothing threw more brilliancy upon the reign of Charles V., and contributed more to his success, than the illustrious Bertrand du Guesclin. A simple Breton gentleman, with no personal advantages, accomplishments, or fortune, of a mind so little

Du Guesclin.

opened that he could never learn to read, he had nothing apparently of that which announces a hero, except his valour. This was the man who, after having fought obscurely for Charles de Blois upon the heaths of Brittany, became the first captain of the age, whom God seemed to have caused to be born a contemporary of Charles V. in order to save France. "A strong soul," says his historian, "nourished in iron, moulded under the palms, and in which Mars held school for a long period." His first exploit for Charles was a victory. Boucicaut had just taken by surprise the town of Mantes, which belonged to the King of Navarre; that of Meulan had likewise fallen into the hands of the French. The *Captal* or Seignior of Buch, a brave Gascon captain in the service of Charles the Bad, made arrangements in order to take his revenge. He united with John Joel, an English captain, and, at the head of seven hundred lancers, three hundred archers, and five hundred foot soldiers, he awaited the French in the neighbourhood of Cocherel, near Evreux, where he arranged his troops on the height of a hill, on the border of a wood. Bertrand du Guesclin approached; he perceived that the *Captal* possessed the advantage of the ground; but his own soldiers were in want of provisions: it was necessary to give fight, and draw the enemy into the plain. Du Guesclin had not his equal in stratagems of war; he prepared an ambuscade and ordered a precipitate retreat. John Joel, deceived by this artifice, rushed forward, against the orders of the *Captal*, to the cry of "Forward, Saint George! Who loves me follows me!" The *Captal* saw the peril, and followed John Joel to save him; but then the French stopped. "Forward, friends!" cried Du Guesclin, "the day is ours. For God's sake remember that we have a new king in France, and that to-day his crown must be handselled by us!" A fierce combat then took place, and the ambuscade showed itself; thirty knights rushed upon the *Captal* at a gallop and took him prisoner. The victory was vigorously disputed: but John Joel fell, wounded to death, and the men of Navarre, without a chief, dispersed, only a small number contriving to escape. The victory of Cocherel placed in submission to Charles V. nearly the whole of Normandy. He received the news at Reims, in the midst of the fêtes of his coronation, and recompensed Du Guesclin by the gift of the county of Longueville.

Battle of Cocherel.

The war went on continuously in Brittany between the two aspirants, the son of John de Montfort and of the celebrated Jeanne de Flandres, allied with the English, and Charles de Blois, sustained by France. The celebrated battle of *Auray*, when the latter was slain, was soon followed by the treaty of *Guérande*, which assured the duchy of Brittany to Montfort. This treaty, signed with care by Charles V., rendered the duchy reversible to the widow and children of Charles de Blois in case Montfort died without issue. Thus terminated an atrocious war, which had lasted twenty-four years. The Duke of Montfort, under the name of John V., hastened to return to Paris, where he did homage to the King.

Battle of Auray. Treaty of Guérande. End of the war in Brittany, 1365.

Charles V. found himself at last at peace with all his neighbours. His people began to breathe again, and returned to the work of the fields, interrupted for so long a period; order and peace existed once more. But the scourge of the companies of adventurers threatened to arrest this return to a better state, and to ruin the kingdom. During this period, when the caprices of princes, a gift, an exchange, or a marriage decided every day the destiny of the people, a multitude of men considered themselves as belonging to no country, and offered their swords to any one who sought their services. The length of the wars, which rendered their services necessary to so many princes; the feebleness of the laws, which seemed to authorize all kinds of disorder and violence, had, during twenty-five years, prodigiously increased the number of these greedy and licentious men. When France was at peace, they all remained without employment and without means of existence. They then spread themselves like wild beasts over the country, and there committed frightful ravages. The only means of subduing them so far had been by arming against them the national militia of the kingdom; but experience had taught Charles to fear above all things the influence of the middle classes. He refused to increase their number, and from that time, not being able to exterminate the great companies, he was compelled to employ them. For a considerable time Peter, King of Castile, surnamed the Cruel, had alienated himself from his family and subjects by acts of atrocity. He had poisoned his wife, Blanche of Bourbon, and ordered the murder of his natural brother, Henry of

The great companies.

Transtamare; the latter, in the hope of punishing him and of supplanting him upon the throne, implored the assistance of Charles V., and obtained it. Charles seized with eagerness this occasion of avenging Blanche, his relation, and of giving employment to the great companies, whose brigandages he feared. Du Guesclin commanded the expedition. In charging him with this difficult mission, the King embraced him with all his heart. "Valiant Bertrand," said he to him, "I owe you more than if you had conquered a province for me."

War against Peter the Cruel, King of Castile, 1366.

These terrible adventurers, in passing near Avignon, to which place the popes for half a century had transferred their residence, levied contributions on the sovereign Pontiff. They afterwards entered Spain, and the troops of Peter disbanded themselves before them. That prince, repulsed by his subjects, driven from Portugal, where he sought a refuge with Peter the Justiciary, as barbarous as himself, abandoned his throne to his rival, and retired to the court of the Prince of Wales, who received him at Bordeaux with great honours; and Henry took possession of the crown of Castile without obstacle.

But Peter solicited succour from the English, and promised to enrich their captains; and the Prince of Wales armed in his favour without breaking with France. The great companies, who had just established Transtamare on the throne, rushed now to the side of his brother, drawn by the appetite for gold which he promised them. Du Guesclin supported Transtamare, but the latter was conquered by the Prince of Wales at the battle of Navarette, and Du Guesclin was made prisoner. Peter the Cruel recovered his kingdom, and his brother, a fugitive, sought refuge with the Duke of Anjou, eldest of the brothers of Charles V. and commandant of Languedoc. That prince, an enemy of the English, received Transtamare as, in the preceding year, the Prince of Wales had received Peter the Cruel.

Battle of Navarette, 1367.

Du Guesclin was only able to recover his liberty by defying the English prince to grant it to him. He himself fixed his ransom at a hundred thousand gold florins, and when the prince asked him how a poor knight could find such a sum: "The Kings of France and Castile will pay it," answered Bertrand; "and there are a hundred Breton knights who would sell their lands to make up that sum;

and the girls who spin, in my country, would make more than my ransom with their distaffs rather than that I should be left prisoner!" The Princess of Wales contributed twenty thousand livres on the spot, and the brave Chandos, rival of Du Guesclin, offered his purse to deliver him. Freed on parole, Du Guesclin departed in order to gather together his ransom. He returned with it; but whilst on the road he met ten poor knights, who had great difficulty in finding their ransoms. He gave them all, and arrived at Bordeaux with empty hands to retake his place in prison. Charles V. paid his ransom and set him at liberty. He then sent him anew into Spain, at the head of his army; and Du Guesclin, conqueror at the battle of Montiel, replaced Transtamare, for a second time, upon the throne of Castile. Peter the Cruel was made prisoner. On recognizing each other, the two rival brothers threw themselves with rage upon one another, and Peter died, stabbed by the hand of Henry, in the tent of Du Guesclin.

Battle of Montiel, 1369.

At this period Charles contemplated the recovery of those provinces which had been ceded to the English by his father; and saw with joy Edward III. enervated, more by pleasures than by age, and his illustrious son, the Black Prince, the conqueror of Cressy, of Poitiers, and of Navarette, attacked by a wasting disease the symptoms of which were mortal. He deceived the English monarch by demonstrations of friendship, and fomented revolt in all the provinces given over to England by the treaty of Brétigny. The English treated the inhabitants of these countries more as vanquished people than as brothers and fellow-citizens. Hence arose amongst them an ardent desire to be restored to France.

Charles profited by these inclinations, and attached to himself the most influential nobles. A rising broke out in Gascony on the occasion of a hearth-tax, an imposition established by the English prince upon each fire. The Gascons claimed that, up to that time, they had been free from all taxes, and appealed to the King of France, as sovereign of Guienne and of Gascony. Charles V., in contempt of the treaty of Brétigny, which granted these provinces in complete sovereignty to Edward, received their appeal, and caused the Black Prince to be summoned before the Chamber of Peers, as his subject. He believed he was powerful

Rising of the Gascons against the English, 1368.

enough at the same time to venture upon some acts of popularity without compromising his power. He dared to convoke the States, and pretended to consult them, being assured beforehand that he would find them docile. They assembled in 1369, and approved of all the acts of his reign without restriction. He prosecuted his designs against England; he increased the privileges of the revolted towns,* which gave themselves up to France; and the clergy, won over by him, raised the people in his favour. Lastly, when he had arranged everything for success, the Court of Peers issued, in 1370, a decision declaring that, in default of having appeared before it, Edward was deprived of his rights with regard to Aquitaine and his other possessions in France, and it confiscated them to the profit of the crown. A scullion was entrusted to carry this sentence to the English monarch, who, seized with indignation, prepared for war.

States-General, 1369.

Decision of the Court of Peers against Edward III., 1370.

Charles V. strengthened his position with Scotland and Spain. A Castilian fleet, victorious over the English fleet at Rochelle, opened for him Poitou; the Constable Du Guesclin subdued this province to France. The Duke of Brittany, Montfort, was from his heart devoted to the English, who had restored to him his duchy: he allied himself with Edward. But Charles knew how to manage the friendship of the Breton nobles. Two of their number, Olivier de Clisson and Du Guesclin, enjoyed his highest favour; they gained over for Charles the hearts of their compatriots, and the duke was expelled from his duchy, which allied itself with France against England. Edward, however, assembled together a powerful army; it disembarked at Calais, under the command of the Duke of Lancaster. Charles V., still struck with the recollection of Cressy and Poitiers, ordered his generals to watch the enemy, to impede his movements, and to decline to give battle. His orders were obeyed. Lancaster encamped before Paris, and an English knight planted with impunity his lance in the gates of Saint Jacques. French valour, restrained

Recommencement of hostilities with England, 1370.

New system of warfare.

* Royal decrees of 1370. Letters declaring that the inhabitants of Rodez should be able to transact business throughout the kingdom, without paying any rates for merchandise which they purchased (February, 1370); letters declaring that the town of Milhaud should be exempt from taxes for twenty years; and an order granting privileges to the town of Tulle (May, 1370), &c. &c.

by the prudence of the monarch, bore the insulting provocations of the enemy from Calais as far as Guienne, where their army arrived exhausted and almost destroyed by disease, fatigue, and scarcity of provisions. The fortune of England tottered: its hero, the Prince of Wales, whose last and sad exploit was the sack of Limoges, was just dead; Edward III. himself was drawing near to the tomb, and was about to abandon his sceptre to the hands of an infant. His fleet had been conquered at Rochelle; his powerful army had consumed itself; already the fruits of the victory of Poitiers were lost to him, and France had recovered nearly all its provinces. The old King, so formidable in times of old, and now so humiliated, signed a truce with Charles V., and shortly afterwards died in the arms of a courtesan, leaving the throne to his grandson, the unfortunate Richard II.

Truce of Bruges between England and France, 1375.

Freed from his most dangerous enemy, Charles abandoned himself to his revenge against his brother-in-law, Charles the Bad, then in Spain, where he meditated an alliance with England. He compelled the son of that prince, who had come without distrust to his court, to sign an order which gave over to the French all the places possessed by his father in Normandy. He caused also De Rue and Du Tertre to be arrested, the one chamberlain of the King of Navarre, and the other governor of one of his places, and both intimate friends of their master. They were given over to an extraordinary commission, and summoned to confess that their prince was guilty of atrocious crimes, and, among others, of an attempt to poison Charles. They repelled these horrible accusations, but this did not prevent them from being condemned to death and executed as accomplices of these crimes, in order to give a ground to the suspicions which Charles V. wished to bring to bear upon his brother-in-law. Bernay, Evreux, Pont-Audemer, Avranches, Mortain, Valognes, opened their gates, and in Normandy the town of Cherbourg alone belonged to the King of Navarre.

Vengeance of Charles V.

This point seems to give us an opportunity for stopping a moment to glance at the politics of Charles V. Arriving, as he did, at royalty under the most unfavourable circumstances, burdened with an enormous debt to pay to foreigners, without a treasury, without an army, he had seen his subjects diminish to one-

Success of Charles V.

half in number, by war, by famine, by pestilence, and despoiled by bands of brigands, masters of the kingdom. Nevertheless, in the course of years, he had succeeded in retaking from the English Ponthieu, Quercy, Limousin, Rouergue, Saintonge, Angoumois, and Poitou. He had engaged the vassals of Upper Gascony to give themselves over to him, expelled the Duke of Brittany from his duchy, and the King of Navarre from nearly all his Norman possessions. Skilful also in exterior politics, he had favoured in Castile a revolution which, in assisting him to get rid of the pest of the great companies, promised to him a grateful ally. He attached Flanders to France, by assuring, through a marriage with his brother, Philip of Burgundy, the succession of that country; he carefully preserved the friendship of John Galéas Visconti, his brother-in-law, master of Lombardy, and that of the Emperor Charles IV.; whilst he held the Pope under his subjection at Avignon. The companies of adventurers had disappeared from the kingdom, the roads had become safe, order was re-established, royal authority was exercised without obstacle, and in all parts, at last, subjects who had been detached from the monarchy by a humiliating treaty, left the foreign yoke to become once more Frenchmen.

His policy.

Charles had gathered round him, in order to assist in accomplishing these happy changes, men little elevated by their birth, but by superior merit. Amongst them must be mentioned Guillaume and Michel de Dormans, Philip de Savoisy, and Bureau de la Rivière. These men had all his confidence; they were his ministers, and not his favourites: whilst he took advantage of their counsels he always remained their master.* He ceased to alter the money, and did not oppress the people with taxes, substituting for the *taille*, or land-tax upon villeins, the indirect tax of the *aides*, which had for its particular object the taxation of both bourgeois and noble.

Principal ministers of that prince.

This wise conduct ought to be attributed equally to his solicitude for his subjects and the fear with which they inspired him. Never did he forget that the people had made him tremble when he was only Dauphin; and he rarely pardoned an offence. However, he knew

* For this reason, Fréret is reported to have said of him, "Never prince received so many counsels, and allowed himself to be less governed."

how to put off chastisement, and he was, according to circumstances, master of his pity and likewise of his anger. When the English armies laid waste the country and burnt the villages under his eyes, no sign of pity escaped from him; and Froissart, the historian of the period, narrates that in all these conflagrations he could only see smoke, which could not drive him from his inheritance. In his connection with the people, lastly, his principal aim seems to have been to compel them to submit to the sovereign will, without hearing a murmur, and without experiencing any resistance. He only once convoked the States-General during his reign, and substituted for them assemblies of the most considerable inhabitants, where he only admitted members of the Parliament and of the university, some prelates, and his great officers of state. The political power of the Third Estate found itself enfeebled; but at the same time Charles V., jealous of keeping the balance between the different classes of the nation, despoiled the nobles of many of their privileges. A decree of 1372 exclusively reserved to the crown the right of granting charters to the municipalities, and of letters of ennoblement to private individuals.

Celebrated decree of 1372.

It was from the interior of his palace that he mysteriously directed all these intrigues. Prudence had always directed his policy; and that which was the particular aim which he proposed to himself in all his acts, that which he strove to reach, was the only one which was then suited to the true interests of France. The end of this reign was not free from storms. Charles saw awakening round him in all directions symptoms of that fermentation, of that liberal tendency in men's minds, which he had taken such great care to suppress. Sectarians, known under the name of Béguins or Turlupins, multiplied in his states: he allowed a large number of these unfortunates to be burnt alive; but the executions could not restrain the flight of human reason. New sects were formed, and the great Schism of the East stimulated throughout Europe the spirit of doubt and of inquiry.

Gregory XI. died in 1378 at Rome, and the College of Cardinals gave him for a successor Bartholomew Prognagni, who took the name of Urban VI. The violent conduct of the new Pope soon alienated from him those who had crowned him; threatened by him, they all

declared that his election was illegal; they chose Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII., and went to take up his residence at Avignon. Such was the origin of the famous Schism of the East. Europe divided itself between the two popes, each kingdom following its own political interests. Charles V. declared himself for Clement, who resided in France; his allies, the sovereigns of Naples, of Castile, and Aragon, followed his example. The party of Urban VI. was embraced by England, by Bohemia, Hungary, Portugal, and Flanders. Charles, in declaring for one who was hereafter to be declared anti-pope, opened up, in spite of himself, new views to the independence of human reason and unbelief.

Great Schism of the East, 1379.

The symptoms of agitation thus visibly arising were not the only alarming movements which he saw in his latter years. Conqueror of the English without having fought them, he thought himself master enough over the minds of the Bretons to confiscate their province and to unite it to his domain. He deceived himself. The Duke John V., summoned by his order before the court of the Parliament, was judged by it before his summons was notified to him in Flanders, where he resided, and condemned without being heard, as being guilty of an alliance with England against his sovereign. He was declared deprived of his titles in Brittany, and the Parliament confiscated his duchy in contempt of the rights of the widow and children of Charles de Blois, expressly reserved in the treaty of Guérande. Charles V. did not gather any fruit from this unjust act. The inhabitants of that country, jealous of their national independence, arose in a body, recalled their duke, and welcomed him as their liberator; the brave Breton captains left the royal army; Du Guesclin, always faithful to the King, disapproved of his course, and became suspicious of him: his noble pride made him indignant. It is said that he wished to give up his Constable's sword, and was anxious to retire to Spain, in order to die there; but, before leaving the standard of Charles, he went to rejoin the Marshal de Sancerre, his friend, and one of the most illustrious warriors of the age, before the little place of Château-Randon, in Gévaudan, which he was then besieging. He

Confiscation of the duchy of Brittany. Revolt of the Bretons.

was attacked by a fatal malady. Feeling that death was approaching, he raised himself upon his couch, and taking in his victorious hands the sword of the Constable, he looked upon it in silence, with tears in his eyes. "It has aided me," said he, "to conquer the enemies of my King, but it has given me cruel enemies near him." Then, turning towards Sancerre, "I deliver it over to you," continued he; "and I protest that I have never betrayed the honour that the King did me when he entrusted it to me." He bowed his head, kissed his noble sword, and said to the old captains who surrounded him, "Forget not, in whatever land you may be engaged in war, that people of the Church, women, and children, are not your enemies." Upon the point of death, he dictated these words for Olivier de Clisson, his companion in arms. "My Lord Olivier, I feel that death approaches closely, and cannot say many things to you. You will say to the King that I am greatly grieved that I cannot serve him longer, and that, if God had granted me the time, I had good hope of clearing his kingdom of his English enemies. He has goods ervants, who will exert themselves as much as I have done, especially you, my Lord Olivier, the first before all. I pray you deliver to the King the sword of the Constable; he will know well how to dispose of it, and make choice of a person worthy of it. I commend to him my wife and my brother. Adieu! I am not able to do more." The garrison of Randon had promised to give up the town if it were not succoured, and, faithful to its word, it deposited the keys of the town upon the coffin of the great captain.

Illness and death of Du Guesclin, 1380.

Charles persevered in his objects of usurpation; but his troops were driven from Brittany, and he met everywhere with the same unanimity against himself which a short time ago had been shown in his favour against the English. Louis, Count of Flanders, also solicited assistance at the same time against his revolted subjects. A formidable rising also broke out in Languedoc, where the Duke of Anjou, brother of the King, crushed the people by an intolerable oppression. Charles was compelled to recall his brother, and took his government from him. He, lastly, saw the King of Navarre give up Cherbourg to the English, and a new English army fall upon the kingdom.

Reverses of Charles V. in Brittany.

Rising of Languedoc.

He ordered that it should be received in the same manner as that which preceded it. In the meanwhile, he died at his Castle of Beauty, on the Marne. His death was that of a Christian and of a monarch who had been long tried by the hardships of fortune. He assembled round him the prelates, the barons, and the members of his council, and addressed them on the different acts of his policy in a touching discourse, full of wisdom. Then he requested them to bring the crown of thorns of the Saviour, which they then believed that they possessed at Paris among a number of sacred relics. It was placed on high before him, and he prayed for a long time, fixing his eyes upon it. Afterwards, having caused his perishable crown—that used at the coronation of the kings—to be placed at his feet, he said, "O crown of France, that art precious and vile at the same time—precious, as the symbol of justice; but vile, and most vile of all things, when we consider the labour, the anguish, the perils of the soul, the pains of the heart, the conscience, and the body, which thou castest upon those which bear thee—those who know all these things would rather leave thee lying in the mud than raise thee in order to place thee on their heads!" Afterwards, having received the extreme unction, the King ordered that the doors should be opened to his officers and to the people, and said, "I know that in the government of my kingdom I have given many causes of offence; for that I pray you accord me mercy: pardon me."* He then raised his arms, and stretched out his hands over all, in the midst of sighs and tears. He gave his blessing to his eldest son, the Dauphin, then eleven years old; and whilst they read the Passion of the Saviour, from the Gospel of Saint John, he expired in the arms of the Lord of La Rivière, whom he tenderly loved, on the 26th of September, 1380, at the age of forty-four years. He had scarcely closed his eyes when his nearest relatives gave vent to the evil passions which they had restrained during his life. The eldest of his brothers and one of the tutors of his son, the avaricious and fierce Duke of Anjou, rushed into his chamber, seized his jewels, and pillaged the palace. The new reign commenced under these darkening auspices.

Death of Charles V., 1380.

* *Livre des Faicts et bonnes Mœurs du sage Roy Charles V.* Par Christine de Pisan.

The arts and sciences were still very slightly cultivated in France during the reigns of John and Charles V.; while at the same time they began to flourish in Italy, where Dante and Petrarch were then famous. The French nobles gave themselves up entirely to warlike exercises, and had the most profound contempt for men of intellect; the most celebrated captains could only sign their names with difficulty, and Du Guesclin could not read. The principal works of antiquity, however, began to be known; already there were several translations of Titus Livius, Sallust, and of Cæsar. The historian Froissart lived, and his simple and picturesque chronicle is one of the most precious monuments of modern history. Charles V., one of the most educated men of his time, may be looked upon as the founder of the Bibliothèque Royale. His father had only left him twenty volumes; he collected together nine hundred, a prodigious number for the period. The greater part were books on theology, canon law, and astrology, the only sciences which were then studied.

General observations. Literature and science.

Froissart.

From the thirteenth century, clocks with wheels, spectacles, paper, earthenware, and crystal mirrors were known in Italy. The towns of that beautiful country, and also those of Flanders, possessed manufactures and enriched themselves by commerce, whilst war was almost the only occupation of the French. Gunpowder, which was frequently used in sieges, was despised in battles. The nobles did not care to favour the use of an arm which, in neutralizing individual force, must contribute to the levelling of the ranks.

The studies of the universities only taught the art of sustaining the vain disputes of scholastic theology. Careful to repulse everything that could encroach upon the authority of the Church, the popes interdicted in the universities the study of civil law, and only tolerated that of canon law. They still often decided the destinies of empires; it was thus that Urban V., in granting permission to Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, to marry Marguerite of Flanders, the licence for which he had refused to the son of Edward III., firmly assured to the house of France the inheritance of that powerful count. The same Pope was again taken as arbiter by Charles V. and Charles the Bad, on the subject of their pretensions to Burgundy; and later, Gregory XI. caused his mediation to be accepted between the Kings of

France and England. The former, agreeing with the popes in their designs against progress and the spirit of independence, resisted them at all times when the rights that they arrogated to themselves encroached upon those which he himself believed that he possessed, and he dared to take the title of King before his coronation. One of the ordinances which does most honour to his memory is that by which he armed justice against his own authority. He forbade Parliament to modify or to suspend its judgments in virtue of any order sealed with the royal seal. He had already made the Parliament permanent, which, until then, only assembled twice in the year, at Pâques and Toussaint, and had established it in the ancient Palace of the Kings, in the city of Paris. Another ordinance, equally celebrated, was issued by this prince. In order to shorten the stormy time which he foresaw would occur during the minority of his successor, he fixed the majority of the kings at fourteen years. This dangerous innovation was too often fatal to France.

Royal ordinances.

# CHAPTER V.

## REIGN OF CHARLES VI.

## 1380–1422.

THE disasters of the last wars had cut down the first nobility of the kingdom: after the defeats of Cressy and Poitiers, amongst the great vassals of France there only remained the Dukes of Brittany and Burgundy* who lived in such state that they could hold up their heads with the monarch; the royal family had profited by the decline of the others. Nevertheless, in spite of so many blows aimed at the high feudal aristocracy, the spirit of feudality existed still in its strength, and at the side of the monarch arose a new aristocracy, as formidable to the throne; it consisted of princes of the royal family. They had received in apanage the states which the kings ought to have united to their domains, and for the most part they governed with harshness the people who were intrusted to their care.

Situation of France.

From the end of the last reign insurrections had broken out in many parts of the kingdom and in the states feudally obedient to the crown of France. This agitation soon became general. The people suffered, crushed and despoiled by avaricious tyrants, and formidable insurrections were quenched in

Insurrections and anarchy.

* The duchy of Burgundy, properly speaking, in 1363, at the accession of the house of Valois, only comprised the towns of Dijon, Beaune, Auxonne and Châtillon, with their territories. By his marriage with Marguerite of Flanders, heiress of Count Louis II., Philip the Bold received in 1384 the counties of Flanders, Artois, Rhétel, Nevers, and Burgundy (free county). The vast possessions of this house were extended still further under Charles VII. It acquired by the treaty of Arras (1435), in the east of France, the counties of Mâcon and Auxerre, and the seigniory of Bar; to the north the counties of Guignes and Ponthieu. It finally gained by succession, by marriages, and by purchase, Hainaut, Brabant, Limbourg, Luxembourg, the counties of Frise, of Zealand, of Holland, the towns of Antwerp and Malines, and the duchy of Gueldre. (See *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois*, by Baron de Barante.)

streams of blood. A deep exasperation existed between the nobility and the inferior classes; but the struggle was not equal: the nobles knew how to unite together, to bear down in a body on their isolated enemies, and to strike them separately. The barbarity and the superstition of the people arrested all their efforts to obtain a better destiny, and, when a stroke of fortune threw the power for a moment into their hands, they could not make a better use of it than their noble oppressors. So many causes of dissolution, united together, plunged France into frightful anarchy, and made the reign of Charles VI. the most disastrous period in French history. At the moment when this King, a minor, mounted his throne, England, submissive to Richard II., bore also the evils of a minority: the empire of Germany had for a chief, in Venceslas, son of Charles IV., a prince brutified by intemperance; Charles the Bad reigned in Navarre; Jeanne I., murderess of her husband, governed Naples, and two candidates for the papacy, Urban VI. and Clement VII., shook the Christian world by discharging at each other mutual anathemas. All the people suffered from frightful calamities; but none of them were more crushed than the French people.

Sad state of Europe.

Charles VI. had arrived at the age of eleven years and some months when his father died. His three paternal uncles, the Dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy, and his maternal uncle, the Duke of Bourbon, disputed among themselves concerning his guardianship and the regency. They agreed to emancipate the young King immediately after his coronation, which was to take place during the year, and the regency was to remain until that period in the hands of the eldest, the Duke of Anjou, the same who, given by his father as a hostage, fled from England, and whose first act was to appropriate the treasure amassed by the late King. Nature had endowed Charles VI. with amiable qualities; he was benevolent and full of grace and affability. His uncles vied with each other in stifling this happy disposition; they were bent on persuading him that the most glorious triumphs for a King are those which he gains over his own subjects. A wise administration could have closed the wounds of the people. The English army conducted into Brittany by Buckingham was dissolved, and the sixteen millions left by Charles V. would have been more than sufficient to free France from

Accession of Charles VI., 1380.

the foreigners. But the Duke of Anjou, adopted by Jeanne of Naples as her successor,* and impatient to be seated on her throne, had received this treasure to defray the expenses of an expedition against Charles de Duras, his rival. He soon raised a numerous army; it perished in Italy, mowed down by privations, fatigue, and disease, and he himself died miserably in the country which he had come to conquer.

The beginning of this reign was signalized by popular movements. A report had spread about that the late King on his deathbed had decreed the abolition of all the taxes, and, according to the chronicle of Saint-Denis, each one throughout the kingdom of France ardently desired liberty, and thought only of shaking off the yoke of the taxes. Fearing an insurrection, the governing princes issued a decree abolishing in perpetuity the established taxes, under some name that had existed since the time of Philip the Fair. However, it was necessary to provide for the cost of the war against England, and for other expenses: the treasury was empty, and the revenues of the royal domain were very inadequate. They did not dare to convoke the States-General, and they could draw nothing from the assemblies of the nobles. It was necessary to re-establish a tax upon merchandise of every kind. Immediately a formidable tumult broke out; the Parisians ran to the arsenal, where they found mallets of lead intended for the defence of the town, and under the blows from which the greater part of the collectors of the new tax perished; from the weapons used the insurgents took the name of *Maillotins*. Reims, Châlons, Orleans, Blois, and Rouen rose at the example of the capital.

New taxes.

Insurrection of the Maillotins, 1380.

* This prince, in favour of whom King John had newly constituted in apanage the duchy of Anjou, reunited to the crown by Philip VI., was the head of the second house of Anjou which reigned at Naples, or rather which claimed that crown. The first house of Anjou, founded by Charles, brother of Saint Louis, was only represented in 1380 by Jeanne I., Queen of Naples, and by Charles de Durazzo (or Duras) of Anjou, her cousin. Jeanne, to the detriment of her natural heir, adopted Louis, son of King John; and from that time commenced a long struggle between the second house of Anjou and the royal branch of Durazzo. Louis I. in 1383, and Louis II. in 1390, both invaded the kingdom, but neither of them could hold it. The Durazzo (or Duras) reigned until 1435. At this period Jeanne II. died: she was daughter and last heiress to Charles de Durazzo, and her succession caused a new war to break out.—See further forward in this volume, *The State of Italy at the end of the fifteenth century* (Reign of Charles VIII.)

The States-General of the Langue d'Oil were then convoked at Compiègne, and separated without having granted anything. The Parisians were always in arms, and the dukes, powerless to make them submit, treated with them, and contented themselves with the offer of a hundred thousand livres. The chastisement was put off for a time.

New Jacquerie in Languedoc.

The Duke of Berry, Governor of Languedoc, then reduced the inhabitants of that province to despair. A crowd of wretched men, despoiled of every resource, concealed themselves in the forests and mountains of Cévennes, where they formed themselves into bands, which were known by the name of *Tuchins*, and which were, for a long period, the terror of the nobles and men of wealth.

The estates of the north, held under the crown, were neither more peaceable nor more happy. Count Louis of Flanders, driven away by his people, whose municipal franchises he had violated every day, now burning with a desire to avenge himself, obtained the support of the young king, his sovereign. A numerous army of knights assembled together, and Charles marched at its head; Clisson was appointed Constable, and the brave Sancerre commanded under him. The French army met near to Rosebecque an army of fifty thousand Flemings, commanded by Philip Artevelt, son of the famous brewer who was leader of the sedition in 1336. The Flemings occupied an excellent defensive position; they wished to march against the enemy, and demanded battle with loud cries. Artevelt, compelled to accede to this desire, formed all his army into a square phalanx; all the men were tied together with cords, and he himself took his place in the midst of his brave men of Ghent. Then this enormous and compact mass advanced, their pikes lowered, with a regular and firm step, and without uttering a word. The artillery of the King could not break this terrible phalanx; the Flemings advanced, so say the chroniclers, with the impetuosity of wild boars. The French line recoiled; but the enemy presented a smaller front than they did, and were soon surrounded on all sides. After the first shock, the two wings of the royal army fell, at the same moment, on this mass, which was incapable of deploying or defending itself; the Flemings were driven

War with Flanders. Battle of Rosebecque, 1382.

back upon themselves by the long lances of the knights, and thousands of men perished by suffocation without receiving a wound; the carnage was frightful. Philip Artevelt perished in the fight. The towns of Flanders were given over by the conqueror to flames and pillage; Ghent alone still resisted. Courtray, guilty only of having been the theatre of an ancient defeat of the French, was, by order of the young King, destroyed from foundation to roof, and all the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, were massacred. The victorious army returned to Paris; the moment for striking the rebels had arrived.

The Parisians perceived with fear that defence was impossible, and received the order to lay down their arms. The young King of fourteen years entered the town as an irritated conqueror; refusing to pass through the gates, he caused a breach to be made in the walls of the town, and it was through it that he penetrated to the capital. For many days he remained silent; Paris was in anguish. At last the scaffolds were erected, and the executions commenced; one hundred of the richest inhabitants were executed, and among this number was the virtuous John Desmarest, advocate-general to the Parliament, whose crime consisted in being desirous to conciliate all parties. "Master John," they said to him, while leading him to execution, "cry to the King, in order that he may pardon you." Desmarest answered, "I have served King Philip his grandfather, King John, and King Charles his father, well and loyally; never could those three kings reproach me, and this monarch would not have done so if he had had knowledge of mankind; to God alone I wish to cry for mercy." A crowd of other citizens awaited their sentences. The dukes then threw themselves at the feet of the King, and feigned to beg mercy for the town, begging him to convert the executions into fines. Charles listened favourably to their covetous wishes. The wealth of the bourgeoisie was confiscated, all the taxes were re-established, and Paris lost its municipal privileges, together with the right of electing its *prévôt* and civil magistrates. The soldiers demolished the principal gates, and tore away the iron chains which served as a defence in all the streets. Rouen, Reims, Châlons, Troyes, Gens, and Orleans, were treated in a similar manner, by royal commis-

Chastisement of the Parisians.

Execution of John Desmarest.

sioners, who ordered confiscations and executions. The dukes seized upon all the money from the towns, and spent it in profusion, while the treasury remained empty.

The revolt of Flanders was not stifled; so many atrocities committed by the French had excited general horror and indignation; the town of Ghent, which alone contained more than one hundred thousand souls, showed the example of perseverance and courage. Ackermann commanded it; Pierre Dubois and he reanimated the Flemings, and allied themselves with Richard II., King of England. An English army, commanded by the Bishop of Norwich, descended upon Flanders, pillaged it, and sacked the towns, which were occupied by French garrisons contrary to the wish of their inhabitants. Charles VI. marched forward to meet the English. Flanders, the victim of its protectors and of its enemies, became a theatre of incendiarism and murder. The heroism of the men of Ghent saved that unfortunate country, and the two parties, gorged with booty, longed for peace on either side. The Count of Flanders alone, furious against the town of Ghent, impeded the negotiations; while the Duke of Berry, impatient of all delay, stabbed the Count with his dagger and killed him. The death of Count Louis terminated the war: a truce was signed in 1384, and Flanders passed to the Duke of Burgundy, who had married Marguerite, heiress to that powerful county. Ghent submitted itself to that prince in the following year, and preserved all its franchises.

Flanders is transmitted to the Duke of Burgundy, 1384.

Hostilities commenced, during that year, between France and England. Charles sent an army into Scotland, under the command of John of Vienna, admiral of France; it disembarked near Edinburgh, which then barely contained four hundred houses of a rough appearance. Another army marched into Castile in order to oppose John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, uncle of Richard II., and claimant of the crown of that kingdom; lastly, Charles himself, and his uncles, made arrangements for a descent upon England. Immense preparations were ordered; in Flanders a formidable army assembled, of which twenty thousand knights and as many archers formed the principal force; fifteen hundred vessels had to serve for transport. It was

Project of a descent upon England; immense preparations, 1386.

desired that a town should be ready to receive the army when it disembarked; Olivier de Clisson, the Constable, caused one to be constructed, of three thousand paces in diameter, in the forests of Brittany; it was capable of being taken to pieces, and would then form the cargo of seventy-two vessels. This enormous armament met at the port of Ecluse. But the King forgot himself in the midst of his fêtes. He started, but pleasures retarded his march. He only came to the place of meeting at the end of November, and the Duke of Berry caused him to wait for a still longer period. On arriving, he dissuaded Charles from the expedition; the King gave it up, disbanded the army, and abandoned the supplies to the pillage of the chiefs. Three millions of livres were thus lost, without profit to the nation and without profit to the King. The French army sent to the succour of the Scotch against England was beaten. That which fought in Castile was not more fortunate; and shame was the only fruit of so many ambitious projects. Two years later, Charles, always enamoured of war, and directed by his uncles, sustained the Duke of Brabant, and made war for him, without success, against the Duke of Guildre. Harassed and pursued by German marauders, his army returned to France in distress and burdened with humiliations.

Disbanding of the army.

Reverses of the French in Scotland, in Castille, and in Guildre, 1366—1388.

The King at length opened his eyes; he attended to the ancient counsellors of his father; they, and amongst others, Bureau de la Rivière, Jean de Noviant, and the Cardinal Bishop of Laon, Pierre Montargis, showed him that the finances were plundered, justice unknown, public safety without guarantee, instruction of the young abandoned, the roads, the fortified places, and the arsenals falling into ruins for want of being repaired; above all, they pointed out the general frightful state of disorder, produced by the rapacity of the princes and the nobles, to which they attributed, with justice, so many misfortunes. Charles permitted himself to be convinced, and in a great council, where the Cardinal of Laon requested him to exercise the royal power at once, without participation, he signified to his uncles that he alone would govern. This unexpected declaration announced a happy revolution for the people; but a few days afterwards a sinister event struck every heart with fear: the Cardinal of Laon died from poison.

The Duke of Burgundy immediately left for Dijon, and the Duke of Berry, already the murderer of the Count of Flanders, retired into Languedoc.

The King governs by himself, 1389.

After having borne the yoke of his uncles, of which one alone, the Duke of Bourbon, deserves some esteem, Charles VI. took wise measures in the interests of the people. He would have done much more in the same direction if he had had more knowledge, and less taste for pleasure. Bureau de la Rivière, Lamercier, the Lord of Noviant, Le Bègue de Vilaine, all honourably known under the preceding reign, formed the royal council, which was directed by Olivier de Clisson. Soon a crowd of officers, avaricious despoilers of the people, were destitute. The irritated princes designated under the contemptuous nickname of *marmousets* (little monkeys), or *petites gens* (little women), the members of the new government, which the nation received with favour and hope.

Government of the Marmousets, 1389.

Charles also gave his attention to the extinction of the Grand Schism; but neither of the two Popes would show himself disposed to sacrifice his pretensions or his rights to the interests of Christianity; the efforts of the King in this respect were powerless. He turned his attention towards the interior of the kingdom, and undertook a journey to the south of France. Fêtes awaited him in all the towns; but the groans of the people reached him in the midst of his licentious pleasures. He saw Languedoc laid waste; the frightful misery of that beautiful province attested to the barbarity of the Duke of Berry, his guardian. Bétizac, the minister of his extortions, was arrested by order of the King. A general cry was raised against him; the lay judges, however, dared not condemn him, and sentence of death was only obtained by denouncing him in the Church as a heretic. Charles dismissed the Duke of Berry, his uncle, and afterwards freed the province from the brigands who infested it. Lastly, interesting himself in the progress of the morality of the people and in military instruction, he closed the gaming-houses, and opened everywhere shooting-grounds for the bow and the crossbow. These happy omens of a better future were of short duration. The Constable de Clisson, chief of the

Deplorable state of Languedoc. Journey of the King through that province, 1389.

Useful reforms.

*Marmousets*, in going out from the royal hotel of Saint Paul, was attacked and struck with many blows by brigands in the pay of Montfort, Duke of Brittany, his mortal enemy. Clisson did not die from his wounds, and the King, in a fury, swore to avenge him. He commanded the Duke to deliver up Craon, the chief of the assassins, who had taken refuge with him; Montfort refused, and Charles marched into Brittany with an army. He went out from Mans, at the head of his troops, in the month of July, in the year 1392, and passed through a forest, when a man in delirium rushed before the King, seized the reins of his horse, and said: "*O King! go not further forward; you are betrayed!*" The guards removed the man; the King kept silent and continued his march, but the words had taken possession of him. For a long time previously his excesses had shaken his brain. Suddenly, his lance, which was carried by one of his pages, struck against the helmet of his squire. At this noise Charles shuddered; he turned towards the place, and cried out, "*I am betrayed!*" Then forcing his horse into a gallop, he rushed sword in hand upon his officers, and killed those whom he could reach: he was mad.

Attempted assassination of the Constable De Clisson, 1392.

Charles VI. becomes mad.

Then commenced the third and fatal epoch of that disastrous reign. The faction of the dukes again seized power; the Duke of Burgundy took possession of the right of the royal signature and exercised sole authority; the army which marched into Brittany was dissolved; the council of the King was broken up; all his ministers were prosecuted and thrown into dungeons; the Constable took flight, and retired into Brittany, where he recommenced the war against Montfort. The Parliament was subservient to the passions of the Duke of Burgundy; it banished the Constable as a traitor, and condemned him to pay a fine of a hundred thousand silver marks. The Jews, wisely taken care of by the late monarch, always offered great resources to the state; but being creditors of the nobles and charged with maledictions by the clergy, they were driven away. Worse than all, the princes caused the shooting-grounds for the crossbow to be closed, and opened the gambling-houses, well knowing that when one wishes to tyrannize over a people it is necessary to disarm it and corrupt it. Such were the first deeds which signalized that horrible period.

Faction of the princes. Anarchy.

Soon after frightful dissensions broke out among the princes themselves.

No fundamental law existed which could regulate the future of the monarchy and decide between so many rival pretensions. The fate of the state was then abandoned to a royal council,* which was ruled by the uncles of the King, whose barbarous avidity was too well known; by his wife, the Queen Isabeau of Bavaria, whom the people called Lady Venus (*Dame Vénus*), a frivolous and avaricious princess, passionately fond of fêtes and pleasure; and, lastly, by the Duke of Orleans, brother of the King, who had been at first excluded from the government by his uncles, and who quickly showed himself their emulator in despotism and cupidity. Charles was still considered to be reigning; each one sought in turn to get possession of him, and each one watched his lucid moments in order to stand well in power. His flashes of reason were still more melancholy than his fits of delirium. Incapable of attending to his affairs, or of having a will of his own, always subservient to the dominant party, he appeared to employ his few glimmerings of reason only in sanctioning the most tyrannical acts and the most odious abuses. It was in this manner that the kingdom of France was governed during twenty-eight years.

The malady of the King was attributed to enchantment; the princes and the nobles profited by this to strike those whom they wanted to put out of the way. Valentina of Milan, wife of the Duke of Orleans, was herself accused of sorcery, and taken away, under that pretext, from Charles, whose confidence she had gained.

Course of the Great Schism of the East. State of Europe and of France.

Nevertheless, the unfortunate Charles VI. attributed his disease to the schism which desolated Christianity, and believed himself punished by Heaven for having neglected to extinguish it. The inflexible Pierre de Luna, who took the name of Benedict XIII., had replaced the anti-

* This council, besides the Queen, the Duke of Orleans, the Dukes of Berry, of Burgundy, and of Bourbon, was composed of Charles III., King of Navarre, and of his brother, the Count of Mortain; of three princes of the branch of Bourbon, of the Duke of Brittany, and of the Count of Alençon. In 1400, the Duke of Anjou, Louis II., driven from Naples, sat there with the title of King of Sicily; and in 1404 the Duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless, caused his two brothers to be admitted.

pope Clement VII. In vain the King had recourse to prayers and to force in order to urge him and the legitimately elected Pope, Boniface IX., to a mutual cession. The obstinate Pierre de Luna resisted the soldiers who besieged him in his palace of Avignon, as he had resisted the wishes of the King, of the Sorbonne, and of the clergy. To so many scandals was added an invasion of Europe by the Turks almost as formidable as that under Abderame; the Greek empire and Hungary were invaded, and the ferocious Sultan Bajazet boasted that he would lead his horse to eat oats in Rome upon the altar of Saint Peter. Sigismund, afterwards Emperor, and then King of Hungary, requested assistance from France. A brilliant army, the chosen of the youth of France, set out under the orders of the Count of Nevers, eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy; they crossed the Danube and besieged Nicopolis, in Bulgaria; but under the walls of that town the Christian army was exterminated by Bajazet, and the conqueror only spared the lives of twenty princes and high nobles, for whom he hoped to receive immense ransoms: that of the Count of Nevers was two hundred thousand crowns, and the people of Burgundy paid it.

Battle of Nicopolis, 1396.

The principal states of Europe were then the prey to anarchy or civil war; but the unskilful chiefs who then governed France did not know how to profit by this favourable circumstance so as to maintain peace, then so necessary for the kingdom. England had accomplished a revolution by breaking the absolute power of Richard II. Deposed by the Parliament, that monarch was assassinated; Hereford, Duke of Lancaster,* cousin of Richard, and proscribed by him, reigned in his place under the name of Henry IV., and struggled against rebellions which sprung up incessantly. It was the interest of the council of the King of France to keep well with him; but the Duke of Orleans, whose influence increased every day, was bent upon exciting his anger by deadly insults: he broke the truce, and let loose the most frightful calamities upon the kingdom.

Administration of the Duke of Orleans.

This prince, after the death of his uncle Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, came up in 1404, and exercised, without curb, an absolute

* The father of Hereford was the third son of King Edward III. Richard II. was the son of the eldest, the celebrated Black Prince.

power, and decreed an enormous tax, of which he divided the produce with the Queen. The misery of the people became intolerable. The law of taxation was exercised pitilessly upon the cottages, and even upon the hospitals; the poor and the sick were violently despoiled by all the officers of the nobles. This law was at last suspended for four years by those who had most abused it. The princes dissipated the money of the treasury in fêtes and orgies; while the unfortunate King, deserted by all, deprived of attention, devoured by vermin, and often famished, alone understood the evils of the people, because he partook of them himself, and compassionated the sufferings which he was unable to soothe.

Rivalry between the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy.

The Duke of Orleans soon met with a formidable rival in the new Duke of Burgundy, the same John, Count of Nevers, who was conquered at Nicopolis, and whose audacity in that deplorable expedition had bestowed on him the surname of John the Fearless, a vindictive, cruel, and ambitious prince, fatal to his race and his country. He arrived from his county of Flanders at the head of an army. At his approach the Queen and the Duke of Orleans retired to Melun; but Burgundy seized the royal princes and princesses, and guarded them in Paris, where he flattered the popular passions, restored to the bourgeois their arms and their franchises, taken away since the sedition of 1382. His rival, on the contrary, relied on the aristocracy. Both of them assembled troops together, and civil war was on the point of breaking out. The other princes, however, maintained peace. On the same day the two enemies were reconciled, embraced, and conversed together. On the following day the startling news was spread that the Duke of Orleans was assassinated.

Assassination of the Duke of Orleans, 1407.

In the evening he went out from the hotel of the Queen, mounted upon a mule, and followed by a feeble escort, when, near the Barbette gate, a troop of brigands threw themselves upon him, crying out "To death! to death!" and massacred him in the middle of the street. Terror reigned in the council, from which Burgundy was driven away; he saved himself in the states, then he returned, followed by an army, and openly proclaimed himself the murderer of his enemy. Already his crime seemed to be forgotten; the interesting Valentina

of Milan, widow of the assassinated prince, alone demanded vengeance; she was obliged to take to flight. John the Fearless was master in Paris, and he chose John Petit, a famous doctor in Sorbonne, to vindicate his crime before the whole court. John Petit maintained publicly that the Duke of Orleans was a despot, and that it was a duty of all men to kill tyrants. "This discourse appeared very strange to some of the nobles and priests," says a chronicler of the period, "but there was no one bold enough to speak against it except in secret." The murderer only consented at a later period to demand the pardon of the King and of the young princes of Orleans; peace was sworn between them at Chartres, and the bad faith of those who signed the treaty caused it to receive the name of the *Underhand Peace.* That same year, 1409, saw Genoa rise against the French, to whom it had been offered; the French were all driven from Italy.

Underhand Peace, 1409.

A slight calm succeeded these storms. But soon the members of the council, jealous of the ever-increasing popularity of the Duke of Burgundy, and disquieted about their own safety, quitted Paris, and rejoined at Gien the young princes of Orleans, of whom the eldest married the daughter of Count Bernard of Armagnac. This pitiless man, who was one of the most celebrated representatives of the great feudal system, became the chief of a party to which his name was attached. An army of ferocious Gascons marched under his orders, and threatened insurgent Paris, where John the Fearless caressed the vilest populace.* Burgundy relied on the name of the King, whom he held in his

Civil War. Armagnacs and Burgundians. 1410.

* The reaction of 1385 had inflicted upon the high bourgeoisie wounds much more deep than those of 1359. The latter had simply struck at its political ambition, but the former had impoverished, dispersed, and deprived it of its lustre and its hereditary influence. The town of Paris, among others, perceived that it was declining in two ways: by the loss of its municipal franchises, and by the ruin of the families which had governed and given counsel in the days of its liberty. This lowering of the superior class, composed of the first merchants and the bar of the sovereign courts, had caused, in a degree, an intermediate class to rise—that of the richest of the men who exercised manual professions—a less enlightened class, grosser in manners, but to whom, however, the force of circumstances gave influence in the affairs of the city. From thence came the character of uncurbed political power, which showed itself suddenly in the Parisian population when, in the year 1412, having recovered its franchises and its privileges, it was summoned by the communes to play a political part.—*Augustin Thierry: Essai sur l'Histoire du Tiers-Etat*, chap. iii.

power, and armed in the capital a corps of one hundred young butchers or horse-knackers, who, from John Caboche, their chief, took the name of *Cabochiens*. A frightful war, interrupted by truces violated on both sides, commenced between the party of Armagnac and that of Burgundy. Both sides appealed to the English, and sold France to them. The Armagnacs pillaged and ravaged the environs of Paris with unheard-of cruelties, while the *Cabochiens* caused the capital they defended to tremble. The States-General, convoked for the first time for thirty years, were dumb—without courage and without strength. The Parliament was silent, the university made itself the organ of the populace, and the butchers made the laws. They pillaged, imprisoned, and slaughtered with impunity, according to their savage fury, and found judges to condemn their victims.

Nevertheless, in the midst of such an anarchy, the commissioners of the town and of the university laboured at the reformation of the abuses exposed before the last States-General, and from their hands issued a code of reformed and wise laws—the first sketch of French judicial, administrative, and financial legislation, where the dominant idea was centralization, then so necessary.* Very different from the celebrated ordinance of 1357, equally dictated by the popular spirit, this one, with the exception of the election which it instituted for judicial offices, respected all the attributes of the royal power. Nevertheless, its principal clauses, which were declared inviolable, and presented as the fundamental law of the nation, only lasted a short time. The disorders which accompanied the publication of the new ordinance caused it to be discredited by honest citizens; it was nicknamed the *Ordonnance Cabochienne*. From that time it was condemned, and three months later it was annulled.

Celebrated royal ordinance of the 25th May, 1413, called the *Ordonnance Cabochienne*.

The demagogues pursued their violent course. They besieged in his hotel the Duke of Guienne, Dauphin of France; a popular orator, a surgeon, John of Troyes, overwhelmed him with reproaches and threats, and the favourites of the prince were massacred. The King, always a slave to the party which ruled near him, approved and

* This celebrated ordinance, divided into ten chapters, treated of property, of money, of indirect taxation, of the treasuries during war, of the Chamber, of the Exchequer, of the Parliament, of justice, of chancery, of the woods and forests, and of the men-at-arms.

sanctioned without understanding all these excesses, which terrified even Burgundy himself. The reaction broke out at last. Tired of so many atrocities, the bourgeoisie took up arms, and shook off the yoke of the horse-knackers. The Dauphin was delivered by them. He mounted on horseback, and, at the head of the militia, went to the Hôtel de Ville, from which place he drove out Caboche and his brigands. The counter revolution was established. Burgundy departed, and the power passed to the Armagnacs. The princes re-entered Paris, and King Charles took up the *oriflamme* (the royal standard of France), to make war against John the Fearless, whose instrument he had been a short time before. His army was victorious. Burgundy submitted, and the treaty of Arras suspended the war, but not the executions and the ravages.

Treaty of Arras between Charles VI. and John the Fearless, 1415.

Henry V., King of England, judged this a propitious moment to descend upon France, which had not a vessel to oppose the invaders. They disembarked without obstacle at the mouth of the Seine, and invested Harfleur, then a town of great maritime importance, commanding the entrance to the Seine, and one of the keys of the kingdom. France, with its mad King, and its court divided into hostile factions, was without government, and all co-operation against a foreign power was, at the outset, impossible. Harfleur, however, to which rushed a brave nobility, was valiantly defended, and only succumbed after a month of heroic defence. The inhabitants were set free on ransom, and expelled from the town; and the King resolved to make the conquered place a town altogether English, as was the case already with Calais. During the siege his army had suffered enormous losses, less by the sword than by disease; dysentery and fatigue had reduced it to one-half, and of thirty thousand men that he had brought before that place, not more than fifteen thousand remained. This number was insufficient to conquer the kingdom; and, on the other side, part of the French army under the Constable d'Albret, and under the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, began to unite together in Picardy. Henry, placing his hope in the slow movement of a divided enemy, believed that he had time to reach Calais by land, where he reckoned upon halting and receiving reinforcements.

Invasion of the English. Taking of Harfleur, 1415.

Notwithstanding the careful discipline observed by the English, the population, all French at heart, showed themselves hostile in all directions. They traversed the country of Caux, harassed and decimated, and directed their course towards the Somme, which they crossed. The French army, three or four times more numerous, awaited them on the other side of the river, near to the village of Agincourt. There occurred a battle similar to those of Cressy and Poitiers. The armies passed the night opposite to each other. On the side of the English, whose peril was imminent, everything, by order of the King, was said and done in subdued tones and in darkness. Amongst the French, on the contrary, great fires were lighted, and all was noise, agitation, and confusion. However, while the French thus awaited the perils of the morrow, they sundered the party hatreds which had for so long separated them, and mutually embraced each other with cordiality, each of them pardoning the offences of the other.* They engaged in battle at break of day. The French cavalry, restricted by want of space, flung themselves pell-mell upon a soil moistened by rain, and, under a shower of arrows, rushed upon the sharp stakes which the English had planted. On seeing the ranks thus overthrown, the English issued from their fortified enclosure, and, having at their head King Henry V., penetrated to the middle of the second line of the enemy. The King of England had then run into great danger: twenty-eight noblemen had sworn an oath to join together near him, and strike the crown from his head, or to die in the attempt, as they did. They nearly pushed forward to the King, and one of them delivered so heavy a blow on his helmet that he struck off one of the ornaments of the crown; but they were surrounded, overpowered by numbers, and perished even to the last man. The rearguard of the French still remained intact, but seeing the first two ranks overcome, they hardly waited for the shock, but turned their bridles and fled. The battle was finished, when some one came to Henry V., and told him that the camp was attacked by a fresh army, and Henry, seeing the numerous prisoners that he had made, and for whom he expected heavy ransoms, ordered that all the captives should be put to death. The alarm was found to be false, but

Meeting of the armies near to Agincourt, 1415.

Battle of Agincourt.

* Lefèvre: Saint-Rémi.

already nearly all had perished. Extended on the field of battle might be seen ten thousand French, nearly all nobles, of whom a hundred and five bore standards, and seven were princes, together with the Dukes of Nevers, Alençon, and Bar, and the Constable d'Albret. Amongst the few surviving prisoners were the Marshal of Boucicaut, the Counts of Eu, Vendôme, and Richemont, and the Dukes of Bourbon and Orleans. The conqueror King, master of the sad field, cast his eyes slowly around him, and having asked the name of a neighbouring château, a voice answered, "Agincourt." "Well," said he, "this battle will take the name of Agincourt, now and for ever." *

Then, more terribly than ever, civil war broke out. The Count of Armagnac, appointed Constable, reigned in Paris by terror only; he caused a multitude of Burgundians to be drowned in the Seine, in which river he forbade the Parisians to bathe, in order to protect the secret of his murders. The Queen Isabeau of Bavaria alone could equal the authority of Armagnac; she was sent into exile by her husband to Tours. Burgundy took away the Queen from her guardians, and proclaimed her regent. A short time afterwards, a bourgeois of Paris, named Perinet le Clerc, delivered up one of the gates of the capital to Isle-Adam, an officer of John the Fearless. The Burgundians entered into the town, from which place the Prévôt Tanneguy-Duchâtel carried off the young dauphin, Charles, the last and only surviving son of the King, enveloped in his bed-clothes. The populace rose again under the leadership of the executioner Capeluche: they seized the Count of Armagnac, with his partisans, and threw them into prison. On Sunday, the 12th of June, 1418, the murderers rushed to the prisons at the Temple, at Saint Eloi, and the two Châtelets, and then the massacre commenced; on the following day it continued in the streets and houses in the midst of Paris, and the very pigs were fed on human flesh. The Constable had perished, one of the first, and the people took a hideous pleasure in cutting from his corpse a large strip of skin, in order to represent the scarf of the Armagnacs. The Queen Isabeau, brought back by the Duke of

Course of the civil war.

Perinet le Clerc takes Paris from the Burgundians, 1418.

Massacre of the Armagnacs, 1418.

* Lefèvre: Saint-Rémi.

Burgundy, made her triumphal entry into the town sullied by so many horrors, and took in hand the sovereign authority. The faction of Orleans then conducted the Dauphin to Poitiers, and recognized him as regent. There were thus in France, in the midst of the calamities of a foreign war, two distinct governments more hostile to one another than the common enemy which infested the kingdom.

Progress of the English in France.

Henry V. pursued his ravages into the heart of the kingdom. He had entirely conquered Normandy; Rouen also, notwithstanding the valour of its inhabitants, sustained by the heroic Alain Blanchard, had fallen into his power. The French princes seemed at last to perceive the necessity of union. The Dauphin had appointed an interview with the Duke of Burgundy on the bridge of Montereau; the Duke, after hesitating for a long time, presented himself, and, as he bent the knee before the Dauphin, Tanneguy-Duchâtel struck him with an axe upon the head, and killed him before the eyes of his master. Thus died by assassination John the Fearless, the assassin of the Duke of Orleans. This murder made peace impossible. Philip the Good, the new Duke of Burgundy, in order to avenge his father, offered the crown to Henry V., and the guilty Isabeau, unworthy queen and still more unworthy mother, negotiated between her unconscious husband and Henry V. the shameful treaty of Troyes, signed in 1420, by which, in contempt of the rights of the royal princes of France, the crown was bestowed in perpetuity on Henry and his descendants. This treaty, which could not come into effect until the death of King Charles VI., was immediately sealed by the marriage of her daughter to Henry. The regency of the kingdom, during the malady of the King, was to be entrusted to Henry V., with the title of regent; and he swore that he would maintain the jurisdiction of the Parliament, as well as the rights of the peers, the nobles, the cities, towns, and communities of France, and to govern each kingdom according to its laws and customs. This treaty was received with favour by the Parisians, equally tired of the yokes of the Armagnacs and the Burgundians, and was solemnly approved of by the shameful States-General, convoked in the capital and presided over by the King. But Henry V. took upon himself the task of destroying

Assassination of John the Fearless, 1419.

Treaty of Troyes, 1420.

States-General of 1420.

the new people whom he ought to have governed, and it was through his cruelties that the heart of the French people was restored to the Dauphin. That young man, sixteen years of age, was declared guilty by the Parliament of homicide on the person of the Duke of Burgundy, and deprived of his rights to the throne. He wandered for a long time in the provinces of the south, flying before the English arms, over whom his generals obtained at Baugé, in May, 1421, a glorious but useless victory. The sudden death of Henry V., in 1422, prepared a new destiny for the Dauphin. Charles VI. died shortly afterwards; he had occupied the throne for forty-two years.

Victory of the French at Baugé, 1421.
Death of Charles VI., and of Henry V., 1422.

With this deplorable reign ended the scandals of the Great Schism of the East. Innocent VII., then Gregory XII., had succeeded in Italy to Boniface IX. The anti-pope, Benedict XIII., still lived, and France remained neutral between him and his rival, until the cardinals of the two courts united together in common agreement and convoked, in 1409, the Council of Pisa, which deposed Gregory and Benedict, and proclaimed Alexander V. Alexander died, and was replaced by John XXIII. Lastly, the Emperor Sigismund convoked in 1414 the famous Council of Constance, at which there attended with him many princes of the empire, twenty-seven ambassadors of sovereigns, and a great number of prelates and doctors. The superiority of the general councils over the popes was there established by a celebrated decree; John XXIII., convicted of enormous crimes, was deposed, and the assembly, in choosing Martin V. to succeed him, considered him the only legitimate Pope. Gregory XII. had abdicated; the obstinate Benedict XIII. struggled to the death, and entrenched himself in his fortress of Peniscola in Spain.

Course and end of the Great Schism of the East.

Councils of Pisa and of Constance, 1409–1418.

The Council of Constance condemned the criminal doctrine professed by John Petit, the apologist of the crime of John the Fearless, and attempted to repair the immense injury which the schism had inflicted upon the Catholic religion; but the spirit of doubt and of examination penetrated into all quarters. Already John Wycliffe had preached a reform very boldly in England, and his disciples, called Lollards, multiplied every day. John Huss and Jerome of

Prague, other reformers, less bold than Wycliffe, fixed the attention of Germany. The Council of Constance caused them to be burned, notwithstanding the safe conduct which the former had received from the Emperor; it believed that it could stifle their heresy by their execution; it deceived itself. The principles established by the men did not die with them; violence and treachery only engender indignation, hate, and revolt. Soon the war of the Hussites broke out, and was the forerunning sign of the conflagration which, in the following century, caused the face of the Christian world to change.

Celebrated men.

No period was more sterile in great characters and more fruitful in scoundrels than the reign of Charles VI. Some men, however, acquired in France a reputation worthy of being transmitted with honour to posterity. Amongst these were the Chancellor of the University, John Gerson, who distinguished himself above all by his ardent and disinterested zeal for the extinction of the schism, and to whom is attributed, but without sufficient proof, the admirable book of the *Imitation;* the Advocate-General, John Desmarets, who was borne to the scaffold as an accomplice in the seditions to which, on the contrary, he had opposed the authority of his power; the magistrate Juvenal des Ursins, father of the historian of that name, intrepid in braving the fury of the nobles and in repressing their criminal violences; lastly, the great citizen, Alain Blanchard, who immortalized himself in the defence of Rouen, and lost his life in his devotion to France and to his King. The nation at this epoch did not honour itself by any useful invention; but at that time sprang into existence, amid streams of blood, playing cards and the dramatic farces of the Brethren of the Passion and the lawyers' clerks.

John Gerson.

Juvenal des Ursins.

Alain Blanchard.

Moral considerations.

The gloomy picture of the crimes and misfortunes of France during the hundred and fifty years from the death of Saint Louis to that of Charles VI., fill the soul with horror and fear. It is, notwithstanding, fruitful in grave proofs that the frightful calamities had been drawn down upon their authors, whether they were monarchs, princes, nobles, bourgeois, or peasants, on account of so many acts of violence. The cruelty, the frauds, and the brutal despotism of some of the successors of Saint Louis,

aroused the wars which desolated their kingdom and their lives; the nobility, assassins and assassinated, expiated with their own blood that which they had shed; lastly, the violence of the bourgeoisie as soon as it became powerful, the refusal of all personal sacrifice, and the horrible excesses of the *Jacquerie*, dishonoured and ruined the popular cause for a lengthened period of time. Centuries of misfortune taught the nation that which we ought never to forget; it taught them that a people cannot enjoy in peace the advantages of a great, strong, and free nation, until it knows how to understand those of union, of obedience to the laws, and of the sacrifice of particular interests to the general interest of the country.

# BOOK III.

## FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLES VI. TO THAT OF LOUIS XII.

Awaking of the Nation.—Expulsion of the English.—End of the Hundred Years War. — Extinction of the Great Feudal System in France by the Union of the Duchies of Burgundy and Brittany with the Crown.—First Wars with Italy.

1422–1515.

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## CHAPTER I.

### REIGN OF CHARLES VII.

### 1422–1461.

State of France at the accession of Charles VII., 1422.

The Kings of France, while becoming more absolute, had lost, by the abuse of power, that which had in great part made their fortunes from the reign of Louis the Big to that of Saint Louis. The people, crushed by taxes arbitrarily established, pillaged by mercenary soldiers, and oppressed by the nobles, who constituted the principal force of the armies, ceased to look upon the cause of their sovereigns as their own, and withdrew from them their confidence and their love. This disaffection of the people showed itself in numerous revolts, and aided powerfully the rapid success of the foreigners in the heart of the country. The scourges which desolated France during a century and a half, and which shook the monarchy, were only suspended in the course of the last years of Charles V.; we have seen how they reappeared more terribly than ever during the long reign of his unfortunate son. At the end of that period the monarchy only existed in name, and appeared to be sinking in general dissolution. God, however, had better destinies in reserve for France.

A central, energetic, and powerful authority was alone capable of striking the final blow at the feudal army; of maintaining in the body of the nation, in a durable manner, so many persons of different origin as then composed the kingdom; and of uniting to the crown the states which, between the Rhine, the Pyrenees, and the ocean, were still separated from it. The English themselves assisted in re-establishing the fortunes of France. The intolerable oppressions which they caused to be laid upon the vanquished, and the barbarity of their exterminating government, united against them all the oppressed. A national sentiment was thus created amongst those who were united under a common misfortune, and made the people turn anew with hope to the prince who had been proscribed by their tyrants, and who alone could rescue them from a hateful yoke. That prince was Charles VII. From his accession to the throne till the total extinction of the feudal power, during a century, the destinies of the royal power appeared to be newly connected in an intimate manner with those of the nation; and both went on increasing in strength and in power.

A blind chance does not preside over the destinies of the world. History, which has shown to us the progress—very slow, it is true, but real—of humanity towards a better order of things, proves sufficiently the existence of a providential action in the midst of the innumerable calamities which we excite by our passions and our vices. This action of divine goodness becomes apparent when it assures the triumph of an apparently despairing cause, and when the means employed to reach the end seem altogether deprived of power and strength. Such was the principal sign in which must be recognized the assistance that God deigned to lend to France after the signature of the fatal treaty of Troyes. On the side of the foreigners there had lately been seen a victorious monarch, in the prime of life, master of two-thirds of the kingdom, strong in the assent of the States-General, and in his close union with the King and Queen of France. However, Henry was no more; but still among the English party might be reckoned the greater part of the French princes, also the great vassals of the crown, the capital, and a numerous and well-organized army. On the other side there was to be seen a turbulent nobility, undisciplined captains, bands of

ferocious adventurers, who sought less to save the kingdom than to divide its spoils amongst them; lastly, a young prince of eighteen years, without strength of mind or character, stained with the suspicion of a great crime, disgraced by a decree of Parliament, abandoned by his father and his mother, and only reigning nominally over some provinces which were a prey to anarchy. But the safety and the destiny of France were attached to the triumph of his cause, and God certified it in a few years, contrary to all human foresight.

Catherine of Valois, daughter of Charles VI. and wife of Henry V., had brought into the world a son who succeeded his father in 1422, under the name of Henry VI.; he was then scarcely a year old, and was crowned at Paris as King of France and England. The Duke of Bedford, eldest brother of Henry V., governed the kingdom in the name of his nephew, and knew how to attach to himself the two greatest vassals of the crown, John VI., Duke of Brittany, and Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. The latter, in order to avenge more surely his father's assassination, bestowed the hand of his sister on the Duke of Bedford, and was for a long period the firmest supporter of the English in France.

Henry VI., King of France, 1432.

The Dauphin Charles, then nineteen years old, had taken, immediately after the death of his father, the title of King, and resided at Bourges with the Queen, Marie of Anjou, his wife. The remains of the Armagnacs, in the provinces of the centre and of the south-east, only recognized his authority, and the people, who still remembered the frightful excesses of that party, hesitated at first to declare in favour of the young prince, who was contemptuously designated by his enemies the *King of Bourges*. The soldiers of the army of Charles were for the most part foreigners, like those of Henry VI.; his army was composed of Scotch, and of ferocious Armagnacs or Gascons, for a long period subjects of England. His constable even, the Count of Buchan, was a Scotchman; and the King, surrounded by savage men, appeared for a long time to take as little interest as the people themselves in his own cause.

Situation of Charles VII.

The battle of Crevant-sur-Yonne, lost by his troops, and that of

Verneuil, still more disastrous, where the Constable perished, caused Charles VII. to perceive the necessity of having powerful supporters. He fixed his choice upon the famous Richemont, brother of the Duke of Brittany, and offered him the sword of the Constable. Richemont only accepted on condition that the Armagnacs should be driven from the court, and that Charles should separate himself from the assassins of John the Fearless. Tanneguy-Duchâtel, the most powerful and the most guilty, left the first, and hastened by his voluntary exile the useful bringing together of Richemont and the King. Freed from the faction which had held him in guardianship, Charles ceased to be looked upon as the instrument of a hateful party, and appeared to reign himself; but years had still to roll away before he was King in reality, and worthy of the devotion of his people. Without character and without will, incapable of any serious occupation, indolent and voluptuous, he was the plaything and the slave of his favourites, or of all those who obtained an ascendancy over his mind; and he forgot them as soon as chance or violence had separated them from him. He received successively from the hand of the Constable two favourites, the Lords of Giac and of Beaulieu: to each in turn he granted a blind and foolish confidence, and saw them without anger, one after the other, assassinated by that same Richemont who had placed them near him, but to whom the confidence bestowed on them by the King had given umbrage. Richemont had given a third favourite to the King, the Lord of La Tremouille; but he also met with the fate of his predecessors, through getting out of favour with the Constable; and Charles saw with indifference his court and his nobility divided between the two rivals. He then lingered at Chinon in effeminacy and pleasures, while his party was weakening every day, and discord reigned in his camp. Already the English threatened Orleans, the most important of the towns still remaining faithful; they had made themselves masters of the head of the bridge and the outworks, notwithstanding the bravery of La Hire, of Xaintrailles, of Gaucourt, and above all of the famous Dunois, bastard son of Orleans, the last and powerless defenders of the French monarchy. Lastly, the defeat of the French and Scotch at

Battles of Crevant-sur-Yonne, and of Verneuil, 1424.

Character of the King.

Violent acts of the Constable Richemont.

the battle of the Herrings * appeared to give the finishing stroke to the fall of that town, and to inflict a mortal wound upon the cause of Charles.

Battle of the Herrings, 1429.

But in proportion with the new triumphs gained by the English, their yoke became more intolerable, and developed in the kingdom a national sentiment capable of working prodigies if it were set in action by hope and confidence. Religious enthusiasm mingled itself in the heart of the French, who, seeing in their misfortunes the chastisements of an avenging God, awaited the end of their sufferings from the divinity alone.

Such were, in 1429, the sentiments of the mass of the nation, when a young girl of twenty years, named Joan of Arc, born of poor parents in the village of Domremy, upon the frontiers of Lorraine, announced that she had received from God a mission to cause the siege of Orleans to be raised and to conduct the King to Reims to his coronation. She was beautiful, endowed with a noble and pure soul, and united much reason and humility to a great religious fervour. She was assured that interior voices had revealed to her the heavenly will, and requested to be led to Chinon to Charles VII. Brought into his presence, she distinguished him, it is said, upon the spot, among all his courtiers, and kneeling before him, she repeated to him the order which she declared that she had received from heaven. Charles, whom she still called the Dauphin, caused her to be examined by prelates and matrons, in order to assure himself of the truth of her inspiration, and, on their report, placing faith in her word, he caused a complete suit of armour to be given to her. She wished to have a white standard sprinkled with fleurs-de-lis, and declared that in digging into the earth at Saint Catharine de Fierbois, near the principal altar, a sword bearing upon its blade five particular signs would be found. It was found there, and she made the sword her own. She did not wish to use it so as to kill any one, and she often said that although she loved her sword, she loved her standard forty times more. "I have

Vocation of Joan of Arc, 1429.

Joan of Arc at Chinon.

* This battle received its name from a convoy of salt fish sent by the English to those who were besieging Orleans. The French artillery broke open the casks in which the fish were contained, and the field of battle was strewed with *herrings*.

seen her," wrote one who lived at that period, "armed at all points, and all in white except the head, mount upon a great black steed, and then turn to the door of the church, which was near, saying in a feminine voice—'You, the priests and people of the church, cause processions to be made, and offer up prayers.' Then she turned again to her path, saying, '*Press forward, press forward!*' And she had her standard folded up, and carried by a handsome page, and bore her little battle-axe in her hand." * The report soon spread among the two armies that a being endowed with supernatural power had come to fight for Charles VII.; and whilst the French saw divine intervention in this prodigy, the English, stricken with terror, only wished to recognize in it the influence of the demon.

For her first exploit Joan, notwithstanding the strict blockade, conducted into Orleans an army which had left Blois. "In five days," said she, "Orleans will be free." The English had encircled the town with formidable fortifications; almost all of these were carried by assault by the besieged. One only resisted, that of Tournelles, a veritable citadel, where the enemy had concentrated all his forces. The French generals had decided that they would wait till they received reinforcements before they commenced the attack, and signified their resolution to the heroine. She answered,—"You have held your council, but the council of my Lord will be accomplished, while that of men will perish." She carried along with her the people of Orleans, and the soldiery followed by impulse. However, after three hours of terrible fighting, the assault was repulsed, and the retreat sounded. Joan was wounded, and fell at the foot of the parapet, but she raised herself, and going aside into a vineyard remained for a quarter of an hour in prayer. Then she rushed out anew, seized again her standard, and planted it upon the fortress, and in an inspired voice cried out, "All is yours! enter within." Consternation and fear had seized the defenders; their chief, Glasdale, perished with the *élite* of his soldiers, and the French penetrated into all parts of the conquered fortification. Joan, at the head of the people and of the army, re-entered

Orleans delivered by Joan of Arc, 1429.

* This letter, written by Guy de Layal, from the place which he held at the court, is one of the most precious monuments of the period, and one of the most perfect models of wit and of chivalric loyalty in the fifteenth century.

Orleans in the evening, to the sound of the ringing of bells and amid cries of triumph and joy from the delivered city. *

Suffolk and Talbot, the English generals, had been witnesses of this astonishing reverse, without daring on their side to attempt anything to prevent it. They held a council, and raised the siege on the same night. From that time Joan, under the name of the Maid of Orleans, soon became celebrated throughout the whole kingdom; France awoke, enthusiasm gained men's hearts, and a crowd of soldiers rushed to join the standard of Charles, while Bedford saw his English seized with fear. Places on the banks of the Loire, Jargeau, Meun, and Beaugency, were speedily taken; everywhere the English fell back; at last Joan and her army met them at Patay, in the plains of Beauce. La Hire and Xaintrailles, who led the advance-guard of the French, immediately charged the enemy without permitting them to entrench themselves; the latter were at once thrown into disorder, and the victory was gained by the main body of the army. In vain Talbot surpassed himself; by his obstinacy he only rendered his defeat more sanguinary. Joan of Arc triumphed over that famous captain; and then, as on other occasions, she compassionated the sufferings of the conquered, caused the succour of religion to be brought to the wounded, while she herself bestowed her pathetic care upon them.

Awaking of France.

Defeat of the English at Patay, 1429.

After this glorious battle, Joan of Arc went to find the King at Gien, and conjured him to march boldly upon Reims, there to cause himself to be crowned, and solemnly to take possession of his kingdom. Charles allowed himself to be persuaded, and advanced across Champagne with his army. Troyes, situated upon the road to Reims, closed its gates. It was in this town that the last treaty, so humiliating for France, had been signed, and they feared the vengeance of the King. The besiegers were short of provisions, the country round about was all ruined, everything appeared desperate. The council of war wished to raise the siege, but Joan presented herself; the internal voices, she said, had assured her that within two days the town would give itself up.

Joan of Arc conducts the King to Reims.

* A fête was instituted in honour of the raising of the siege, and celebrated on the 5th of May, every year, at Orleans.

The event followed the prediction: on the following day the town capitulated. Charles VII. went over the town in the grand panoply of war, and then pursued his march. Châlons opened its gates to him, and he arrived at last under the walls of Reims, at the glorious end of his journey. The Burgundian captains who commanded the town evacuated it without giving battle. Charles, on the 16th of July, made his triumphal entry, and he was crowned in the ancient cathedral. The Maid of Orleans placed herself near to the King and the principal altar during the ceremony, standing erect with her standard in her hand. Her mission was accomplished.*

Coronation of Charles VII., 1429.

After the coronation, Joan embraced the knees of the monarch, and said to him, "Gentle King, now is the pleasure of God executed. He desired that you should come to receive your coronation worthily, by showing that you are the true King, and he to whom the kingdom ought to belong. I have accomplished that which was commanded of me, which was to raise the siege of Orleans, and to cause the King to be crowned. I would now wish to go back to my father and mother, to take charge of their sheep and cattle." These simple and touching wishes were not heard favourably; the captains of Charles had recognized in Joan their most powerful auxiliary, and they prayed that she would remain with them. She consented with regret, but showed still the same courage in action, although not the same confidence in herself. She was wounded at the unfortunate siege of Paris, and lastly taken prisoner in a sortie, whilst heroically defending Compiègne, which the English and Burgundians attacked together. John of Luxembourg, commander of the siege, sold her to the English for ten thousand livres, and the Regent Bedford caused a solemn *Te Deum* to be sung on that occasion. Then party spirit exhibited itself in its most hideous form. In the rage into which the English lashed themselves against the

Joan of Arc prisoner of the English.

* The King recognized the immense services which it had pleased God to render to his cause through the feeble hands of a woman. He ennobled all the family of Joan of Arc in perpetuity, and, by a unique but perfectly comprehensible exception, it was said that nobility transferred itself to this family through females. Joan obtained a short time afterwards the sweetest and purest of recompenses, by the royal edict which exempted for ever from the land-tax the villages of Greux and Domremy, where she was born and where she had passed her infancy.

woman who had made them tremble, can be recognized that merciless feeling, the resentment of fear and of humiliated self-respect.

Delivered over to the Inquisition, as suspected of magic and sorcery, the unfortunate girl was shut up in the dungeons of Rouen, and there was found a Bishop of Beauvais, Pierre Cauchon, who, altogether devoted to the English by vengeance and ambition, lent to their fury his shameful ministry. The trial commenced: infidelities, atrocious threats, and sacrileges, everything was used in order to consummate the sacrifice of an heroic virgin; and while the civil power and the ecclesiastical authority leagued together to convict Joan of imposture and alliance with the devil, she opposed to the subtleties of theology and the plots hatched by a merciless hate, the inspirations of a most open conscience, the lights of a righteous and superior reason, which confounded her enemies themselves. It was to God that she attributed all her successes. The bishop asked her if she was in a state of grace. Joan said, "If I am not, God wishes to put me into that state; if I am, then God wishes that I should remain so." When interrogated as to her words and acts in the battles, she answered, "I said, Go boldly among the English; and I went myself."—"Does God hate the English?" asked the bishop.—"Of the love or of the hate that God has for the English," she said, "I know nothing; but I know that, with the exception of those that die here, all will be driven out of France."—"Was her hope fixed in her standard or in herself?"—"It is founded in our Lord, and not otherwise."—"Why did she carry the standard before the King to Reims?"—"It had been in trouble," she said, "and it was right that it should be held up to honour."

Trial of Joan of Arc.

So much reason and good sense did not affect her judges; they had declared that God could not wish Charles VII. to triumph; after that, the demon alone had inspired Joan. They condemned her to be burnt alive.

On the 31st of May, 1431, she was led to the place of execution, dressed in a long black robe. She forgot neither her King, nor France for which she died; she prayed for them, and requested the prayers of all the assistants, and pardoned her enemies. Her youth, her tears, and the Christian words which fell from her lips, drew tears even from English eyes, and

Death of Joan of Arc at Rouen, 1431.

filled the minds of her judges with terror. The trouble caused by this frightful spectacle was such that the civil sentence was not even pronounced. "Lead her on! Lead her on!" said the affrighted bailiff to the executioner. The soldiers dragged her away and bound her to the post, the infamous mitre of the Inquisition was placed upon her head, and then the flames brightened. "Jesus!" she cried, and pressed to her heart a wooden cross; then she asked earnestly that the crucifix from the neighbouring church should be brought to her; she kissed with fervour the image of the Just One who was sacrificed for sinners, of the Man-God who died for the salvation of the world; she invoked his name, she invoked all the angels of Paradise, where the saints had promised to conduct her. Perhaps then she understood at last the true sense of their prophetic words: "Joan, Joan, take all things patiently," said the voices, "and have no care for your martyrdom; you will be delivered by a great victory." That victory was the last which broke her fetters and opened up to her heaven. "Jesus!" she cried again, in the midst of the flames; then she bent her head, and breathed forth her innocent soul and her last sigh.

Charles heard of her death with indifference; he did nothing to prevent it or to avenge it, and waited for twenty-five years before ordering that the memory of the heroine should be reinstated. He had again fallen into his culpable indolence. His favourite, La Tremouille, had drawn him away from warlike pursuits, and in order to preserve his ascendancy, kept him at the Château of Chinon by the attraction of fêtes and pleasures. Charles, surrounded by his mistresses, failed again in his fortune, while his captains fought separately, as chiefs of partisans; they received from him no order, no pay, no support, and submitted the country where they ruled to frightful exactions. The English, however, were still more odious to the people; in vain Bedford, in order to hold the capital, called within its walls the young King Henry VI., and caused him to be crowned; in vain he deposed himself from the title of regent in order to bestow it on a French prince, the Duke of Burgundy; the English and their allies the Burgundians were equally detested, and insurrections broke out in all parts of the kingdom.

The most skilful of the captains of Charles, the Constable Richemont, fell into disgrace, was restored to favour, and commanded

the army. About the same time, in 1435, Bedford, brother-in-law of the Duke of Burgundy, died, and his death broke the ties of that duke with England. Burgundy sacrificed at last his long resentment to the interest of France, and became reconciled to Charles VII. He was exempted from all vassalage during his life; the King ceded to him the counties of Auxerre and Mâcon, with other places. He promised, besides, to disavow the murder of John the Fearless, to deliver up its authors, and to grant an amnesty to all those of his subjects who had taken up arms against him. On these conditions Philip swore to forget the past, and signed with his cousin an offensive and defensive alliance in the town of Arras. The French were united, and the maintenance of the English dominion became impossible. Paris, after belonging to the crown of England for seventeen years, opened her gates to her King, and soon the English only remained in Normandy and Guienne.

Treaty of Arras, 1435.

An extraordinary and complete change was effected in the mind of Charles VII., and the honour was, in part, to be attributed to his mistress, Agnes Sorel. A will full of energy had taken the place of his indolent indifference; his frivolity was changed into prudence and wisdom, and his voluptuous tastes no longer excluded him from an active perseverance in warlike and political affairs.

Awaking of Charles VII.

The French, since the union of Charles with the Duke of Burgundy, began to enjoy some repose; but then, as in the time of Charles V., at the end of the long civil wars, bands of mercenaries, without pay and without employment, infested the kingdom. The captains of Charles VII., and amongst them the celebrated La Hire and Xaintrailles, for a long period accustomed to make war on their own account and without discipline, continued, in despite of the treaty of Arras, to pillage Burgundy, and gloried in the name of *Ecorcheurs* (horse-flayers), which the hatred of the people had bestowed on them. Charles repressed their disorders, and wished to prevent their recurrence. With this object he undertook a wise measure, which contributed powerfully to the peace of the interior and to the strengthening of the royal authority. After having convoked the States-General at Orleans, he asked and obtained from them a tax of twelve hundred thousand

States-General at Orleans, 1439.

livres for the pay of a permanent army. This tax was destined for the support of fifteen hundred men-at-arms, each of whom was to be followed by five men on horseback, a page, a cutler, and three archers. The King divided them into fifteen privileged companies, which he disseminated through all parts of the kingdom; each being entrusted with the charge of its own garrison. On their part, the soldiers could not separate without leave, and each captain was responsible for the pillages and violences of his men, who were to be in submission to the jurisdiction of the bailiffs and the *prévôts*. The pay for a man-at-arms and his suite was fifteen livres per month. Some years later Charles completed the organization of the permanent army, by compelling each parish to furnish, at the call of the King, a good infantry soldier fully equipped, and on whom the military service conferred several privileges, high pay, and exemption from taxes. These foot soldiers were called free archers.

Organization of a permanent army, 1439.

This reconstruction of the military system produced immense results; the King thus obtained an army always numerous and always ready to run down in mass upon all points menaced by revolt or war. He caused the *élite* of his captains and soldiers of adventure to enter it; while terror restrained those who could not be admitted. To the States-General of 1439 must be attributed, in fact, the merit of this creation, for it was by them that the first necessary funds were granted; however, they had only granted the tax of twelve hundred thousand livres for one year; the King on his own authority made it perpetual. Thus was established in France, illegally, the direct permanent tax. Nevertheless, the people paid without murmuring. Besides, Charles VII. by his ordinance had only made regular a state of things which already existed. The levy of troops had not been interrupted, and the prospect of being delivered from the pillage of the soldiery was an immense relief to the dwellers in the country. The perpetual tax was *personal* or *real*, according to the different provinces; that is to say, either established on all the revenues of the tax-payer or only upon his landed property. At first it was popular, but there were bad readjustments of the impost, its amount was always increasing, and above all the innumerable immunities admitted later on in

Perpetual tax, 1439.

favour of the privileged classes rendered it hateful throughout the whole kingdom.*

Crimes of every description multiplied in a fearful manner; the King gave to the *prêvôt* of Paris, Robert d'Estouteville, full power to judge and condemn every person convicted of any crime whatsoever. The Parliament, whose rights were forgotten, kept silence; all liberty was stifled, and the kingdom given over to a despotic power. The people had suffered too long for want of government; they had passed through a horrible anarchy, and felt the want of a central and vigorous authority. Commerce sprung up again, agriculture became flourishing, and the King was hailed as the restorer of order.

However, the military aristocracy could not see, without uneasiness, the progress of the royal power. It made an insurrection which was called Praguerie.† In this revolt it was necessary to have chiefs; the Dauphin, who was afterwards Louis XI., the princes of royal blood, and the captains of the *Ecorcheurs*, offered themselves. They seized several towns and fortified places, and wished to recommence a civil war; but the times were changed. Charles VII., at the head of a disciplined army, marched against the rebels, who one after the other submitted. One only remained formidable, and that was the prince who was heir to the crown. He retired into Dauphiné, and from that time a deep enmity existed between father and son.

Praguerie, 1440.

After having pacified the interior, Charles VII., profiting by the civil wars which were exhausting England, tried to expel the enemy from the kingdom. Two great provinces, Guienne and Normandy, were still under the foreign yoke. In a year, half of the fortified places in Normandy were reconquered. The Duke of Somerset, who continued to bear the title of Regent of France, vainly endeavoured to defend Rouen against the army of Dunois. In the following year the Constable Richemont and the Count of Clermont gained a

* Refer for the taxes in France to Chap. III.; and further on, under Charles VII., to the establishment of the Court of *Aides*.

† The name of Praguerie, which was given to this revolt, came from Prague, a town in Bohemia, then famous throughout Europe for its seditions during the war of the Hussites.

sanguinary victory at Formigny, between Carentan and Bayeux. That battle decided the fate of the war; all the towns in Lower Normandy revolted; Cherbourg was taken, and the entire province, with its two capitals and its hundred fortresses, was again united to France. Guienne alone belonged to England. It was soon conquered by the victorious army; but as soon as the expedition terminated, the English reappeared, and Bordeaux in receiving them within its walls, rendered a new campaign necessary. Talbot, then eighty years old, commanded the English; he attacked the French army before Castillon, which he besieged: a cannon-ball carried off both the old hero and his son. Their deaths were the signal of a complete defeat. The town was given up; then Libourne, and lastly Bordeaux, opened their gates. Guienne was for the future French; and of all its continental possessions England only preserved Calais. The hundred years war was finished, and a long period of internal quarrels and calamities commenced for England in the madness of Henry VI., who had just married the heroic and ambitious Margaret of Anjou.

Victories of the French at Formigny and at Castillon. Expulsion of the English, 1550-1553.

A truce had suspended the hostilities between the English and the French, when the Emperor Frederick III. requested the support of France against the republican cantons of Switzerland. The assistance of Charles VII. was equally solicited by René, Duke of Lorraine, against the free town of Metz and against Toul, Verdun, and some other towns, which called themselves subjects of the empire. Charles VII. complied with these requests and sent two armies, one into Switzerland and the other into Lorraine. The Dauphin Louis commanded the first, which was composed of men of all nations, and of a band of adventurers, compelled to be so through the inaction caused by the treaty with England. This army met that of the Swiss Cantons at Saint Jacques, near Bâle. The Swiss were then the best infantry in Europe. They were armed with long pikes, which they wielded with as much strength as skill; they had gained great victories for a century over the chivalry of the empire. They advanced with fury against the advance-guard of the French army, and threw it into disorder; but having ventured

Campaigns of the French in Switzerland and Lorraine, 1444.

Battle of Bâle, or Saint Jacques, 1444.

imprudently to attack the main body of the army, they were in their turn repulsed and broken up. The Dauphin, struck with their bravery, made peace with them, in spite of the Emperor and the empire; he desired to attach the Swiss to himself, and concluded an alliance with those whom he had vanquished.

The events of the campaign in Lorraine were little decisive. The towns of Toul and Verdun recognized the King as their protector; Metz resisted, was besieged, and bought the maintenance of its liberty by a contribution of war. This rapid campaign gave a proof of the pretensions of Charles VII. upon a portion of Lorraine, but there was no other important result.

The wounds of France closed, and prosperity began to spring forth anew. The King had taken up the tradition of the government of his grandfather Charles V.; by his care the whole administration was reformed. After the ordinances upon the military state, there appeared the ordinances concerning the accounts of the treasury, the assessment of the land-tax, and the rendering of accounts. A special court was then instituted for every civil and criminal trial connected with the taxes; this supreme jurisdiction, called the *Court of Aides*, had soon numerous tribunals. To this prince also belonged the honour of having commenced the regulation of the Customs. Until that time, throughout the north of France, then called the country of Customs, justice was only dispensed according to a legislation which was not written. By the creation of the Parliament of Toulouse the King restrained the jurisdiction of that of Paris, which then extended itself throughout the provinces. Under the following reign several other parliaments were instituted, one of which, held at Grenoble, replaced the Delphic court. After having organized the army, the treasury, and justice, Charles occupied himself with the Church of France. It was he who, in 1438, promulgated solemnly, before the French clergy assembled at Bourges, the Pragmatic Sanction, proclaiming the liberties of the Gallican Church, such as the council then sitting at Bâle had defined. It recognized the superiority of the General Councils over the Pope, restricted to a small number the cases of right to appeal to Rome, forbade the

Reforms in the administration.

Royal decrees.

Court of Aides. Regulation of the Customs.

New Parliaments.

Pragmatic Sanction, 1438.

publication of papal bulls in the kingdom before being registered in Parliament, deprived the pontifical court of the revenue of vacant benefices, and entrusted the election of the bishops to the chapters of the churches.

In these works, which were so important and so diverse, the States-General had only a feeble part; their last meeting had taken place at Orleans, in 1439, and for twenty-two years Charles did not convoke them; instinctively he hated these assemblies, guilty, in his eyes, of having favoured the troubles of the preceding reign, and of having sanctioned the shameful treaty of Troyes; but Charles was seconded in his work by skilful counsellors, who, for the most part, had been drawn from the ranks of the bourgeoisie. The two most illustrious were John Bureau, master-general of ordnance, and Jacques Cœur, rendered as much celebrated by his prosperity as by his misfortunes. By commercial speculations in Europe and Asia, Jacques Cœur had acquired immense wealth, with which he generously supported the credit of Charles VII. That prince ennobled him, and named him his treasurer; it is to him that all the financial reforms of that period are to be attributed. But the avaricious courtiers coveted his fortune and came between the King and him. His wealth was soon seized and divided amongst those who had been appointed his judges, and amongst them was to be seen the man who succeeded him in his office. Accused of embezzlement, and deprived of all means of defence, Jacques Cœur was condemned without proof, and banished from the kingdom.

Jacques Cœur.

Charles had become the wisest and the most powerful monarch in Europe, but just causes of distrust and resentment with regard to the Dauphin embittered his latter years. Louis, who had married first, Margaret of Scotland, had secondly espoused, contrary to the wish of his father, Charlotte, daughter of the Duke of Savoy. The King ordered him to come and justify himself at his court, where the Count of Dammartin, an enemy of the prince, was all powerful. The Dauphin, fearing all the counsellors of his father, and not being able to obtain surety for his person, thought at first to resist with open force, and assembled troops; but, soon convinced of his powerlessness, he took to flight, and sought refuge in the court of Burgundy, where he was received by Philip the Good and by Charles his son with honour and munificence.

Flight of the Dauphin into Burgundy.

The King soon took possession of Dauphiné, caused all the revenues to be seized, and united that province to the states which were held directly from the crown. The Dauphin had implored the pardon of his father, but the King knew his false and perverse heart, and vainly requested that he would ask for pardon verbally; unfortunately, a formidable example had recently increased the distrust of his son. The Duke of Alençon, prince of the blood royal, was accused by the King of treason and of complicity with England. The peers of the kingdom convoked for his judgment condemned him to death. Charles commuted the punishment, and caused the prince to be shut up in the tower of the Louvre; the Dauphin declined to expose himself to a similar chastisement. The King, from that time, believed that he lived in the midst of the émissaries of his son and of their ambushes. Lastly, fearing that he would be poisoned by them, and suffering besides from an abscess in the mouth, he refused all nourishment and allowed himself to die of hunger. He expired on the 22nd of July, 1461, in his fifty-eighth year.

Death of Charles VII., 1461.

Some years before the death of this prince there was accomplished on the banks of the Bosphorus the grand catastrophe which terminated the Middle Ages. Already Bajazet, conqueror of the Christians at Nicopolis, had twice encamped before the gates of Constantinople. The invasion of the Mogul Tamberlane into the Asiatic possessions of the Turks, and the famous battle of Agora, where Bajazet fell into the hands of the new conqueror, alone saved the Greek empire, or at least retarded its fall for half a century. Mahomet II. achieved the work which his predecessors had attempted. At the head of an army of 250,000 men he besieged by land and by sea that illustrious capital. The cry of distress of the Greeks was not heard in Christendom, which was then divided by schisms, by revolts, and by wars. Constantinople at length succumbed, and its last emperor, Constantine, perished, buried beneath its ruins, in 1453. Greece, Epiria, Bosnia, and Servia were conquered; the Isle of Rhodes alone, defended by the brave knights of Saint John, escaped from the infidels.

Fall of the Greek Empire, 1453.

At the moment when the Turks had established themselves in Europe in order to remain there, the popedom, after an absence of seventy years, which the historians of the Church called the captivity of Babylon, returned

State of Europe at the end of the Middle Ages.

to Rome; but it saw its spiritual prestige weakened by the scandals of the schism, and its temporal power incessantly shaken by the conspiracies of the Roman nobility and the seditions of the populace. Italy.

For a long time the republics of Lombardy, deprived of their ancient glory, had been the prey of their powerful neighbours or their ambitious citizens. Milan, the most illustrious, bent its head under the Visconti, to whom succeeded the Sforza. Florence, on its side, crushed by the quarrel of the *Whites and Blacks*, descendants of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, was by degrees subdued by a race of opulent merchants and patrons of art, the famous Medici. Genoa and Venice disputed the empire of the sea, and exhausted themselves by that rivalry. Naples, lastly, was conquered under the second House of Anjou by Alphonso V., King of Aragon and of Sicily, who received from the Pope, in 1473, the investiture of that new kingdom.

The Iberian peninsula, where the Moors still held the kingdom of Grenada, was divided into many small states, which were always at war with one another—Portugal, Castile, Navarre, and Aragon. This latter kingdom commenced to predominate; it extended itself to the exterior by conquests, and, uniting itself with Castile by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, it soon formed the true kingdom of Spain. Spain and Portugal.

In the north, England, which Henry V. at the commencement of the century had raised to so high a fortune, exhausted itself under an imbecile king and a haughty queen to preserve its conquests by sea, while, in the heart of the country, already the germs of the terrible Wars of the Roses fermented. England.

In Germany, the wars of the Hussites inundated Bohemia with blood. The Emperor Sigismund had succeeded the ignoble Vanceslas, but he was powerless in trying to extinguish the fire which the funeral pile of John Huss had kindled; and the fierce Taborites,* commanded by Zisca, the terrible blind man, and by the Procope, only succumbed, after twenty years of struggle, under their own blows. Sigismund died in 1437, and the imperial crown, which encircled the head of Albert, already King of Germany and Hungary.

* The name of Taborites was given to the Hussites on account of a mountain in Bohemia, where their camp was established, and which they had called Tabor.

Hungary and Bohemia and Archduke of Austria, went no longer to the House of Hapsburg.

State of letters under Charles VII.

France was at peace, but she groaned under a multitude of torments and abuses. The new day which had already enlightened Italy commenced, however, to penetrate into the kingdom. French poetry had acquired grace and harmony: the lyrical verses of Charles of Orleans, the prisoner of Agincourt, and of King René of Anjou, obtained a merited reputation. Among the poets of that time may be reckoned Oliver of La Marche, Alain Chartiers, historiographer of France, and lastly, François Villon, who introduced the burlesque style. These men would without doubt have contributed to give to French poetry a national stamp if the greatest event of the fifteenth century had not turned their minds in another direction. The taking of Constantinople disseminated throughout the whole of Europe the literary wealth of Greece and Rome, and the powerful genius of antiquity placed his yoke upon the almost newly-born genius of modern literature.

Progress of commerce and industry.

Commerce and industry also about this period made happy progress in France as well as in the rest of Europe. The requirements of nations were better known; they knew the value of the different productions, and the extent of their consumption in each country; men who were well informed and possessed of large capital could establish factories in all places of merchandise, and embrace Europe and Asia in commercial speculations. It was in this manner that Cosmo of Medicis at Florence, and Jacques Cœur, acquired their riches. Lastly, the time approached for the great discoveries which were about to make the second half of the fifteenth century famous, and to which the darkness of preceding ages gave still more brilliancy.

General considerations.

"It is the distinctive character of this epoch," says an eminent historian, "that it was employed in order to convert primitive Europe into modern Europe; in this consists its importance and historical interest. If we did not consider it from this point of view—if we only sought, above all, what came from it, we should not only misunderstand it, but should leave it promptly. Seen by itself, in fact, and in part of its results,

it is a time without character, a time when confusion went on increasing without any one perceiving the causes—a time of movement without direction, of agitation without results. Royalty, nobility, clergy, and bourgeois, all the elements of social order, seemed to turn in the same circle, equally incapable of progress or rest. They made attempts of all kinds: all failed; they tried to settle governments, to establish public liberty; they tried even religious reform: nothing was done—nothing was finished. If ever the human race appeared devoted to an agitated yet stationary destiny, to a ceaseless yet fruitless work, it was from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. . . . . Considered, on the contrary, in its connection with that which followed, this period is bright and animated; we can discover in it a harmony, a direction, and a progression; its unity and its interest lie in the slow and concealed work which was accomplished in it."*

* Guizot's *Histoire Générale de la Civilisation en Europe.*

## CHAPTER II.

### REIGN OF LOUIS XI.

### 1461–1483.

LOUIS XI. was thirty-eight years old when he mounted the throne.

Policy of Louis XI.

His reign formed an epoch, not only by the considerable extension which the kingdom obtained under him and by the strengthening of the absolute power of the monarch, but also on account of the new tendency of European policy and of the powerful impulse which the character of Louis was able to impress upon it. The art of negotiation was up to that time almost unknown; the sovereigns, governed by their blind and violent passions, always sacrificed to the present the interests of the future, and force decided everything. Policy, however, began to be for them an object of serious study. Louis was the first who converted diplomacy into a system. Endowed with a subtle and astute mind, he made this art the study of his whole life, and contributed more than any other to the substitution in politics of the power of intelligence for the authority of force. But he misunderstood all the principles of morality, and to his contempt for them was falsely attributed the greater part of his success. The policy which rests upon perfidy is as fruitful in calamities as that which only recognizes brutal violence as law. The custom which caused Louis XI. to deceive always, often became fatal to him; and he was indebted for the greater part of his advantages over his enemies neither to his falsehoods nor his treacheries. He triumphed over all, because he knew how to comprehend his true interests, to understand men, to appreciate merit and to use it, and because, embracing in his projects the future and the present, he submitted them nearly always to the calculations of reflection and of consummate prudence. Finally, it may be said that he drew upon himself

his reverses by his vices, and that he obtained his most brilliant successes by his intellectual qualities, when allied with wholesome morality.

Feudalism had regained all its power during the long anarchy of the preceding reigns, and Charles VII. himself, while he held in respect the Dukes of Brittany and Burgundy and the Count of Anjou, the great vassals of the crown, did not obtain from them any pledge of obedience. The houses of these three princes vied with the royal house in power and in splendour. That of Burgundy was mistress of Burgundy, of Flanders, of the Low Country and of the Free County, and was the richest in Europe; that of Anjou, which had lost the throne of Naples but had acquired Lorraine by marriage, possessed, besides, Maine and Provence, and enclosed the domains of the King in its vast possessions. The south groaned under the tyranny of the counts of Albret, of Foix, of Armagnac, and of a crowd of other noblemen who, for the most part, exercised a despotic and absolute power throughout their lands. The feudal system was then the greatest obstacle to the tendencies which drew together the people who inhabited the same soil, and to the healthy progress of national sentiments; it had become at last the scourge of Europe, which it had saved in the tenth century. The glory of striking it a mortal blow belongs to Louis XI.

Situation of France.

This prince, who from being a fugitive became a king, was informed of the plots hatched against him in the court of his father, and also of the hatred which the most influential men in the kingdom bore him, and, according to the expression of a celebrated writer, he only saw in the opening of his reign the commencement of his vengeance.* He believed that he had need of the support of the people against his enemies, and promised at his accession to diminish the taxes and to submit the national charges to the approval of the States-General. But his liberalities towards those whom he wished to gain exhausted the treasury; the taxes were augmented, and the States-General left in oblivion. Some insurrections broke out, but Louis knew how to suppress them. One of the first acts of his reign was the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction, which he decreed in

First acts of Louis XI.

* Montesquieu.

hatred of the institutions of his father; at the end of his life, however, he re-established the principal dispositions. Another ordinance, apparently of futile interest, profoundly irritated the nobility. The King, passionately fond of the chase, and jealous of his pleasures as of his authority, forbade that sport in the royal forests; and soon after he added to this edict others which afforded new grounds for discontent. Economical himself, and strict in the administration of finances, he did not permit them to be pillaged by the princes of his family. His yoke bore equally upon all; his active vigilance surveyed at the same time each part of the kingdom, and he would not suffer any tyrant in the country but himself.

The irritation became general; the princes wished for apanages which would render them independent; the nobles demanded dignities and gold: they wished back with all their hearts the anarchy of Charles VI., and leagued themselves against Louis XI. He, in seeking to divide his two most formidable neighbours, Francis II., Duke of Brittany, and the Count of Charolais, son of the Duke of Burgundy, excited them against himself. He had perfidiously given to both of them the government of Normandy, in the hope of seeing them dispute; however, they united together against him. The resentment of the Count of Charolais was, however, more vehement because Louis had been loaded with benefits by Philip the Good, his father. This count, who was afterwards Charles the Rash, and one of the most powerful sovereigns in Europe, offered a striking contrast to Louis XI. Violent and untamable, always governed by pride or anger, he showed himself during the whole of his life the most ardent and the most terrible enemy of the monarch his sovereign.

League of the Public Good, 1465.

It was around him and the Duke of Brittany that the princes of the royal blood rallied, together with the great nobles who were discontented, in the number of whom must be reckoned those who had obtained more glory under the late King, and who had served him better—Dunois, Saint Pol, Tanneguy-Duchâtel, and Antoine of Chabannes, Count of Dammartin. They gave to their league the name of the *League of the Public Good*,

Battle of Montlhéry, 1465.

and placed at their head the Duke of Berry, Charles of France, brother of the King, who claimed Normandy from him as an apanage. The bloody battle of Montlhéry, where

Louis left the field of battle to the Count of Charolais, was soon followed by the rising of Normandy in favour of the princes.

The King, seeing himself the weakest, laid down his arms and had recourse to negotiations. No one possessed better than he the art of gaining hearts by insinuating and flattering words. He feigned to stifle his just anger, to forget all his injuries, and signed the treaty of Conflans, by which he gave Normandy to his brother, and satisfied the exorbitant pretensions of the princes. Treaty of Conflans, 1465. Louis ceded to them towns, vast domains, and governments, and piled up dignities upon the rebel nobles. Saint Pol was named Constable. But Louis only gave with one hand to take back with the other when the moment should arrive. He studied his enemies, and from that time his principal care was to gain at any price the most skilful, and to divide the others and crush them separately. It was thus that he attached to himself the Duke of Bourbon and many ministers of his father, among others the Chancellor, Juvenal des Ursins, and the celebrated Count of Dammartin. He needed the support of the nation, and convoked the States-General at Tours in 1468; however, he only had recourse to the people when he knew that they would have no other will than his own. States-General of Tours, 1468. Louis opened the States in person; and the Chancellor, after having pointed out to the deputies "the great wish which the monarch had always and had still of augmenting and increasing the kingdom and the crown," spoke strongly against the enemies of the nation, who had caused the King's own brother to serve as an instrument for their ambition, and only sought to enfeeble the State by dismembering it. Louis was obeyed; never did States show themselves more docile. They annulled, according to the wish of the King, the treaty of Conflans, retaking Normandy from Charles of France, and declaring that the prince ought to consider himself satisfied with his income of twelve thousand livres, fixed by Charles VII. as the apanage of the princes of the blood royal. They annul the treaty of Conflans. Louis, having obtained from them all that he wished, was anxious to dismiss them. They only remained in assembly for eight days; and it was remarked, as a symptom of the progress of the bourgeoisie, that the three orders had voted in common This was the only convocation of the States-General under this reign. Louis XI. distrusted public liberty quite as much as feudal power.

New league of the Princes.

Charles of France, irritated at losing Normandy, united again with the Duke of Brittany and with Charles the Rash, who had become Duke of Burgundy by the death of Philip the Good, his father. All three treated with England against France, and invited King Edward IV. to transport an army into the kingdom. Louis foresaw their attack; he marched unexpectedly against the Duke of Brittany, who, separated from his allies, and, seized with fear, submitted by the treaty of Ancenis.

Treaty of Ancenis, 1468.

The King then sought to gain over his people; he gave charters to many of the towns, protected commerce by wise ordinances, and reorganized the national militia of Paris, composed of all the men between sixteen and sixty, of whom he made a list; it numbered eighty thousand men, arranged under sixteen banners, and was placed in possession of the right to elect its own officers. Louis endeavoured afterwards to find allies in the states of his most powerful enemy. The rich, populous, and manufacturing towns of Flanders were prompt to revolt against the cruel violences of the Duke of Burgundy, their sovereign. Ghent, Bruges, and Liège were distinguished amongst them for their power and their energy in seeking after liberty. Louis sent an emissary into the latter town, already irritated against the bishop, its sovereign prince, allied with Charles, and excited it to revolt, promising his support. In the meantime, in order the better to deceive the Duke and to lull his suspicions, he demanded from him a safe-conduct, obtained it, and, trusting too much to his own seductive manners, he went close to his enemy at Péronne. Scarcely had he arrived when the revolt of Liège broke out. Charles learnt that the populace had given itself up to the most horrible excesses; that the bishop, Louis of Bourbon, his relation and his ally, was massacred, and that Louis XI. was the author of the sedition. At this news his rage knew no bounds; he held the King prisoner, and threatened to kill him. Louis submitted to everything in order to get out of his peril; he signed the treaty of Péronne, which took away from him all sovereignty in the states of Burgundy, and gave to his brother Champagne and Brie as an apanage; lastly, he offered to the Duke to march in person against the revolted inhabitants of Liège. On these conditions he was freed; but first, he was witness of the ruin of

Treaty of Péronne, 1468.

that unfortunate town which he himself had incited to rebellion; he saw a part of its inhabitants massacred, and felicitated Charles on his frightful triumph.

England was then desolated with the war of the *Two Roses*.* Louis XI., having taken the side of the red rose, united against Edward IV., with his relative Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI., and with the famous Earl of Warwick, surnamed the *King-maker*. Edward, conquered, retired to Holland, and implored the assistance of Duke Charles, his brother-in-law. Louis, without anxiety on the part of England, followed up his advantages. He convoked an assembly of the principal inhabitants, whom he took care to choose himself, says Comines, from those who would not contradict his wishes; and he caused the treaty of Peronne to be annulled by them, under the pretext that Charles had only imposed it upon him by causing him to break his word. Louis, in disengaging himself from his obligations, created for himself new dangers. Edward IV., assisted by Charles the Rash, had retaken his crown; Henry VI. and his son were assassinated; the Duke of Burgundy called into France the English monarch, and promised Marie, his daughter and heiress, to Charles of France, Duke of Guienne, who had recently received that province from Louis XI. as an apanage. The Duke of Brittany renewed his intrigues; and the Constable Saint Pol sold his services to the two parties, seeking to raise himself at the expense of one or the other.

The principal inhabitants annul the treaty of Peronne, 1470.

New dangers to Louis XI.

The King thus saw himself threatened with a new storm, when his brother fell ill, and died after some months of suffering. Louis was accused of poisoning him, and did not deny it, and his memory is stained with the crime. The Duke of Burgundy soon caused his troops to march into Picardy, massacred the inhabitants of the town of Nesle, and spread terror before his steps. But the admirable defence of Beauvais, where Jeanne Hachette immortalized herself by her courage, arrested his army, while the King negotiated separately with each of the rebellious

Sudden death to his brother.

* This name was given to the Civil War because the two houses which contested the throne, those of York and Lancaster, both issuing from Edward III., bore in their coat of arms, the first a white rose, and the second a red rose.

princes, and attached to himself by his liberality the two cleverest men of their party, the Lord of Lescun, favourite of the Duke of Brittany, and Philip de Comines, confidant of the Duke of Burgundy.

The manœuvres of Louis spread division among the chiefs of the league: the Duke of Brittany signed a new truce, and the Duke of Burgundy marched against the Constable Saint Pol, who had seized on his own account the town of Saint Quentin. The King took advantage from that moment of every opportunity to crush some of his enemies. He caused the Duke of Alençon to be tried and condemned to death, for the second time, by the Parliament of Paris. The Cardinal La Balue owed his fortune to Louis XI., and had betrayed him; he was shut up in an iron cage, eight feet square, invented by the Cardinal himself, and there he remained a prisoner for ten years. Lastly, Cardinal Albi, John Goffredi, formerly Bishop of Arras, and a famous inquisitor in Flanders, where he had perpetrated atrocious barbarities, was ordered by the King to punish the guilty Count of Armagnac, one of the supporters of the League of the Public Good, and who, in marrying his own sister, had added incest to all his other crimes. Besieged in the town of Lectoure, he gave himself up to the Cardinal, who had promised him safety for his person, and who caused him immediately to be stabbed before the eyes of his wife, who was *enceinte;* he caused her to be poisoned; and the dreadful Goffredi, wishing to exterminate every witness of his perjury, gave orders that all the inhabitants of Lectoure should be massacred, and the town itself given up to the flames.

Vengeance of Louis XI.

Edward IV., King of England, drawn over by the Duke of Brittany, was then in France with a numerous army; Charles, his ally, seconded him badly, and the English remained isolated in the kingdom. Louis XI., always more prompt to negotiate than to fight, gained over by his bribes the confidence of Edward, and was prompt in signing with him a truce of nine years. The King gave seventy-five thousand crowns, ready money, to Edward, and engaged to pay sixty thousand every year until a projected marriage between the Dauphin and the daughter of the English monarch could be accomplished. Charles, abandoned by the English, also signed with Louis a truce for nine years. Each of these two enemies sacrificed on that occasion those on whom his

Mercantile truces, 1475.

adversary wished to take vengeance: Charles delivered to the scaffold the Constable Saint Pol; Louis abandoned his ally, René, Duke of Lorraine, whose inheritance Charles the Rash coveted. Contemporaries saw a matter of traffic only in these two truces, and they were called the *Mercantile Truces.*

Sovereign of the duchy of Burgundy, of the Free County,* of Hainaut, of Flanders, of Holland, and of Gueldre, Charles wished, by joining to it Lorraine, a portion of Switzerland, and the inheritance of old King René, Count of Provence, to recompose the ancient kingdom of Lorraine, such as it had existed under the Carlovingian dynasty; and flattered himself that by offering his daughter to Maximilian, son of Frederick III., he would obtain the title of king. Deceived in his hopes, the Duke of Burgundy tried means to take away Lorraine from the young René. That province was necessary to him, in order to join his northern states with those in the south. The conquest was rapid, and Nancy opened its gates to Charles the Rash; but it was reserved for a small people, already celebrated for their heroic valour and by their love of liberty, to beat this powerful man. Irritated against the Swiss, who had braved him, Charles crossed over the Jura, besieged the little town of Granson, and, in despite of a capitulation, caused all the defenders to be hanged or drowned. At this news the eight cantons which then composed the Helvetian republic arose, and under the very walls of the town which had been the theatre of his cruelty they attacked the Duke and dispersed his troops. Some months later, supported by young René of Lorraine, despoiled of his inheritance, they exterminated a second Burgundian army before Morat. Charles, vanquished, reassembled a third army, and marched in the midst of winter against Nancy, which had refallen into the hands of the Swiss and Lorraines. It was there that he perished, betrayed by his mercenary soldiers, and overpowered by numbers. His corpse was found naked and pierced with wounds, lying in a frozen pool; and the people learned with transports of delight that they were freed from a tyrant as cruel as he was formidable.

Conquest of Lorraine by Charles the Rash, 1476.

Battles of Granson and of Morat, 1476.

Death of Charles the Rash before Nancy, 1477.

* The imperial county of Burgundy had acquired by its strong position in the mountains a kind of independence, from which came the name of the Free County.

At this news Louis immediately seized the duchy of Burgundy, and many fortified towns on the Somme, on the pretext that they were masculine fiefs, and he claimed the guardianship of the daughter of Charles, Mary of Burgundy. His cruelty excited him in proportion as his security increased. The Duke of Nemours, of a younger branch of the Armagnacs, formerly an accomplice of his enemies, was his prisoner. The King caused him to be tried by the Parliament, to which he added commissioners enriched beforehand with the spoils of the unfortunate Duke. Nemours was condemned to death, and Louis ordered that his children should be placed upon the scaffold during the execution of their father and be sprinkled with his blood. He caused them afterwards to be thrown into dungeons, where they were subjected to horrible tortures.

Execution of the Duke of Nemours.

The perfidy and ferocity of the King raised all the new states which he had seized against him. Soon a powerful enemy threatened him. This was Maximilian of Austria, recently united to Mary of Burgundy, and who claimed her heritage. The bloody and indecisive battle of Guinnegate, given in 1479 by the French to the Flemish and Burgundian troops of Maximilian, was followed by a long truce; and four years later, on the death of Mary, young Marguerite of Austria, her daughter, then two years old, was promised to the Dauphin. The treaty of Arras, concluded by Louis with the states of Flanders and the Emperor, confirmed to him the possession of the duchy of Burgundy, of the Free County or county of Burgundy, and the counties of Mâcon, Charolais, Auxerre, and Artois.

Battle of Guinnegate, 1479.

Treaty of Arras. Reunion of the two Burgundies and of Artois with the crown, 1482.

Old René of Anjou, sovereign of Lorraine and Provence and titular King of Naples, had died a few years before. This prince, whose goodness, generosity, and love of fêtes had gained for him the name of "Good King René," had for a long period abdicated the ducal crown of Lorraine in favour of René, the son of his eldest daughter. He left by will the rest of his estates to his nephew Charles of Maine, the last male scion of the second house of Anjou. He only survived his uncle a short time; he died without children, and bequeathed his domains in France and his rights to the crown

of Naples to Louis XI., who had already obtained from the King of Aragon, as a pledge for a loan of two hundred thousand crowns, Roussillon and Cerdagne.

Reunion of the states of the second house of Anjou with the crown, 1481.

However, the King was growing old, and trembled at the thought of dying. After having deceived every one, he sought to deceive himself. Free from the cares which politics had given him, he appeared to be consumed by a fierce and gloomy melancholy. Shut up in his château of Plessis-lez-Tours, his ordinary residence, dreading the approach of his confidants and the members of his family, he redoubled his precautions and executions. Ten thousand mantraps were disseminated through the avenues of the château, round which wandered unceasingly the grand prévôt, Tristan the Hermit. Every suspected man was hanged or drowned without trial. Scotch archers watched on the walls and struck fatally all those who approached within reach of their arrows; and, while the neighbourhood of the royal residence resounded with the cries of so many victims, the monarch, whose fanatical devotion equalled his cruelty, multiplied his pilgrimages, despoiled his people in order to enrich the churches, caused relics to be brought at great expense from all parts, and prayed to God and the saints to prolong his miserable life. The Virgin, above all, was the object of his particular worship; he invented for her the prayer called the *Angelus;* he created her Countess of Boulogne; and he did not meditate an act of perfidy or cruelty without having implored her assistance first. He was the first who bore constantly the name of *Very Christian;* and no man showed more clearly to what aberration a superstitious faith separated from all morality will lead. No oath was sacred for him unless it had been taken under the cross of Saint Lô, which, he believed, had been made from a piece of the true cross. His strange superstitions were those of his time, when it was generally supposed that certain practical externals of devotion were sufficient to efface the most enormous crimes.

Terrors and superstition of Louis XI.

This King, so much dreaded, had joined to the crown Berry, the apanage of his brother, Provence, the duchy of Burgundy, Anjou, Maine, Ponthieu, the counties of Auxerre, of Mâcon, Charolais, the Free County, Artois, Marche, Armagnac, Cerdagne, and Roussillon.* He survived the greater

Acquisitions of the crown under this reign.

* The seven latter provinces did not yet remain irrevocably united with France: one

part of his enemies, and when the tomb had closed over those who could have destroyed his work, God, whom he had so much offended, did not permit him to enjoy it. He died on the 30th of August, 1483, leaving the sceptre to his young son, Charles. This child had excited his suspicions. Louis had left him in ignorance in order that his ambition, which he feared, might be less dangerous; and he only taught him one single sentence of the Latin language, which was a faithful *résumé* of his policy:—

Death of Louis XI., 1843.

Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare.*

France was indebted to Louis XI. for many wise institutions, nearly all created with the design of centralizing the action of power and beating down the remainder of the feudality. To attain this end, he tried to establish in the kingdom uniformity of customs, and of weights and measures; he created posts, establishing on the great roads couriers, solely destined to carry public news to the King, and to carry his orders; he replaced the corps of free archers by Swiss corps, and some privileged companies by a Scotch guard. Louis XI. instituted three new parliaments, at Grenoble, Bordeaux, and Dijon. The most remarkable edict of his reign is that which declared judicial offices to be held for life. That edict founded the independence and the power of the parliaments, but was not inspired, however, by love of justice; for no one more often than Louis XI. had recourse in his criminal trials to commissions and to illegal and violent means. Under his reign legislature became a science; the schools acquired new life, and letters obtained a consideration which they had not enjoyed up to that time.

Ordinances of Louis XI. Posts. New Parliaments.

Irremovability of the judicial offices.

Louis sought for a long time, but in vain, to gain the hearts of the people by the simplicity of his manners and the familiarity of his conversations with men of humble condition. He was more hated than any of his contemporary princes; not that they were much less perfidious or cruel, but they appeared to commit evil by a blind and brutal instinct, while Louis was ferocious in cold blood, and submitted crime to calculation. Jealous of all superiority, he placed round him

part was given anew in apanage, and the other part restored to foreign sovereigns, and only returned one by one to the Crown of France.

* "He who knows not how to dissimulate knows not how to reign."

only obscure men. John Cottier, his physician; Olivier le Dain, his barber; and Tristan the Hermit, the grand prévôt, whom he called his gossip,—these were his confidants. There had not been a great man during his reign; but history has preserved to us the beautiful answer addressed to the King by the first president, John de la Vaquerie. That magistrate, considering that a royal edict was contrary to the public welfare, presented himself before Louis XI. at the head of his corps. "What do you wish?" said the King to him. "The loss of our offices," answered La Vaquerie, "and even death, rather than betray our consciences."

Printing, which was about to change the face of the world, was invented in Germany during this reign. That invention, of which many countries dispute the honour, is generally attributed to John Gutenburg, of Mayence. Louis XI., at the request of two theologians, caused the first French printing press to be established at Sorbonne. He gave encouragement to scholars, founded universities, and opened many schools of law and medicine. The learned Philip of Comines, who lived for a long time in his intimacy, was the historian of his reign.

Invention of printing.

Schools.

Louis XI. also protected commerce, created manufactories for precious stuffs, respected the value of the coinage, and permitted the nobles to devote themselves to commerce without derogating from their position; but, although he lived without pomp, and exercised towards himself a sordid parsimony, he exhausted his kingdom by gifts to those whom he wished to gain, to corrupt, or to maintain faithful. The taxes, which only rose in the time of Charles VII. to eighteen hundred thousand livres, were raised under his successor to four millions seven hundred thousand, a prodigious sum for a time when public credit did not exist, and when agriculture, commerce, and industry, the sources of public wealth, were still in their infancy.

Commerce and industry.

Raising of the taxes.

The principal work of Louis XI. was the abasement of the second feudality, which had raised itself on the ruins of the first, and which, without him, would have replunged France into anarchy. The chiefs of that feudality were, however, more formidable, since, for the most part, they belonged to the blood royal of France. Their powerful houses,

Abasement of the nobles under Louis XI.

which possessed at the accession of that prince a considerable part of the kingdom, were those of Orleans, Anjou, Burgundy, and Bourbon. They found themselves much weakened at his death, and dispossessed in great part, as we have seen in the history of the reign, by confiscations, treaties, gifts, or heritages. By the side of these houses, which issued from that of France, there were others whose power extended still, at this period, in the limits of France proper, over vast domains. Those of Luxembourg and La Marck possessed great wealth upon the frontier of the north; that of Vaudemont had inherited Lorraine and the duchy of Bar; the house of La Tour was powerful in Auvergne; in the south the houses of Foix and Albert ruled, the first in the valley of Ariége, the second between the Adour and the Pyrenees. In the west the house of Brittany had guarded its independence; but the moment approached when this beautiful province was to be for ever united with the crown. Lastly, two foreign sovereigns held possessions in France: the Pope had Avignon and the county Venaissin; and the Duke of Savoy possessed, between the Rhone and the Saône, Bugey and Valromey. The time was still distant when the royal authority would be seen freely exercised through every territory comprised in the natural limits of the kingdom. But Louis XI. did much to attain this aim, and after him no princely or vassal house was powerful enough to resist the crown by its own forces, and to put the throne in peril.

Feudal houses.

## CHAPTER III.

### REIGN OF CHARLES VIII.

### 1483–1498.

CHARLES VIII., son and successor of Louis XI., mounted the throne at the age of thirteen years. He had two sisters, of whom the eldest was married to the Lord of Beaujeu, of the house of Bourbon. She had intellect, and certain traits of the character of her father, who had preferred her to his other children, and had specially charged her and her husband to direct the new King. Jeanne, his youngest, not favoured by nature, was married to her cousin the Duke of Orleans. Charles had passed a part of his solitary youth in the château of Amboise, where long illnesses had deformed his body. Kept by his father in profound ignorance of everything, he did not know how to fix his attention on anything. Incapable of application and of discernment, and feeling his weakness, he lived for a long time in guardianship, though he was fully of age when his father died, having attained his fourteenth year.

Anne of Beaujeu, profiting by the influence which long custom had given her over her brother, preserved the guardianship of his person, and took possession of the power conjointly with her husband. This authority was soon disputed by the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and the Count of Clermont, all three princes of the blood royal and chiefs of the feudal reaction. The first was heir presumptive to the throne, and the second eldest brother of the Lord of Beaujeu. At last, in order to put an end to their dangerous rivalries, with one accord the States-General were convoked at Tours. The deputies separated themselves into six committees under the name of the "Six Nations," France (Ile de France), Burgundy, Normandy, Aquitaine, Languedoc, and Languedoil (centre province), and showed themselves in most respects worthy of the States of 1356 under King John. They laid their

States-General of 1484.

hands on all abuses, described all the reforms, and invoked the ancient French constitution, which, however, was only written in the hearts of men, and existed only in name. The order of the clergy demanded the liberties of the Gallican Church, contrary to the wish of the bishops; the nobility claimed anything that could restore to it its ancient military importance; the third estate solicited the abolition of *prévôtal* justice, the diminution of the costs of law, the moderation of the tolls, and the surety of the roads; then, presenting the picture of the miseries of the people, it entreated the King to reduce the expenses, and above all to abolish the land-tax (*taille*), affirming that the inhabitants of many of the districts of France had fled to Brittany or to England. "Others," they said, "were dead of hunger; others in their despair had killed their wives and children and then themselves; lastly, a great number who had been robbed of their cattle were themselves harnessed to the waggon with their children; many, in order to escape the seizure of their oxen, only dared to labour in the fields by night."

Louis XI. had stretched his jurisdiction too strongly, and the reaction broke out in every part. The whole of France, by the mouth of its deputies, demanded a return to the government of Charles VII. Emboldening themselves by degrees, the States dared to deliberate on the opportunity of a permanent council of guardianship, taken from their midst, to be charged with the direction of affairs in the name of the King.* However, when threatened by the princes, the States grew weak, and committed themselves to the wisdom of the infant prince to grant their requests. They named the Duke of Orleans president of the council, gave the second place to the Duke of Bourbon, constable, and gave the third to the Lord of Beaujeu; they decided that the

* It was in the course of this discussion that an orator, the Lord of La Roche, deputy of the nobility of Burgundy, pronounced the following words:—"Royalty is an office, not an inheritance. It was the sovereign people who originally created kings. The state is the affair of the people; sovereignty does not belong to princes, who only exist through the people. Those who hold the power by force, or in any other manner, without the consent of the people, are usurpers of the rights of another. In case of minority or incapacity, public affairs return to the people, who retake them as their own. The people—that is, the universality of the inhabitants of the kingdom, the States-General—are the depositaries of the will of the kingdom. An act could only take the force of law by the sanction of the States; nothing is holy, nothing solid, without their approval."—*Journal des Etats-Généraux.*

States alone had the right to tax the people, ordered reductions in the army, and voted a tax of twelve hundred thousand livres for two years, declaring that at the expiration of that period it would be necessary to convoke them anew, in order to arrange that the tax should be kept up. They established these principles without taking any of the guarantees necessary to cause them to be observed. Soon the discussions degenerated into shameful quarrels concerning the redivision of the land-tax in the provinces. Profiting by these divisions and the lassitude of the deputies, the princes promised everything for the King, and hastened to dismiss the States. No promise was kept, and none of the wishes expressed heard favourably.

The Duke of Orleans, a young prince less occupied with business than pleasure, was soon removed by his sister-in-law, Anne, from the council, of which the deputies had named him president; and the kingdom was governed by a woman, who held her title to power neither by the wish of the States nor the laws of the kingdom. The wisdom and vigour with which this princess employed the royal authority caused the people to forget that she had usurped it; but a league was formed against her, composed of the princes of the blood royal: at their head figured the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Prince of Orange, Philip de Comines, and the Count of Dunois, son of the famous bastard of that name, and the most skilful negotiator of his century. These confederates, less guilty in having struggled against the usurpation of the regency than in opening the kingdom to foreigners, called to their aid Maximilian of Austria, and Francis II. Duke of Brittany.

Anne of Beaujeu governs the kingdom.

League of the Princes, 1485.

That province was a prey to anarchy. The old Duke Francis II., nearly imbecile, reigned only in name. He had given all his confidence to the son of a tailor named Landais, whom he had made his treasurer and favourite. The nobles of Brittany, irritated by the tyrannical yoke of this *parvenu*, were leagued together against him and against their duke. Anne of Beaujeu, always acting in the name of the King, made an alliance with them. She united herself in a similar manner with René of Lorraine and the Flemings, who had revolted at this period against Maximilian of Austria, their sovereign.

Richard III., of the house of York, then reigned in England.

Tutor to his nephews at the death of Edward IV., he had commenced by contesting their birth, and then caused them to be killed. The Dukes of Orleans and Brittany united themselves with this monster, and for the price of his assistance engaged to deliver up to him Henry of Richmond, a prince of the royal race, and avenger of the Lancastrians, who was then taking refuge on the continent. Anne of Beaujeu supported this prince, and furnished him with troops, with which he disembarked in England. Soon the battle of Bosworth, where Richard III. perished, assured the throne to his rival. Henry of Richmond, grandson of Owen Tudor and Catherine of Valois,* was recognized King of England in 1485. He had married Elizabeth of York, and thus reunited in person the rights of the two families between whom the kingdom had been divided for so many years. The Wars of the Two Roses, or of the houses of York and Lancaster, ended at his accession to the throne. About the same time the Breton nobles triumphed. They seized Landais in the very chamber of their sovereign, who delivered him up while asking for mercy; it was in vain: Landais was condemned to death and executed, and the feeble Francis II. approved of the sentence.

End of the War of the Two Roses in England.

Accession of the House of Tudor, 1485.

Anne of Beaujeu profited skilfully by the success of her allies. She subdued the south, and took Guienne away from the Count of Comminge, who had embraced the side of the princes. The latter were in consternation. Dunois reanimated their courage; he addressed many princes far distant from one another, to whom he gave hopes of gaining the hand of the daughter of the Duke of Brittany, heiress of the duchy. It was thus that he flattered one by one, and drew over to or maintained on his side, Alain d'Albret, the Lord of Béarn, Maximilian of Austria, recently elected King of the Romans, and the powerful Viscount of Rohan. However, Anne caused her brother to summon to the throne, in the Parliament of Paris, the leagued princes and the principal nobles of their party. They did not appear; and in the month of May following a sentence was issued by which Count Dunois, Lescun, Count of Com-

Civil war in France, 1486.

* Catherine, after the death of Henry V., had married, a second time, a Welsh gentleman named Tudor, a descendant on the female side from the third son of Edward III., John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.

minge, Philip de Comines, the Lord of Argenton, and many other nobles, were condemned as being guilty of high treason against the King. No sentence was pronounced against the princes.

Anne followed up her advantages. She entrusted the royal army to La Trémouille, who marched into Brittany and met the army of the princes near to Saint Aubin du Cormier. Marshal de Rieux, the Lord d'Albret, and Chateaubriand commanded it; the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange were in its ranks. They engaged in battle; it was gained by La Trémouille, and prepared the way for the union of Brittany with France. The Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Orange, and a great number of nobles were taken prisoners. The conqueror invited them to his table, and when the repast was finished two Franciscan monks entered the saloon. The guests were struck with stupefaction: La Trémouille rose and said, "Princes, I send back your sentence to the King; but you, knights, who have broken your faith and falsified your oath of chivalry, you will expiate your crime with your heads. If you have any remorse in your consciences, here are two monks to confess you." The saloon resounded with sobs; the knights, supplicating, embraced the knees of the princes, who, seized with horror, remained immovable. The condemned were led out into the courtyard and put to death. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange were led back into France, where Anne held them prisoners. The treaty of Sablé, concluded in the same year, suspended hostilities between France and Brittany.

Battle of Saint Aubin du Cormier, 1487.

Treaty of Sablé, 1487.

The Constable, the Duke of Bourbon, was dead; his brother, Lord of Beaujeu, had inherited his title and all his power. Anne, who had become Duchess of Bourbon, lived after the battle of Saint Aubin du Cormier in possession of an authority which ceased to be contested. This princess had had for a long time in view the union of Brittany with the crown. No project could be more useful to the kingdom, which was constantly in peril through the independence of that great fief. A few months after the signature of the treaty of Sablé, old Francis II. died. Charles VIII. claimed the guardianship of his daughters, of whom Anne, the eldest, was scarcely twelve

Death of the Duke Francis II. Different parties in Brittany, 1488.

years old. While princes and powerful nobles disputed her hand, many parties were formed in Brittany, where the different aspirants called for assistance from the English and Spaniards. The latter, sent by Ferdinand of Aragon and by the celebrated Isabella of Castile, opposed the pretensions of the Lord d'Albret, who was supported by the English. All were leagued against France, but very much weakened through anarchy. Such was the state of affairs in the duchy, when, in 1490, the young Anne of Brittany, in order to escape from her persecutors, consented to marry the King of the Romans, Maximilian of Austria. That prince was absent, and the marriage was only celebrated by procuration. Deceived in his hopes, the Lord d'Albret betrayed the Bretons, and sold to Charles VIII. the town of Nantes, of which he was the governor. The King obtained new advantages, and soon after surprised Rennes, where the Duchess was, and carried her off. Then was seen accomplished a strange fact in the annals of history. Anne of Brittany and Charles VIII. were married, the former to Maximilian, and the latter to Marguerite of Austria, eleven years old, daughter of the same Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy; but neither of the two marriages had been consummated. Both one and the other were annulled by the Church, and Charles VIII. married, in 1491, Anne of Brittany, who ceded to him all the rights of sovereignty, engaging herself, if she became a widow, to marry only the heir to the kingdom. In the following year Charles VIII. promised solemnly to respect the privileges of the Bretons; he swore that he would not raise any subsidy from them without the consent of the States of the province, that no Breton should be called into judgment except before the judges of his country, and that there should be no appeal from the Parliament of Brittany, which they called *The Great Days*, to the Parliament of Paris, except in cases of denial of justice or false judgment.

Charles VIII. marries Anne of Brittany, who cedes to him her rights of sovereignty over her duchy, 1491.

Charles, who was twenty-two years of age, was then the most powerful sovereign in Europe. Since the preceding year he had thrown off the prudent guardianship of his sister. The first act of his authority was to set at liberty the Duke of Orleans, whom she held a prisoner in the tower of Bourges, and on whom he heaped

proofs of his tenderness and confidence. He soon abandoned himself to his chivalric ideas, and dreamed of distant enterprises and conquests. In order to facilitate the execution of his adventurous projects, he hastened to conclude with the principal sovereigns of Europe onerous treaties, by which he sacrificed some of the most precious acquisitions of his father. Maximilian of Austria, whose wife he had carried off and whose daughter he had repudiated, contemplated a startling vengeance. Charles VIII. appeased him by giving up to him, by the treaty of Senlis, the counties of Burgundy and Artois. The King of England, Henry VII., whom he had assisted in conquering his kingdom, repaid him with ingratitude, and, having obtained large subsidies from his people in order to make war against France, he besieged Boulogne with an army. Charles obtained peace by recognizing, in the treaty of Etaples, a debt of seven hundred and forty-five thousand gold crowns, payable to that avaricious monarch, who, according to the expression of the great Bacon, his historian, made his people pay for war and his enemies for peace. He lastly gave up, in the same hope, by the treaty of Barcelona, to Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, vanquishers of the Moors, and conquering in Grenada, the counties of Roussillon and of Cerdagne, dearly purchased by Louis XI. In peace with the neighbouring states and with his people, Charles VIII. saw himself able to satisfy his passion for distant adventures and chivalrous conquests. Brought up in ignorance of men and things, possessing no historical instruction, incapable of all calculation and of all foresight, he had only nourished his intelligence by reading romances of chivalry, and gave himself up to no other exercises than those of jousts and tournaments. His imagination, warmed by the recital of the exploits of Charlemagne and of the Norman knights, persuaded him that he was called upon to follow their example. He thought, they say, of conquering Constantinople; but bounded his ambition at first with Italy and Sicily.

Concessions of Charles VIII. to foreign sovereigns.

Treaty of Senlis, 1493.

Treaty of Barcelona, 1493.

For a long time Italy had excited the cupidity of the French. The successive pretensions of the two houses of Anjou had called over, since the time of Saint Louis, in each generation, swarms of French or Provençal adventurers to that beautiful country. Those who did not

fall, returned covered with brilliant armour made in Lombardy, or with sumptuous stuffs from Florence. They boasted of the delights of a splendid climate, of the exquisite wines of the South, the wonders of industry and luxury, and of all the wealth that had tempted them. This beautiful country seemed an easy prey to seize, in the midst of the decadence and servitude of all Italy. Venice alone, with its 3,000 vessels, its army of condottieri well paid and well disciplined, its industry flourishing, and its terrible constitution, the safeguard of its liberty, remained independent and formidable, extending its territories from the frontiers of Carniole almost to those of Switzerland.

State of Italy at the end of the 15th century.

The kings of France had never lost sight of Italy; Louis XI., among others, sought to obtain rights over it: it was at his instigation that the old King of Naples, René of Anjou, designated as his heir Charles of Maine, his nephew, to the prejudice of René II., Duke of Lorraine, son of his eldest daughter. Charles of Maine, on taking the title of King of Naples, named Louis, in his turn, his sole heir. This will was the only title on which Charles VIII. rested his pretensions to the crown of Naples and Sicily, then possessed by a prince of Aragon, Ferdinand I., son of Alphonso the Magnanimous.*

There was always in the kingdom of Naples a party favourable to the house of Anjou, and which was called the *Angevin* party. It was composed for the most part of barons who had revolted against the atrocious tyranny of Ferdinand. They appealed, uselessly, to René of Lorraine to come into the kingdom; in place of him they addressed themselves to Charles VIII., and offered to him the crown. This prince had still another supporter in Italy. Louis the Moor, son of the great Francesco Sforza, was all-powerful at Milan. He had made

* The Queen of Naples, Jeanne II. of Duras, had separately adopted Louis III., of the second house of Anjou, and afterwards Alphonso V., King of Aragon. Louis died while disputing the inheritance with the King of Aragon, and his brother René succeeded to his rights. The struggle continued between him and Alphonso, who ultimately gained the victory. He was the first who bore the title of King of the Two Sicilies. It was known, in fact, that from the time of the Sicilian Vespers, Sicily had ceased to belong to Aragon. At the death of Alphonso (1458), the kingdom was again dismembered. The island returned to Aragon, where John succeeded his brother, and Naples remained to Ferdinand, a natural son of Alphonso.

himself master of the regency of this duchy in 1479, supplanting in power Bonne of Savoy, sister-in-law of Louis XI. and mother of the young Duke John Galéas, brutified by sensual pleasures, and incapable of reigning himself. Louis the Moor, uncle of John Galéas, had left to him the title and apparel of sovereign power; but he held all the authority in his own hands. Afflicted by the divisions in Italy, he thought of uniting it into one body; but his genius provoked the jealous hate of all the sovereigns of that country. Threatened by the Venetians, and distrusting the new Pope, Alexander VI., who was always ready to sell himself to the party that offered most, he believed that he needed the support of the French, and called them into Lombardy.

Situation and policy of Louis the Moor at Milan.

From that time Charles VIII. no longer hesitated; encouraged by his two favourites, the Cardinal Briçonnet, Bishop of Saint Malo, and of Vesc, Seneschal of Beaucaire, and vainly opposed by Anne of Bourbon and her husband, he resolved to depart. Already he thought that after having conquered Italy he would, through the Pope, set free the Sultan Zizim, whom his brother Bajazet II., Emperor of the Turks, had driven from the throne, and intended with the support of his name to march upon Constantinople. About this time Ferdinand died at Naples, leaving two sons—Alphonso II., who succeeded him, already celebrated in his wars against the Turks; and Frederic, to whom his brother entrusted the command of the Neapolitan fleet.

It was in the month of August, in the year 1494, that the French army began to pass over the Alps. It was composed of three thousand six hundred men-at-arms, of twelve thousand archers or cross bowmen, eight thousand Gascon foot soldiers armed with arquebuses, and eight thousand Swiss and Germans, forming in all thirty-two thousand men, accompanied by a formidable artillery, then the best in Europe. Italy rose at their approach.

Departure of Charles VIII. for Italy. First hostilities, 1494.

On arriving at Milan, the King saw in the citadel Duke John Galéas, who, nearly deprived of sense, and exhausted by his debauches, was sinking, attacked by a disease which poison had probably caused, and which shortly afterwards bore him to the tomb. Louis the Moor soon took the title of Duke of Milan. The French army continued its march across Lombardy, and arrived upon the

territory of Florence, where some places which barred its progress were carried. The Swiss committed frightful barbarities there, massacring all the prisoners, both inhabitants and soldiers. Terror went before the army. Alarmed by the recital of these atrocities, Peter di Medici, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent and chief of the Florentine republic, delivered to the French many towns and strong castles. The people, indignant, rose against him, while that young man, incapable and presumptuous, sought a refuge in Venice, and the Florentines believed themselves free. They hailed the French with acclamations as their liberators. Pisa and Florence opened their gates, and Charles, admitted into the towns as an ally, entered them as a conqueror. A stranger to the revolution that was being enacted around him, ignorant of the motives of the kind reception of the people, he spoke as a master to their deputies, and told them in answer to their friendly speeches, that he did not know yet whether he would give them as governors the Medici or French counsellors. The indignation of the Florentines was at its height. "If it be so," said Peter Caponi, chief of the deputation, "sound your trumpets, and we will sound our bells." The people ran to arms: the houses and the vast palaces of Florence were filled with soldiers. Charles VIII. perceived the danger, and renounced his pretensions. He recalled Caponi, obtained a subsidy to help him in his enterprise, and promised to restore at the end of the war the fortresses delivered up by the Medici.

Charles VIII. at Florence, 1494.

Ferdinand, son of Alphonso II., charged by his father to stop the French, was supported neither by the Pope nor the Florentines. Too weak to struggle alone, he recoiled before the enemy, and Charles VIII. arrived almost at Rome without drawing sword. Alphonso, whose armies melted away without fighting, reduced to despair, abandoned his people and his throne, and thenceforth only thought about his treasures and his conscience. Minister to the cruelties of his father, he saw arranged before him the shadows of his victims, and recognized the hand of God in his disasters. Agitated by a superstitious terror, he abdicated in favour of his son Ferdinand; then he embarked with his riches, and sailed towards Mazarra, in Sicily. There he shut himself up in a house of the religious Olivétans, passing his

Abdication and flight of Alphonso II., 1495.

days in fasting and prayers; he died during the same year. Ferdinand II. saw his army seized with fear. A sedition broke out in Naples. He left in order to calm it down, and entrusted his army to the Milanese Trivulzio, who betrayed him, and sold the army to Charles VIII. Ferdinand only came back in time to be witness of this infamous treachery; he returned to Naples, which shut its gates upon him, and embarked with his family for the island of Ischia. Charles VIII. arrived before Naples, all of the privileges of which he confirmed, and made a triumphal entry into the town.

Entry of Charles VIII. into Naples, 1495.

The French warriors, intoxicated with their glory, thought only of enriching themselves promptly. Their captains had demanded from the King the highest dignities and the most important fiefs in the kingdom, and Charles refused nothing. He knew neither the names of the Angevin barons to whom he owed gratitude, nor those of the barons of Aragon, the proper treatment of whom was of great importance to him. He offended all, and there was scarcely a gentleman whom he had not thrown into the party of malcontents by a denial of justice or by some imprudent outrage. Still, the storm growled behind him. The powers of Europe became alarmed at his rapid successes. Spain, Maximilian, Venice, and the Pope leagued themselves secretly together against him, and the soul of this league was his ancient ally, Louis the Moor. The conduct of the French in his respect was as injurious as it was rash. Forgetting his services, and the need that they still had for him, they haughtily reproached him with the death of John Galéas, refused to recognize his title, and the Duke of Orleans, invoking the rights that he held from Valentina Visconti, his grandmother, entitled himself the Duke of Milan. Louis the Moor only waited for the moment of vengeance, and that moment soon presented itself. Philip de Comines, ambassador from the King to Venice, was informed of the projects of this formidable league, and hastened to give a warning to the King, who slept upon his triumph in the midst of the most frivolous and foolish occupations. Charles ordered an immediate retreat, and, rejecting the offer that Ferdinand II. had made to him to hold for him in fief the crown of Naples, he named

European league against Charles VIII., 1495.

Retreat of the French.

his relation Gilbert de Montpensier viceroy of the kingdom, and entrusted to him a portion of the army.

The Duke of Orleans, whom Charles had left at Asti in order to preserve communications with his kingdom, had compromised by his imprudence the retreat of the French. Impatient to seize the ducal crown of Milan, he had attacked Louis the Moor, who, after having repulsed him, held him in blockade at Novarre. All Lombardy arose; the Venetian army arrived and united itself with the Milanese; Francis di Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, commanded their united forces, and the retreat was cut off. The French army, very inferior in numbers, met them near Fornovo; it was attacked in the pass of Taro, and gained a signal victory. This battle of Fornovo, where a multitude of Italians lost their lives, made safe the retreat of Charles VIII. The King, by the treaty of Verceil, made peace with Louis the Moor, and recognized him as Duke of Milan, and that prince declared himself in return a vassal of the crown of France for the fief of Genoa.*

Battle of Fornovo, 1495.

Treaty of Verceil.

While Charles returned to his states, Ferdinand and Gonzalvo of Cordova—the conqueror of Grenada, and the greatest captain of his century—attacked the French left in the kingdom of Naples. The viceroy, Gilbert de Montpensier, was compelled to evacuate the capital. He permitted himself to be shut up in Atella; reduced to capitulation, he with five thousand soldiers laid down their arms, and engaged to leave the kingdom after having restored all the captured places with the reserve of Gaeta, Venosa, and Tarentum. An epidemic cut down his troops; he himself was attacked by it, and died at Pozzuolo: barely five hundred soldiers survived him. Charles VIII. received the news of these disasters at Lyons and Tours, in the midst of licentious fêtes. He projected a second expedition, when in 1498 he was struck with apoplexy, in consequence of a violent shock. He died in his château of Amboise, at the age of twenty-eight years.

The French lose Naples and Sicily, 1496.

Death of Charles VIII., 1498.

* After the revolt of 1409, the republic of Genoa was given anew to France. Charles VIII. ceded it to the Duke of Milan; Louis XII. recovered it; and Francis I. lost it definitively.

One of the distinctive traits of his character was an extreme kindness of disposition. "The most humane and the sweetest word of man that ever existed," wrote Comines, "was his; for never did he say to any man a thing that could displease him." His incapacity was generally known, and his military successes in the eyes of his contemporaries were looked upon as prodigies. His gentleness and goodness were appreciated; France knew that there was good intention in that which he wished to do for her, and dropped tears to his memory. He had in the space of two years lost three sons at a very early age. The Duke of Orleans, grandson of the brother of Charles VI., was his nearest relative.

## CHAPTER IV.

### REIGN OF LOUIS XII.

### 1498–1515.

THE Duke of Orleans was thirty-six years old when he ascended the throne under the name of Louis XII. He soon took the titles of King of France, of Jerusalem, and the Two Sicilies, and Duke of Milan, in order that there might be no doubt in Europe as to his pretensions with regard to Italy. The accession of this prince restored to the crown the apanage of Orleans, of which part constituted the duchy of Orleans, the county of Blois, and that of Valois. Louis XII. bestowed the latter county in apanage on Francis, Count of Angoulême, his cousin, and who was his successor. He treated with kindness La Trémouille and his ancient enemies, saying that the King of France could forgive the injuries of the Duke of Orleans; and he gave all his confidence to Georges d'Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen, and afterwards cardinal.

Accession of Louis XII., 1498.

The first acts of Louis XII. were wise and useful. He diminished the taxes, re-established order in the finances and the administration, and confirmed an ordinance that the Chancellor Guy de Roquefort had made Charles VIII. sign, for the creation of a sovereign court or great council. This court, composed of the chancellor, twenty counsellors, ecclesiastical or lay, and the masters of the petitions of the royal mansion, was destined, said the King, to sustain his rights and prerogatives. It strengthened and adjusted the royal authority, and Louis XII. deserved the gratitude of the people on account of the wise reforms which it brought into the legislation. It restrained the abusive privileges of the university, by which the jurisdiction of the tribunals and the gathering of the taxes were continually impeded. The four faculties assembled on this subject, and pronounced, as customary, the cessation of the studies and of preaching. The King and his ministers severely

The Great Council.

reprimanded their deputies. The struggle lasted for eight months, after which the university submitted, and ceased to have recourse to that scandalous expedient.

Queen Anne had retired into Brittany soon after the death of Charles VIII., her husband, and hastened to make an act of sovereignty by issuing moneys and publishing edicts. Her duchy was about to escape from France if she did not espouse the King, and Louis resolved to accomplish this marriage. He was married to Jeanne, daughter of Louis XI.; and although there was no legal motive for a divorce, he solicited from Pope Alexander VI. the rupture of the first engagement, and caused him to be favourable by promising the duchy of Valentinois to Cæsar Borgia, his son. Jeanne, who lived apart from her husband, given up entirely to exercises of piety, opposed conscientiously an unexpected resistance to a project which appeared culpable to her, and the scandal of a shameful trial became public. All the motives alleged by the King were false or deceptive; however, the judges pronounced the divorce, and the dispensation for a new marriage was brought to Louis by Cæsar Borgia, who delivered to Georges d'Amboise the cardinal's hat. Louis XII. immediately married Anne of Brittany, and the contract proved that he had again acted more in the interest of his own greatness than that of France, for the duchy was not irrevocably united with the crown, but was declared transmissible to the second child of the Queen, or, in default of a second child, to her nearest heir.

Marriage of the King with Anne of Brittany, 1499.

Soon after this union, Louis made his claims upon the Milanese profitable, although he could only invoke them in quality of being grandson of Valentina Visconti. The duchy of Milan was an imperial masculine fief; the rights invoked by Louis XII. were therefore void. They were sustained by a powerful army, which, with the support of the Venetians and the Pope, subdued the Milanese in twenty days. Louis Sforza, or the Moor, abandoned by all, took refuge with his son-in-law, the Emperor Maximilian. The administration of the French at Milan was oppressive; a revolt soon broke out; Louis Sforza returned with imposing forces, and La Trémouille, at the head of a new army, passed into Italy. Louis the Moor was defending Novarre with

Conquest of the Milanese, 1499.

numerous troops when La Trémouille appeared before that place. Swiss fought in the two armies, and composed the principal force of Louis; they betrayed him, capitulated shamefully in spite of him, and delivered him up to the French. Louis XII. abused the rights of a conqueror with respect to his prisoner; he held him until his death locked up in the tower of Loches in strict captivity. Master of the Milanese, he assisted the Pope and Cæsar Borgia in subduing the Romagna; then he turned his eyes towards Naples, the ephemeral conquest of Charles VIII., where Frederic, in 1496, had succeeded his nephew Ferdinand II.

Louis XII. was not alone in coveting this beautiful country; Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Aragon, wished for his part. In spite of the ties of family which united him with Frederic, the King of Aragon acceded at Grenada to a secret treaty by which Naples and the Abruzzi were chosen by France and the southern provinces by Spain.

Treaty of Grenada, 1500.

Frederic, menaced by the French armies, solicited the support of his relative, that same Ferdinand who had just despoiled him, and who hastened to send to him the celebrated Gonzalvo of Cordova. The latter promptly introduced the Spaniards into the principal fortresses, and then showed to the unfortunate Frederic, so shamefully deceived, the treaty of division. The war between the despoilers was the only result of this detestable conquest. The French and the Spaniards disputed about the revenues of the kingdom, and, when Gonzalvo believed that he was strong enough, hostilities broke out. He gained two consecutive victories, the one at Aubigny, in Séminara, and the other at Cérignoles, where the Viceroy Nemours, the last of the Armagnacs, perished, and the French only preserved in the kingdom the single town of Gaeta. Louis XII. assembled three new armies, of which two marched upon Spain; the third advanced towards Naples, when suddenly the death of Alexander VI. unsettled all Italy; Cæsar Borgia fell dangerously ill at the same time. The illness of Cæsar Borgia at the moment of his father's death annulled his power and took from him all the fruit of his iniquitous intrigues. Louis XII. lost his most powerful ally in Italy in the person of Alexander VI.; and the irascible Julius II., successor to the Pontiff, soon created

War between Spain and France.

Battle of Cérignoles, 1503.

for him in that country new perils and insurmountable obstacles. The French army, commanded by the Marquis of Mantua, was for a long time held in check by Gonzalvo on the banks of the Garillan; but at last, when attacked by that great captain, it took to flight. Gaeta opened its gates to the Spaniards, and the French were everywhere repulsed, in spite of the exploits of La Palisse, of Aubigny, of Louis d'Ars, of D'Aligre, and the heroic valour of the Chevalier Bayard, the most celebrated amongst these illustrious warriors. The kingdom of Naples was thus lost a second time to France.

The French lose a second time the kingdom of Naples.

While France experienced in the exterior such great reverses, a greater danger threatened her in the interior. Queen Anne, an ambitious and haughty princess, altogether occupied with the interests of her family, was little affected by the grandeur and prosperity of the kingdom. She wished for her daughter Claude, heiress of the duchy of Brittany, a husband who had in perspective the sceptre of universal monarchy, and destined for her young Charles of Austria, who was then Charles Quint.

This prince, son of the Archduke Philip, sovereign of the Low Countries, inherited Spain through his mother, Jeanne the Foolish; and Louis XII., by the secret treaty of Blois, ceded to him, as a dowry for the Princess Claude, Brittany, part of the inheritance of the dukes of Burgundy united with France, all his rights over the Milanese, and the kingdom of Naples. The King signed this treaty, which would have rendered him guilty of treason towards France if Louis when signing it had had the use of his reason; but he was then dangerously ill at Blois: it was thought that his end was approaching, and the Queen, only thinking of her own interests, arranged immediately for her retirement into Brittany. Already had she embarked on the Loire with her treasures, when the Marshal of Gié, governor of Angers, and superintendent of the education of young Francis of Angoulême, prevented her flight, which threatened to infringe the integrity of the kingdom. He caused the vessels laden with the riches of the Queen to be seized, and signified to her that he would arrest her if she passed beyond the boundary. Louis XII. recovered; but the Marshal, accused of the crime of high treason against the crown for this act of firmness, was punished by the loss of his offices.

Treaty of Blois, 1505.

Feudalism expired. However, such was still the respect for its customs that in the year 1505 Louis XII. did homage to the Emperor Maximilian for the duchy of Milan, and made him an oath of obedience. In the following year he received from the States-General assembled at Tours the surname of *Father of the People*, and was entreated by them to marry his daughter Claude to his cousin Francis, Count of Angoulême, heir presumptive to the crown.* This request anticipated the secret desire of the King, who, reproaching himself with the sad treaty of Blois, had already seized an opportunity to break it. He heard with favour the wish of the States, and the royal betrothals were immediately celebrated.

Marriage of the Princess Claude with Francis of Angoulême. Definite union of Brittany with France, 1506.

Louis XII., in spite of his reverses, had always fixed his eyes on Italy. Genoa then was in submission to the French, who, carrying into that republic all the prejudices of the feudal nobility, were indignant at seeing the bourgeois exercising the power conjointly with the nobles. The latter, sustained by the French Government, insulted the people, and walked about with poignards upon which they had caused to be engraved an insulting device. The people revolted, took a dyer for Doge, and drove away the French. Louis XII. swore that he would have vengeance, and soon appeared under the walls of Genoa with a brilliant army. He entered, sword in hand, into the vanquished city, caused seventy-nine of the principal citizens together with the Doge to be hanged, and pardoned the others, burdening them with a tax of three hundred thousand florins, a sum sufficient to ruin the republic.

Louis XII. chastises revolted Genoa, 1507.

Venice served as the bulwark for France against Germany, and had shown itself her faithful ally in the campaign of Italy. The King ought to have kept on good terms with Venice as much for policy as for gratitude; but the hate which animated the sovereigns of Europe against republics stifled every other sentiment in the heart of Louis XII. He excited without motive the Emperor Maximilian, the Pope, and the King of Aragon, against the Venetians. The Cardinal d'Amboise was the soul of this league, known under the name of the *League of Cambray*, a town where the treaty of alliance was signed between those sovereigns and Louis XII. The French soon marched against Venice, and

League of Cambray, 1509.

* Louis XII. had no male child.

gained the victory of Agnadel. The King, putting in practice the odious principles of the Florentine Machiavelli, subdued his enemies by terror and treated the vanquished with pitiless cruelty. The Venetian state, as far as the lagunes, was soon conquered. But the design of Pope Julius II. was to make the pontifical state dominant in Italy, to free the Peninsula from the foreign yoke, and to constitute the Swiss guardians of its liberties. He had only entered with regret into the treaty of Cambrai, in order to subdue some places in the Romagna, and through jealousy with regard to the Venetian power. It was, however, only with the assistance of the Venetians that he could deliver Italy from its most dangerous enemies. He connected himself with them after their reverses, and, detaching himself from the League of Cambrai, he formed another, which he called *The Holy*, with the Venetians, the Swiss, and Ferdinand the Catholic. All together attacked the French; nevertheless the latter obtained some brilliant advantages under the young and impetuous Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, nephew of the King, who achieved three victories in three months. The glorious battle of Ravenna, where this hero of twenty-three years, "a great captain before he had been a soldier,"* perished, dying at the moment of his triumph, was the end of the successes of Louis XII. in Italy.

Battle of Agnadel, 1509.

The Holy League, 1510.

Battle of Ravenna, 1512.

A council held at Pisa by some schismatic cardinals, partisans of the king of France and the emperor, had suspended the authority of the Pope. Louis XII., in spite of the scruples of his conscience and the profound discredit which fell upon this council, had caused its declaration to be published in France, in the hope of compelling the Pontiff to sue for peace. The inflexible Julius II. responded to this boldness on the part of the King by signing the Holy League, and by convoking the council of Lateran, where eighty-three bishops from all parts of Christendom recognised him as head of the Church. New disasters for France marked out the course of that year. Genoa revolted, and elected as doge Janus Fregosi, proscribed by the French. Ferdinand the Catholic conquered Navarre, where the house of Albret, an ally of France, reigned. Julius II., however, did not enjoy for any length

Council of Pisa, 1511.

* Guicciardini.

of time the disgrace of Louis. He died in 1513; and the cardinal de Medici, as great an enemy of France, succeeded him, under the name of Leo X. Taught by experience, Louis XII. at last became reconciled with Venice, and united himself with that republic by the treaty of Orthez, while the Emperor Maximilian, Henry VIII. king of England, Ferdinand the Catholic and the Pope formed the coalition called the League of Malines against him. La Trémouille conducted into Lombardy a French army, which was defeated by the Swiss at Novara: it recrossed the Alps, abandoning the Venetians to themselves, and Italy was lost for ever.

League of Malines, 1513.

The English army then gained in Artois the battle of Guinegate, known in history under the name of the *Journée des éperons* (Battle of the spurs) on account of the complete rout of the French Royal troops. The most illustrious captains, and among others La Palisse, Bussy d'Amboise, and the Chevalier Bayard, were taken prisoners. Pressed at the same time by the Swiss, who beseiged Dijon, by the Spaniards, and by the English; deprived of his ally by the death of James IV. King of Scotland, killed at the battle of Flodden; and lastly, tormented by his conscience, Louis XII. renounced the schism, abandoned the Council of Pisa, removed to Lyons, and signed, in 1514, a truce at Orleans with the Pope and all his powerful enemies.

Battle of Guinegate, 1513.

The cost and the misfortunes of so many wars had compelled the King to increase the taxes, to reclaim his gratuitous gifts, and alienate his domain. Queen Anne was no more, and in order to insure peace between England and France, Louis demanded and obtained in marriage the hand of Mary, sister to Henry VIII., engaging himself to pay during ten years a hundred thousand crowns per annum to the English monarch. This marriage between a young princess of sixteen years and a man of fifty-three, exhausted and sickly, was fatal to Louis XII. He died, without leaving a son, on January 1, 1515, a few months after the celebration of his marriage.

Hostilities suspended by the truce of Orleans, 1514.

Death of Louis XII., 1515.

Many brilliant sayings and traits of courage are narrated of this prince. At the battle of Agnadel, when the Venetian artillery was

directed towards the position where he was, it was said to him that he exposed himself too much. "Not at all," said he, "I have no fear; but whosoever is afraid, let him put himself behind me."* Louis XII. loved the people, and sustained without prodigality the dignity of his crown. He was economical; his court accused him of being avaricious, and caused him to be represented as such on the stage. He heard of it without anger: "I like better," he said, "to see my courtiers laughing at my avarice than to see my people weeping at my extravagance." He had recourse to a dangerous expedient — the sale of the public posts — in order to increase his revenues without burdening the people; still, he did not extend this practice to the offices of judicature. The importance of the parliament of Paris, already diminished under the preceding reigns by the creation of the parliaments of Toulouse, Grenoble, Bourdeaux, and Dijon, was again weakened under Louis XII. by the creation of the parliaments of Rouen and Aix. The wise regulations of the King for the administration of justice and the finances rendered him worthy of the great name of *Father of the People*, which the States of Tours had bestowed upon him. In 1510 he had lost his minister and friend, the cardinal Georges d'Amboise, who had the rare happiness, for a prime minister, to see his name blessed by the people. "Let no one interfere with Georges," said they. Archbishop of Rouen and friend of the arts, he covered Normandy with elegant structures, the first attempts of the *Renaissance*, and he would have merited a place in the rank of great citizens, if his counsels for foreign policy had not drawn France, his king, and himself into a fatal course, in which a wise and good prince and a devoted minister were to be seen abandoning towards strangers the maxims which made their glory in the interior of the kingdom.

His character.

Georges d'Amboise.

The example and the principles of Louis XII. had made a school in Europe, and diplomacy was born before the science of the rights of the peoples was known and respected. Nations believed that they had no moral duty to fulfil towards one another, and thought that personal interest and success justified fraud, treachery, and the most atrocious violence. The celebrated Florentine Machiavelli had

* Memoires de Brantôme.

made a science of this frightful policy, of which the most famous disciples were Ferdinand the Catholic, Alexander VI., and the execrable Cæsar Borgia, his son, the hero of Machiavelli. Louis XII. was their rival in violence and perfidy, buying, betraying, and sacrificing peoples without scruple according to the interest of the moment. He only gathered, as did the most part of these sovereigns, bitter fruits from so many shameful acts. It was still necessary that Europe and its kings should suffer long calamities before finding out that nations, like individuals, are allied between themselves by sacred obligations, and that morality alone, in strict union with policy, can guarantee to them peace and security.

Policy of Louis XII.

During the century which had just passed away the world had put on a new aspect. Great wars had weakened the aristocracy, rallied the people round their sovereigns, and given a prodigious development to the sentiment of national independence. The three great nations, Spain, England, and France, had become firmly constituted, and all authority had passed into the hands of the kings. The military republic of the Swiss was elevated for a short time by the fall of the house of Burgundy, but the powerful republican states of the North and of the South had disappeared. The Hanseatic League, composed of eighty towns, occupying all the southern borders of Germany, had lost its commercial preponderance, which had passed to the rival towns of the Lower Rhine and Belgium, then subject to the house of Austria, of which Frederic III. and Maximilian founded the future greatness. Venice was humiliated, Florence and Genoa were enfeebled. In the midst of this fusion of all political powers into one only, under the triumph of the monarchical principle in Europe, there germinated the seed of the greatest revolution which has shaken the Christian world. This event was the emancipation of human thought, of which up to that time spiritual power had restrained the flight.

General considerations upon Europe in the 15th century.

The Catholic Church was the only authority generally recognized which had survived the fall of the Roman empire. She alone had been able to subdue the barbarians, to struggle effectually against the frightful anarchy of that period by the principles of order and of Christian virtue and by the merit of a great part of her clergy; she alone thus preserved a power of social

State of the Church.

organization in the midst of the general upheaving, and founded the governments of the Middle Ages by arrogating to herself an all-powerful authority over human reason at a time when men recognized no other law between them than that of brute force. It was thus that the Romish Church fulfilled a double mission, which was that of constituting modern society on a Christian basis, and of giving to it the tie of a common faith, powerful enough to enable Europe to stem the flood of the Mussulman invasion, the destroyer of Christianity in Asia. When this double aim was attained, and when the Church had directed the reaction of the crusades, a thousand causes threatened her power each day, while a rival authority grew great at her side. The theological disputes raised by the great schism of the West provoked among the faithful the progress of the spirit of examination. Already the clergy were no longer looked upon as the only dispensers of knowledge, the fall of Constantinople had dispersed the writings of antiquity over the whole of Europe. The expeditions into Italy, so unfortunate in a political sense, introduced the French nation to a more advanced civilization, to an acquaintance with the masterpieces of Raphael and of Michael Angelo, and to the treasures of a literature created by Boccaccio, Dante, and Petrarch, and recently enriched by Machiavelli and Ariosto. The admiration excited by ancient literature and by that of Italy inspired the taste for philological studies; and lastly, printing, newly invented, powerfully seconded the work of investigation, of research, and of examination, and spread, with an unheard-of rapidity, all the new opinions. During this period, and almost without interruption, the throne of Rome was occupied by a succession of pontiffs whose minds were little conformed to the spirit of Christianity. After Alexander VI. appeared Julius II., the warrior pope, whose ambitious pride caused streams of blood to pour forth; the magnificent and frivolous Leo X. came afterwards, and added to the afflictions of the Church. Meanwhile, some bold reformers, Wycliffe in England, John Huss and Jerome of Prague in Germany, had reproduced some of the doctrines of the Waldenses, and the horror excited by the funeral pile of John Huss prepared the way for new reformers, when the odious traffic in indulgences commenced. The building of the magnificent structures of Leo X., and above all, of the church of Saint Peter at Rome, required immense

sums. The Pope sold his pardons to the faithful; monks by his order overran the whole of Europe, and sold the Roman indulgences in the wine-houses and places of debauch. Luther then appeared. This famous man, a monk of the order of the Augustins, thundered against the culpable traffic of the pontifical court, and tried to reform the abuses of the Church. It was this circumstance that gave the name *Reform* to the revolution that he worked. It required nearly two centuries to accomplish it, and its origin dates from the period when feudalism expired in France, and when monarchical power obtained its highest degree of influence in the great states constituted in the fifteenth century.

Origin of the Reformation.

This epoch is, moreover, that of the greatest enterprises and the most celebrated inventions. The Genoese Christopher Columbus had discovered America in 1492, and had given a new world to Spain; and soon after, in 1497, the Portuguese Vasco di Gama found the route to India by doubling the Cape of Good Hope. Maritime commerce quitted the Mediterranean Sea in order to cover the ocean with its fleets; new military tactics were created; the use of gunpowder, which had become generally spread, entirely took away from the aristocracy their superiority of strength; diplomacy had sprung into existence; the sovereigns began to comprehend that it was necessary to balance mutually their influence in order to prevent the most powerful from aggrandizing themselves at the expense of the weakest; lastly, printing was about to establish new and indestructible bonds between men. All the forces created by the great discoveries of the fifteenth century were to be tried and developed simultaneously with religious reform and the new birth of art in the sixteenth: everything announced that the new century would be an age of intellectual development, of movement, and of combat.

Discoveries, tactics, diplomacy.

# THIRD EPOCH.

ABSOLUTE MONARCHY.

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## FROM THE ACCESSION OF FRANCIS I. TO THE CONVOCATION OF THE STATES-GENERAL BY LOUIS XVI.

1515–1789.

# BOOK I.

## FROM THE ACCESSION OF FRANCIS I. TO THE FIRST WARS OF RELIGION IN FRANCE.

RIVALRY OF FRANCIS I. AND CHARLES V.—PREACHING OF THE REFORMATION.—CONTINUATION AND END OF THE ITALIAN WARS.

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## CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF FRANCIS I. UNTIL THE SIGNATURE OF THE TREATY OF MADRID.

1515–1526.

Under Francis I. all was silence around the throne: the States-General were no more convoked; the parliaments proclaimed the doctrine of absolute power; the submissive clergy invoked the protection of the sceptre, and the expiring genius of the old armed feudality was reduced to powerlessness by the irrevocable union of Brittany with the Crown. Thenceforth from the Ocean to the Alps, from the Somme to the Mediterranean and the Pyrenees, was to be under the hand of one sole master.

Accession of Francis I., 1515.

This Prince, twenty years of age at his accession, was the son of Louisa of Savoy and Charles of Angoulême, cousin-german to Louis XII., both descendants of the Duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI. Brought up by his mother, a violent, covetous, and not entirely chaste woman, he was from his infancy absolute master of his own actions. The romances of chivalry formed his only study, and he wished, like Charles VIII., to march upon the tracks of Roland and of Amadis. He derived from the same books his notions upon the prerogatives of the Crown.

Character of Francis I.

He maintained that every order that emanated from his mouth was a decree of destiny, and could not conceive that the Parliament, Princes, Nobility, or States-General could have the right to restrain his authority. Nevertheless, in spite of his absolute character, he abandoned himself without reserve to Louisa, his mother, and to the Chancellor Antoine Duprat, a venal and corrupt man: these two governed France for a long period in his name.

Scarcely had Francis I. seized the sceptre, than, following the example of Louis XII., he turned his eyes towards Italy; he wished to conquer Milan, where a Sforza still reigned, and raised a formidable army of two thousand five hundred men-at-arms, ten thousand Gascon and twenty-two thousand German foot-soldiers. Among them might have been distinguished Charles de Montpensier, Duke of Bourbon, the Marshal de Chabannes, J. J. Trivulzio, La Trémouille and his son Talmond, Imbercourt, Téligny, Lautrec, Bussy d'Amboise, and Bayard, the "knight without fear and without reproach."

Francis I., at the point of departure, named his mother Regent of France; then he took the command of his army, and arrived at the foot of the Alps, of which the Swiss, allies of the Duke of Milan, guarded all the defiles; but under the leadership of the celebrated engineer Pedro Novaro, and after unheard-of fatigues, the French passed over the mountains by a road that no other army had taken before them. On descending into the plains, Chabannes and Bayard, as a first exploit, surprised at table and carried of Prosper Colonna, general of Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milan. This important capture threw disorder and discouragement among the enemy; but twenty thousand Swiss rushed from their mountains and engaged the king at the terrible battle of Marignano, under the walls of Milan. Without other arms than pikes eighteen feet long and heavy two-handed swords, they threw themselves in serried columns upon the artillery, in spite of the ravages it made in their ranks, and sustained without being broken many charges of the French royal troops. They surrounded Francis I., who had fought like a hero, and broke up the different corps of his army. The latter rallied during the night, and the combat recom-

First campaign of Francis I. in Italy, 1515.

Battle of Marignano; conquest of the Milanese, 1515.

menced with fury. The Swiss then heard the war-cry of the Venetians, *Marco! Marco!* They believed that the allies of the French had come to their succour, and retired in good order. This bloody battle cost the lives of six thousand French and twelve thousand Swiss; the remains of the conquered army abandoned Italy. Francis I. asked, on the morrow of the battle, to receive the order of chivalry from the hand of Bayard, who was the most distinguished among his most valiant captains at Marignano. The rapid conquest of the duchy of Milan was the result of this decisive victory. In order to ensure its possession, the King concluded an alliance with the Swiss, which for a long period protected the weakest frontier of the kingdom; in like manner he treated with Pope Leo X., engaging himself to maintain at Florence the authority of Lorenzo and Julian de Medici, near relatives of the Pontiff, and to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction, which founded the liberties of the Gallican Church upon the decrees of the Council of Bâle.

Alliance with the Swiss, 1515.

Charles VII. had constituted these decrees a law of the State; they proclaimed the superiority of the Councils over the Popes, refused to the Pontifical court the revenue of the vacant sees and benefices, and entrusted to the chapters of the churches and monasteries the election of the bishops and abbés. Louis XI. had afterwards abandoned that doctrine, but it was always recognized by the Parliament and the University of Paris. The Court of Rome had constantly protested against these decrees, and they were definitely suppressed by the Concordat which Leo X. and Francis I. signed in 1516. This celebrated treaty admitted the superiority of the Popes over the Councils, and restored to the Pontifical court the immense revenue of the *Annates*.* It took away from the chapters the nomination to the prelatures, and gave it to the King, reserving the third of the vacant benefices for the graduates of the French universities. This Concordat, in order to bind equally the Church and France, ought to have been accepted by the fifth council of Lateran, then sitting at Rome, and by the Parliament of Paris. The Council accepted it without deliberation;

Concordat, 1516.

* The first year's revenue of the benefices which happened to be vacant, was called the *Annates*.

but the Parliament and the University resisted the orders of the King, invoking the Pragmatic of Charles VII. Offended at any opposition to his will, as an outrage against royal majesty, Francis I. commanded absolute obedience. A deputation of magistrates came to address remonstrances to him. He was furious, and threatened to throw them into an underground dungeon. The Parliament submitted, and registered the Concordat, but protested against the violence which compelled them to do it. It was constrained in the following year to sanction a barbarous law, which punished offences connected with the chase by whippings, confiscation, or death. "Obey," said the Chancellor Duprat to the magistrates, "or the King will only look upon you as rebels, and will chastise you as the lowest of his subjects." From that moment all yielded in silence, and the monarch glorified himself in having made kings their own masters.

Abasement of the Parliament under the Royal authority.

The young rival of Francis I., he who was about, for so many years, to dispute with him the first rank in Christendom, now commenced to show himself upon the scene of the world. Ferdinand the Catholic died in 1516, leaving the throne to his daughter Joan the Simple, naming as Regent of Castille, Cardinal Ximenes, who, notwithstanding his great age, grasped the reins of the State vigorously, and bowed down the people and the rebellious nobility under his iron will. Charles of Austria, sixteen years old, son of Joan the Simple, was associated on the throne with his mother, by the Cortes of the kingdom. This young prince, known in after-time under the name of Charles V., was, through his father Philip the Handsome, inheritor of the Low Countries, and in 1516, the Emperor Maximilian, his grandfather, left him his hereditary states. Before he was twenty, Charles found himself master of Spain, of the Low Countries, of Austria, of the kingdom of Naples, and the Spanish possessions in America; he was already the most powerful monarch in Europe. Ruled at this period by the Seigneur of Chièvres, his governor, nothing as yet indicated the great faculties of his mind; but soon his prudence, his ambition, the depth and perseverance of his policy, gave to his name as much brilliancy as his numerous crowns. The King of France, by the geographical situation of his states, their compactness, and their

Inheritance of Charles of Austria.

resources, more than by their extent, was the only one able to rival him in power, and he asserted his equality often with more audacity than prudence or good fortune. His long and bloody rivalry with Charles of Austria occupied a great part of the sixteenth century. The relations between these two sovereigns commenced, however, by a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, signed at Noyon in 1516, at the moment when Charles inherited the Crown of Spain. This Prince promised Francis I. to marry his daughter, then in the cradle; the marriage was to be accomplished when she was twelve years old; and Francis had to give her as a dowry all his rights over the kingdom of Naples.

Treaty of Noyon, 1516.

The death of the Emperor Maximilian caused the breaking out between the two monarchs of the first symptoms of the struggle that was only to finish with their lives. Both of them had pretensions to the Empire*. Francis was

Election of Charles of Austria to the Imperial throne

* The Empire, or the *Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic nation*, founded in 800 by Charlemagne, comprehended, in 1518, all Germany and Bohemia. After the extinction of the Carlovingian family, the Imperial throne ceased to be hereditary, and election carried it successively to princes of the Houses of Franconia, Saxony, Suabia, Luxembourg, Bavaria, and lastly to the House of Hapsburg or Austria. Until the fourteenth century, the number and the prerogatives of the great feudatories having the right to vote for the election of emperor was undecided. The celebrated golden bull, published in 1357 by the Emperor Charles, regulated the political rights of Germany and founded the constitution, which existed almost without change for four hundred and fifty years. From that time there were seven *Electors;* the Archbishops of Trèves, Mayence, and Cologne, the Dukes of the Palatinate, Brandenburg, and Saxony, and the King of Bohemia. At each vacancy of the throne these seven Electors united together, and decreed the Imperial crown either to a compatriot or to a foreigner. The power of the emperors thus chosen was far from being absolute, for they could neither make laws, nor levy taxes, nor declare war, without the concurrence of the *Diet* or National Assembly. This Diet was divided into three colleges; the Electoral College where the prince-electors sat; that of the lay and ecclesiastical princes when non-electors; and a third, that of the free towns.

Besides this central government, the constitution for the protection of local interests had created in the midst of the great confederation many small confederations, called *circles of the Empire*, each comprising a certain number of agglomerated states, electorates, principalities and free towns, of which the representatives united together in *circular assembly* under the presidency of a *Director*. The number of the circles varied for a long time; but Maximilian, in 1512, divided the Empire definitely into ten circles: Austria, Bavaria, Suabia, Franconia, upper and lower Saxony, the upper and lower Rhine, Westphalia, and Burgundy. The last was soon only nominal.

We have said that the Empire was elective. Many emperors, in order to maintain the crown in their families, used their influence, while living, to cause a prince of their House to be elected as successor. The heir presumptive thus elected bore, until his

prodigal with his gold among the Electors; but Germany, threatened by the Turks, had need of an Emperor whose states would serve as a barrier to the Mussulman invasion, and the Elector of Saxony, Frederic the Wise, having refused the Imperial crown, caused it to be given to the young Austrian Prince, so celebrated from that time under the name of Charles V.* Francis I., wounded to the heart in his ambition, forgot the treaty of Noyon, re-demanded Naples taken by Ferdinand the Catholic from Louis XII., and summoned the new Emperor to do him homage for the county of Flanders, while Charles V. claimed Milan as an Imperial masculine fief, and the Duchy of Burgundy as the inheritance of his grandmother Marie, daughter of Charles the Bold. The two rivals both sought the support of Henry VIII., King of England. The interview between Francis I. and the English monarch took place at Guines, near Calais. The excessive magnificence which was displayed on both sides caused the name of the *Field of the Cloth of Gold* to be given to the place of conference. After three weeks of rejoicing and splendid fêtes, the two kings signed a treaty of alliance, which became illusory; for Charles V., having himself first visited Henry VIII., had seduced by his largesses, and by the hope of the Papacy, Cardinal Wolsey, minister and favourite of that Prince. So much eagerness, on the part of the two most powerful monarchs in Europe, to gain Henry to their cause, made him adopt this proud motto:—*He on whose side I am is Master.*

Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520.

Nevertheless, in spite of so many motives of discord and jealousy, neither of the two rivals was anxious to commence the war. Francis occupied himself with his pleasures, and Charles with the care of subjugating his people. Spain looked upon him as a foreigner, and rose in defence of its political rights; while Germany, indignant at the shameful traffic in indulgences, commenced to agitate through

accession, the title of *King of the Romans.* This was the ancient Cæsar of the Roman Empire.

Napoleon, in 1806, destroyed the old German constitution, and suppressed the title of Emperor of Germany, which since 1458 had continued in the family of Hapsburg, or the House of Austria.

* He was the fifth Emperor of the name of Charles, and the first King of Spain of the same name.

the voice of Luther. This famous monk had just burned in public at Wittenburg, in 1517, the bull of excommunication issued against him by the Pope. An act so audacious seized Europe with astonishment, and Charles V. convoked a Diet at Worms, in order, as he said, to repress the new opinions, which were dangerous to the peace of Germany. Luther appeared at this Diet with a safe-conduct from the Emperor, and under the more efficacious protection of the Elector of Saxony, Frederic the Wise, and of a hundred armed knights. He energetically defended his doctrines, in which, more than all, he attacked auricular confession, the intercession of the saints, the dogma of purgatory, that of transubstantiation, the celibacy of the priests, and the authority of the Church. The Diet permitted him to retire, and soon afterwards outlawed him. The Elector of Saxony caused him to be carried away by men in masks, and conducted to the fortress of Wartburg, where he lived shut up for nine months, concealed from his friends and enemies. It was there that he commenced his translation of the Bible, and composed a multitude of writings stamped with his genius, which was logical, impetuous, irascible, and yet perfectly fitted, even by its triviality, to govern the still coarse mind of his age.

Beginnings of Luther. Diet of Worms, 1521.

While these great interests divided Europe, Leo X., always frivolous and inconsiderate, excited the French to the conquest of Naples, promising them his support; then he treated almost immediately with Charles V. At last hostilities commenced. A French army commanded by L'Espare had just lost Navarre after having invaded it; and the captains of the Emperor, Nassau and Sickingen, had violated the French territory, in order to attack Robert de La Marck, an ally of that kingdom. War broke out in the North and in the South. The Imperial troops took Mourzon, and besieged Mézières, which was saved by Anne de Montmorency and the Chevalier Bayard. Lautrec, lieutenant-general of the King, failed to receive money for the pay of his army. Four hundred thousand crowns had been promised him for this purpose by Francis I.; but Louisa of Savoy had compelled the superintendent-general, Semblançay to deliver up to her that sum, without the knowledge of the King, her son. The Spaniards then

First hostilities between Charles V. and Francis I., 1521.

attacked Lautrec, who, badly supported by the mercenary troops, was beaten at Bicoque. The malcontent Swiss returned to their homes, and Milan was again lost. At the same time Henry VIII. united with the Emperor against Francis I., and both declared war against him, while Adrian VI., former preceptor of Charles V., ascended the pontifical throne. His predecessor, Leo X., had in Italy bequeathed his name to the century. He was great by his magnificence and the enlightened protection that he accorded to art and literature; no monarch was ever surrounded by so many celebrated artists, or knew better how to animate their genius; but few men were less fit than he to sustain the combat against Luther or to represent a successor of the Apostles.

Battle of Bicoque, 1522. The French driven from Italy.

Exhausted by the prodigalities of the King and the thefts of the nobles more than by the war, the treasury was empty, and money was necessary. Recourse was, in the first place, had to the ordinary means, in raising the land taxes and in borrowing money, but these were not sufficient. Under the fatal inspiration of the minister Duprat, the offices of the magistracy, the number of which was doubled, were sold for money. In vain the Parliaments protested; the new magistrates were maintained, and this deplorable custom of venality, for the first time avowed and recognized, lasted until the French Revolution. Two parties then divided the court; the one, that of Louisa of Savoy, directed by the Chancellor Duprat and Admiral Bonnivet, both far advanced in the favour of the King; at the head of the other party were the Duchess of Chateaubriand, mistress of Francis I., and her brothers Lescuns and Lautrec, sustained by the Constable Duke of Bourbon, the richest and most powerful noble of the kingdom. Louisa of Savoy, forty-seven years old, proposed to the Duke to marry her. Bourbon rejected these offers, adding irony to the refusal. The Princess, furious, swore that she would be avenged, and her resentment was fatal to France. She brought an unjust action against the Duke; the Parliament did not dare to declare its opinion; but Francis, urged on by his mother, seized and united to the Crown the immense possessions of the Constable, which comprehended, among other seignories, Bourbonnais, Dauphiné, Auvergne, Forez,

Sale of the offices of judicature.

Action against the Constable of Bourbon, 1523.

Marche, and Beaujolais. He immediately treated secretly with Henry VIII. and Charles V., and invited them both to divide the kingdom. Informed of these negotiations, the King tried to seize his person; Bourbon escaped into Germany, and re-appeared soon afterwards at the head of the armies of the Emperor.

The war then commenced, with advantages to France on all the frontiers. The Germans attacked Champagne and Franche-Comté without success; the Spaniards were repulsed in the South, while La Tremouille successfully defended Picardy against an English army.

In spite of so many perils, Francis I. still dreamed of conquest in Italy; he sent a brilliant army there, under the command of Admiral Bonnivet. This favourite was not a skilful captain, and each of his steps was marked by a fault or by a reverse. Francesco Colonna compelled him to raise the blockade of Milan, and to fall back on Ticino. In a few months the French army was in great distress, deprived of provisions and decimated by the plague. Bonnivet ordered a retreat, and got away, actively pursued by the Imperial troops, commanded by the best of the enemy's captains, Lannoy, Pescaire, and the Duke of Bourbon. Bayard commanded the rearguard; a shot struck him in the back, and he was carried to the foot of a tree, his face turned towards the enemy. Bourbon ran towards him and expressed his deep compassion. "It is not I," answered Bayard, "but you who ought to be pitied, you who fight against your king, your country, and your oath." Thus perished the knight who was dearest to France, and the most accomplished among all those of whom history has preserved the remembrance.

Second and third campaign in Italy, 1524, 1525.

Death of Bayard, 1524.

Bourbon and the Marquis of Pescaire invaded Provence, and a number of towns submitted. Marseilles heroically sustained a long siege; it was defended by Renzo de Ceri, chief of a legion of patriotic Italians, an old remnant of the party of liberty crushed out at Florence and Pisa. After forty days of useless attack, the Imperial troops drew off, having been informed of the approach of Francis I., and of the successes of Andrea Doria, a celebrated Genoese Admiral in the service of that monarch. Francis marched into Italy at the head of a third army; he rapidly recovered the whole of the Milanese territory, and besieged Pavia. He remained for a long time before this

place, when the Imperial troops approached, under the orders of Lannoy, Pescaire, and Bourbon. Francis I. waited for them in his lines, and the armies remained in presence of each other for a long period without coming to blows. At length, on the 25th of February, 1525, they engaged in battle, and the imprudent excitement of the King lost it. His artillery made great ravages in the Imperial troops: obliged to pass within range, the latter endeavoured to gain, in open order, and at the top of their speed, a small valley where they would be sheltered from this murderous fire. Francis did not understand this movement: "See where they fly," said he; "let us charge! let us charge!" and immediately rushed, at the head of his retinue, between the guns and the enemy. The artillery, masked, ceased its fire; the enemy rallied and waited with firm composure. At that instant the Swiss of the French army, being attacked in flank, lost ground, and the Duke of Alençon took flight with the rearguard. The Imperial army entirely surrounded the King. In vain Francis I. and his knights performed heroic exploits; Bonnivet, La Palisse, Lescuns, old La Tremouille, and Bussy d'Amboise were killed before his eyes: he himself, thrown from his horse, covered with blood, and twice wounded, was recognized by Pomperan, a gentleman of the Duke of Bourbon, and summoned to surrender. Francis refused to give himself up to a renegade; he caused the Viceroy Lannoy to be called, and gave up his sword to him. It was on the occasion of this bloody battle of Pavia that the King wrote a letter to his mother in which he used a phrase which has since been celebrated: "Madame, all is lost, except honour." Young Henry II. d'Albret, King of Navarre, had been taken prisoner with the King of France. He was imprisoned in the citadel of Pavia, from whence he contrived to escape. Francis was concealed from observation in that of Pizzighettone, and from there transferred to Madrid by order of Charles V.

Battle of Pavia, 1525.

Captivity of Francis I., 1525.

The interests of the kingdom were then confused with those of the persons of the kings. France had learned neither from the misfortunes of King John nor from the madness of Charles VI. the importance of a monarchy protecting itself from the calamities which might befall the monarch. The state seemed to be mad when

the King was mad, and it appeared to be in the hands of the enemy when the King was captive. Francis I., before his departure, had, it is true, conferred the regency of the kingdom upon his mother, Louisa of Savoy, so that a legitimate authority was recognized in France in spite of his captivity; but the sovereignty remained entirely in his person; he alone could accept or reject the conditions imposed on his deliverance; he alone, in fact, represented the will of France, when danger, fear, or weariness no longer permitted him the free use of his own will. The Emperor saw in the captivity of Francis I. the humiliation and ruin of France, and resolved to profit to the utmost by his victory. The King fell ill in prison; Charles, who had, until then, refused to see him, visited him and consoled him by affectionate words; but soon after his recovery he set him at liberty upon sad and dishonourable conditions for France. Overcome with grief, the King thought of abdicating, but had not strength to persist in so noble a resolution; he protested against the treaty which was imposed on him, and signed it, secretly resolved not to observe it. By this treaty of Madrid he ceded all his rights upon Italy; renounced the sovereignty of the counties of Flanders and Artois; abandoned to the Emperor, as the descendant of Charles the Bold, the duchy of Burgundy and the county of Charolais, with other seignories. He engaged to marry Eleanor, Dowager Queen of Portugal, sister of the Emperor; he pardoned the Duke of Bourbon, and established him in his rights; finally, he concluded an offensive and defensive league with the Emperor, promising to accompany him in person when he went upon a crusade against the Turks or against heretics. Charles V., on his side, gave up the towns on the Somme which had belonged to Charles the Bold.

Treaty of Madrid, 1526.

After the signature of this treaty the King was exchanged at the frontier for his two sons, and on the same day reached Bayonne, where he found his mother and all his court. He believed that in escaping from his enemies he was equally free from the obligations which he had contracted with them, and replied to the messengers of the Emperor that he could not ratify the treaty of Madrid without the consent of the States of the kingdom and of the duchy of Burgundy.

Deliverance of Francis I., 1526.

## CHAPTER II.

### COURSE AND END OF THE REIGN OF FRANCIS I.

### 1526–1550.

Francis I. alleged the rights and wishes of his kingdom as a reason for exempting him from keeping his engagements; he had, however, no intention of consulting France; he would have believed that he was putting himself under the tutelage of the States-General if he had convoked them. Desiring always to oppose to the Emperor a will that should appear national, he called together at Cognac the princes, the nobles, and bishops who then formed part of his court. This assembly disengaged him from his word. The States of Burgundy, on their side, declared that they did not wish to separate from France. Being informed of these declarations, Charles V. answered:—"Let not Francis I. throw his want of faith upon his subjects; in order to keep his word, he ought to die in Spain; let him do it."

Rupture of the treaty of Madrid, 1526.

Italy, however, had only escaped from the French to fall into the avaricious hands of the Imperial troops. Francis then, impatient for vengeance, presented himself to the people of Italy, no longer as master but as an ally; he offered the sword of France in order to free them. Venice, Florence, Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, and the Pope appealed to him as a liberator, and the King of England himself, afraid of the colossal power of Charles V., entered into the *Holy League*. In the name of the independence of Italy, the Duke of Urbino raised an Italian army; but before the French troops had crossed the Alps, fifteen thousand German infantry, soldiers of the Emperor, descended like a torrent upon Italy; crossing Lombardy, Tuscany, and the Romagna, they threw themselves upon Rome, the centre of the Holy League. The Constable de Bourbon, the idol of these adventurers, and the Lutheran George Frondsberg, who carried

The Holy League, 1527.

round his neck a gold chain, destined, he said, to strangle the Pope, marched at their head. The assault was made on the 6th May, 1527. Bourbon perished while placing a ladder at the foot of the ramparts; but Rome was taken, and the Imperial troops avenged their General by sacking the eternal city and by a frightful massacre. Eight thousand Romans perished on the first day, and the Pope had to sustain a long siege in the Castle of Saint Angelo.

Capture and sack of Rome, 1527.

Henry VIII. and Francis I. resolved to set free the Pontiff and Italy. Francis was to furnish the troops, and Henry a subsidy; this sum was far from sufficient, and the King convoked in a "bed of justice" an assembly of the principal personages of the Parliament; he explained to them his conduct, and requested money and their approval. He obtained both, and raised a new army, which he entrusted to Lautrec. The Kings of France and England declared war against the Emperor, who heaped reproaches on Francis I., and received a challenge in answer. Lautrec entered Lombardy, commenced the war with success, and penetrated into the kingdom of Naples. There he remained without money; an epidemic cut down his army, already exhausted by fatigue and privations; he himself was attacked and died. Another French army, commanded by Saint-Pol, shared the same fate. Scarcely had it entered Milan when it was defeated and dispersed at Landriano; Saint-Pol was taken prisoner. France also lost, about the same time, the assistance of the celebrated Genoese Admiral Andrea Doria, the first sailor of his age. Discontented with the imprudent disdain of Francis I., he quitted his service for that of Charles V., and replaced Genoa, his country, under the protection of the Emperor.

Fourth campaign in Italy, 1528.

Europe, at this period, was in fear of a new Mussulman invasion. Rhodes, looked upon as the bulwark of Christianity, had sustained, in 1523, a memorable siege against two hundred thousand Turks, commanded by Soliman the Magnificent. The heroic valour of the Knights of Rhodes, and of their grand-master L'Ile-Adam, had proved powerless against their numbers. After six months' siege, Rhodes surrendered, and the Turks advanced into Europe. Charles V., pressed by them and threatened by the Reformers, who had commenced to call themselves "Protestants," on

Celebrated siege of Rhodes, 1523.

account of their protestation against Rome, modified his pretensions with regard to France. The misery of the peoples was frightful, and the resources of the two rival sovereigns seemed exhausted. New negotiations were opened at Cambrai, by the conferences between Louisa of Savoy, in the name of her son, and Marguerite of Austria, ruler of the Low Countries, in the name of the Emperor, her nephew. A treaty was concluded, less onerous, but more shameful in some respects, than that of Madrid, in which the clauses in regard to Artois and Flanders were maintained; the King abandoned the sovereignty of those countries; he engaged, besides, to pay two millions of gold crowns, renounced all rights upon Italy, and abandoned all his allies to the resentment of the Emperor. At this price his two sons were freed, and the duchy of Burgundy still remained to the kingdom. This peace, which threw discredit on France throughout Europe, was signed in 1529, and called *The Ladies' Peace.*

The Ladies' Peace, 1529.

All Italy fell again, almost without resistance, under the yoke of Charles V., who disposed of crowns at his pleasure. Florence alone repulsed the Medici, whom the Emperor wished to impose on them, and sustained for a year an heroic siege. The illustrious sculptor Michael Angelo conducted the defence, and immortalized himself as much by his patriotism as by his genius; but at last the Florentines were compelled to yield. The glory of Michael Angelo alone saved his head; all the best citizens were banished or put to death. In this way the Florentine Republic was subdued.

Italy refallen under the yoke of the Imperial troops.

The fatal Ladies' Peace was a new misfortune, that France owed to Louisa of Savoy and her confidant the Chancellor Duprat. The latter, only a short time in orders, had become Archbishop of Sens and Cardinal; but that was not enough, and he almost died with chagrin when he was not raised to the Pontifical throne; his cupidity, too, exceeded his ambition; in his hands the royal treasury was pillaged, and he made himself master of the richest benefices. The Parliament, which he tried vainly to corrupt by the addition of members devoted to himself, dared to raise its voice against him. The King immediately convoked that body in a bed of justice, and threateningly forbade it to interfere in the

The Chancellor Duprat.

acts of the chancellor and the distribution of benefices. At the request of Duprat he prosecuted the financiers pitilessly, and brought before a commission, Poncher, Treasurer-General, and Semblançay, the retired superintendent of finances. Poncher, during his ministry, had drawn upon himself the hatred of Duprat; Semblançay had excited that of Louisa of Savoy, by revealing the abstraction by her of four hundred thousand crowns intended to defray the expenses of the war in Italy. Chosen from among the enemies of the accused, the judges decreed a sentence of death. The two old men were hanged in 1527, at the gibbet of Montfaucon, and their property was confiscated.

Execution of Poncher and Semblançay, 1527.

Duprat, whose administration was so shameful, promoted one measure of high utility. Francis I. until then had governed Brittany only in the quality of duke of that province; Duprat counselled him to unite this duchy in an indissoluble manner with the crown, and he prevailed upon the States of Brittany themselves to request this reunion, which alone was capable of preventing the breaking out of civil wars at the death of the King. It was irrevocably voted by the States assembled at Vannes in 1532. The King swore to respect the rights of Brittany, and not to raise any subsidy therein without the consent of the States Provincial.

The reunion of Brittany with the Crown declared indissoluble, 1532.

The situation of Europe was then almost everywhere threatening or agitated. The greater part of the princes and the states of Germany had admitted the new religious opinions. Many of these princes believed that in adopting them they were justified in seizing for their own profit the property of the Church, and were suspected of having embraced the cause more on account of embarrassed finances than from their hatred for the abuses of the Court of Rome. Already Frederic I. had accorded freedom of conscience to Denmark, while Gustavus Vasa adhered, with the Church of Sweden, to the confession of faith drawn up at the Diet of Augsburg by Melancthon, a disciple of Luther and the most gentle of the Reformers. The German princes, who were partisans of the Reformation, united together in 1531, against the Emperor, by the celebrated league of Smalcalde. Lastly, Henry VIII., to whom the Court of

Political and religious state of Europe.

League of Smalcalde, 1531.

Rome had not dared to grant permission for his divorce from Catharine of Aragon, aunt of the Emperor, repudiated that princess in order to marry Anne Boleyn, opposing at the same time the Pope and Luther by executions, and causing himself to be proclaimed by his servile Parliament the head of the Auglican Church. The populace of a great number of countries became agitated, renewing the war of the *Jacquerie*, and the pretensions of the *Levellers;* a crowd of visionaries took up arms; the rallying word was the necessity of a second baptism; the aim, a terrible war against property, which, they said, constituted a perpetual spoliation with regard to the poor, and against science, which they accused of destroying the natural equality among men. According to them, books, pictures, and statues were the inventions of the devil; they ran from church to church, breaking the images and overturning the altars. The peasants of Suabia and Thuringia rose in insurrection; the latter, under the name of *Anabaptists*, followed the fanatical Muntzer, and next John of Leyden. They tried to join themselves with the insurgents of Franconia, Alsatia, Lorraine, and the Tyrol; they everywhere deposed the magistrates, and seized the property of the nobles and the rich, whom they subjected to frightful treatment. They did an immense injury to the cause of the disciples of Luther, who united with the Catholics in order to fight and exterminate them.

Such was religious state of Europe when Francis I. commenced his violent persecution of the Lutherans or Protestants. For a long time his court and his family were divided in opinion. His sister, Marguerite of Valois, and Anne de Pisseleu, Duchess d'Etampes, his mistress, protected the new belief; Louisa of Savoy had condemned it, inflicting great severities upon its disciples; Francis I. appeared at first to be himself undecided; but his eyes were always glancing back to Italy, the conquest of which the Pope could facilitate for him. This motive, as much perhaps as religious feeling, joined to his antipathy towards the spirit of independence, decided his conduct. He closely united his cause with that of Rome by causing his second son, Henry II., to marry Catherine de Medici, niece of Pope Clement VII. He did not, however, obtain the advantages that he had hoped for from this union. The pontiff only survived the marriage a short time, and had as successor Alexander

Farnese, who became Pope under the name of Paul III.* Francis I. persevered, nevertheless, in the rigorous course that he had traced out, and proved himself in France a cruel persecutor of the Protestants. Jean Morin, a criminal magistrate, seized a great number in the year 1535, and the King, who found a violent diatribe against the mass affixed to his door, resolved upon appeasing heaven by taking vengeance on this crime. A procession went out one morning from the church of Saint-Germain, preceded by the relics of saints preserved in Paris; the King followed the Holy Sacrament, his head bared, and a torch in his hand; after him walked the queen, the princes, two hundred gentlemen, the parliament, and all the officers of justice; the ambassadors were also present. The procession passed through all the quarters of the town. In each of the six principal places were erected a temporary altar, and near, a scaffold and a pile. At these six places six unfortunates perished, burnt alive amidst the curses of the people; and the King declared that if his own children were to become heretics, he would immolate them. This horrible procession took place on the 21st of January. It was followed by an edict which proscribed the Reformers, confiscated their goods to the profit of their denunciators, and forbade them to print any book on pain of death.

Severities of Francis I. with regard to the Protestants, 1535.

In spite of this ardent zeal for the Catholic faith, Francis maintained active relations with the Lutherans of Germany and the Protestant princes of the league of Smalcalde. They, however, indignant at his severities, wished to break with him; he calmed them by giving them to understand that those whom he exterminated were similar to the fanatical followers of Muntzer and John of Leyden. Calvin, the apostle of reform in France, had just appeared; he avenged his outraged brethren by establishing, through his work *On the Christian Institution*, dedicated to the King, that if the French Reformers passed the bounds set by Luther, they at least partook of the same principles, and that their doctrines were

* This Pope promulgated during the reign of Francis I. the bull which instituted the order of the Jesuits, of which Ignatius Loyola was the founder. The aim of this order was to struggle against the progress of heresy, to convert the world to the Romish faith, and to subject it to the Pope, of whom the Jesuits recognized the infallibility in all that concerned faith. The sovereign pontiff named the general of the order, and all the members took an oath of obedience towards him.

reconcilable with public order and the purest morality. The King recognized the necessity for relaxing these persecutions, and during the same year issued an edict of toleration, attributed in part to the influence of Antoine du Bourg, successor to Duprat in charge of the chancellorship.

Charles V. always persevered in his intention of stifling Protestantism, and he would, perhaps, have anihilated it in his States, if other enemies had not suspended his attacks and drawn upon themselves the efforts of his arms.

The Mussulman invasion had made rapid progress; an innumerable Turkish army, conducted across Hungary under the walls of Vienna, had been repulsed in 1529; but the treatment of the Christians by the corsairs of Barbary, a pest until then unknown, desolated the banks of the Mediterranean. Two brothers, named Barbarossa, famous corsairs, had taken possession of Algiers and Tunis, and, covered the sea with their vessels, pillaging the coasts of Spain, France, and Italy, and carrying off into slavery a multitude of Christians every year. One of the brothers, chief admiral of Soliman, alarmed the whole of Europe. Charles V. armed a formidable fleet against him, commanded, under his orders, by Andrea Doria; he conquered Barbarossa, took Tunis, and set free twenty thousand Christians. In the meanwhile, Sforza, Duke of Milan, died without issue; Francis claimed the inheritance for his second son, the Duke of Orleans. Already, for some time, France, without plausible motive, had declared war against Charles III., Duke of Savoy,* brother-in-law of Charles V. Turin and all Piedmont were rapidly invaded by Admiral Chabot de Briou, and the French and Imperial troops soon found themselves in each other's presence upon the frontiers of Milan. Hostilities broke out; the army of Chabot, very inferior in number, fell back upon France, leaving garrisons in the conquered places. But the Emperor, without stopping to besiege them, crossed the Var at the head of fifty thousand men, announcing that he was going to march upon Paris, and commenced by invading Provence; but there he only found a desert. All the country of

Expedition of Charles V. to Tunis.

Conquest of Piedmont by the French, 1536.

* Savoy was created a duchy during the reign of Charles V.

Provence had been laid waste by the French armies themselves; everywhere they had torn down the vines, destroyed the wells, and burnt the harvests. The towns had not been more fortunate; Even Aix, the capital, was sacked and abandoned. The Imperial army, exhausted by famine and disease, retraced its steps without having fought.

Invasion of Provence by the Imperial troops. 1536.

The Dauphin of France had just died, and although his death appeared natural, Montecuculli, his cup-bearer, was accused of poisoning him; he confessed the crime in the midst of atrocious tortures, named the Emperor as his accomplice, and was dismembered. The war redoubled its fury in the Low Countries and Piedmont; at last, Pope Paul III. arranged that a truce of ten years should be signed between the rival monarchs, who divided the estates of the unfortunate Duke of Savoy, and agreed to see each other at Aigues-Mortes. These two sovereigns, who had inundated Europe with blood on account of their quarrels, and one of whom accused the other of poisoning his son, presented the strange spectacle of a perfectly friendly conference, approaching each other with open arms, and lavishing on each other every evidence of esteem and affection.

Treaty of Nice, 1538.

A revolt of Ghent soon called Charles V. into Flanders; he was then in Spain, and his shortest route was through France. He requested permission to cross the kingdom, and obtained it, after having promised the Constable Montmorency, that he would give the investiture of Milan to the second son of the King. His sojourn in France was a time of expensive *fêtes*, and cost the treasury four millions; yet, in the midst of his pleasures, the Emperor was not without uneasiness. Kings, authorized by the customs of those still barbarous times, rarely sacrificed their interests to their word. The Duchess d'Etampes and all the court blamed the scruples of the King: his jester Triboulet * said one day that, hearing of the arrival of

Sojourn of Charles V. in France, 1539.

* The *King's Jester* was a buffoon, very often deformed by nature, whose office it was to amuse the monarch by his sallies. He carried upon his head and in his hands the attributes of Folly, and, in virtue of his title and his costume, he was permitted to say to the king truths that the most respected and the wisest men dared not have uttered.

Charles in France, he had inscribed his name in his tablets in the list of fools. "Were I to allow him to pass through," answered the King, "what would you do?" "I would efface his name," replied Triboulet, "and I would place your name in its place." Francis, however, respected the rights of hospitality; but Charles did not give to his son the investiture of Milan. The King, indignant, exiled the constable for having trusted the word of the Emperor without exacting his signature, and avenged himself by strengthening his alliance with the Turks, the most formidable enemies of the empire. Already, in 1536, Francis I. had opened up negotiations, the first in Europe, with the Sultan Ibrahim, and a Turkish fleet had been directed upon Naples. The treaty of Nice had put an end to the alliance, without severing the relations between the courts of France and Constantinople, and when a new rupture between Charles V. and Francis I. had become imminent, the Sultan Soliman, successor to Ibrahim, was the first ally to whom the King of France addressed himself. The Turks at this period caused the empire to tremble; they entered triumphantly into Buda, the capital of Hungary, and their fleets covered the Mediterranean. A formidable expedition undertaken by the Emperor against Algiers had just failed, and the terror spread by the Ottoman name increased still more. Francis I. then turned to the Lutheran princes of Germany; but his advances were coldly received by men who only saw in him a cruel persecutor of their brethren.

Alliance of Francis I. with the Turks.

The hatred of the two monarchs was carried to its height by these last events; they mutually outraged each other by injurious libels, and submitted their differences to the Pope. Paul III. refused to decide between them, and they again took up arms. The King invaded Luxembourg, and the Dauphin Rousillon; and while a third army in concert with the Mussulmans besieged Nice, the last asylum of the dukes of Savoy, by land, the terrible Barbarossa, admiral of Soliman, attacked it by sea. The town was taken, the castle alone resisted, and the siege of it was raised. Barbarossa consoled himself for this check by ravaging the coasts of Italy, where he made ten thousand captives. The horror which he inspired recoiled on Francis I., his

Renewal of hostilities between Charles V. and Francis I., 1542.

ally, whose name became odious in Italy and Germany. He was declared the enemy of the empire, and the Diet raised against him an army of twenty-four thousand men, at the head of which Charles V. penetrated into Champagne, while Henry VIII., coalescing with the Emperor, attacked Picardy with ten thousand English. The battle of Cerisoles, a complete victory, gained during the same year, in Piedmont, by Francis of Bourbon, Duke d'Enghien, against Gast, general of the Imperial troops, did not stop this double and formidable invasion. Charles V. advanced almost to Château-Thierry. But discord reigned in his army; he ran short of provisions, and could easily have been surrounded; he then again promised Milan to the Duke of Orleans, the second son of the King. This promise irritated the Dauphin Henry, who was afraid to see his brother become the head of a house as dangerous for France as had been that of Burgundy; he wished to reject the offer of the Emperor and to cut off his retreat. A rivalry among women, it is said, saved Charles V. The Duchess d'Etampes was the mortal enemy of Diana of Poictiers, mistress of the Dauphin, and desired, in case the King should die, to secure the powerful protection of his second son. It is declared that she resisted the opinion of the Prince, and Charles was able to retire in safety as he came.

Battle of Cerisoles, 1544.

New invasion of France by Charles V., 1544.

The war was terminated almost immediately afterwards by the treaty of Crespy in Valois. The Emperor promised his daughter to the Duke of Orleans, with the Low Countries and Franche-Comté, or one of his nieces with Milan. Francis restored to the Duke of Savoy the greater part of the places that he held in Piedmont; he renounced all ulterior pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and likewise to the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; Charles, on his part, gave up the duchy of Burgundy. This treaty put an end to the rivalry of the two sovereigns, which had ensanguined Europe for twenty-five years. The death of the Duke of Orleans freed the Emperor from dispossessing himself of Milan or the Low Countries; he refused all compensation to the King, but the peace was not broken.

Treaty of Crespy in Valois, 1544.

Francis I. profited by it to redouble his severity with regard to the Protestants. A population of many thousands of Waldenses,

an unfortunate remnant from the religious persecutions of the thirteenth century, dwelt upon the confines of Provence, and the County Venaissin, and a short time back had entered into communion with the Calvinists. The King permitted John Mesnier, Baron d'Oppède, first president of the Parliament of Aix, to execute a sentence delivered against them five years previously by the Parliament. John d'Oppède himself directed this frightful execution. Twenty-two towns or villages were burned and sacked; the inhabitants, surprised during the night, were pursued among the rocks by the glare of the flames which devoured their houses. The men perished by executions, but the women were delivered over to terrible violences. At Cabrières, the principal town of the canton, seven hundred men were murdered in cold blood, and all the women were burnt; lastly, according to the tenor of the sentence, the houses were rased, the woods cut down, the trees in the gardens torn up, and in a short time this country, so fertile and so thickly peopled, became a desert and a waste. This dreadful massacre was one of the principal causes of the religious wars which desolated France for so long a time.

Terrible massacre of a Waldensian population, 1546.

Charles V. then crushed the Lutherans in Germany, and maintained the Catholic faith in Spain by the Inquisition, while Henry VIII. struck equally at both Romish and Lutheran sects. The war continued between him and Francis I. The English had taken Boulogne, and a French fleet ravaged the coasts of England, after taking possession of the Isle of Wight. Hostilities were terminated by the treaty of Guines, which the two kings signed on the edge of their graves, and it was arranged that Boulogne should be restored for the sum of two millions of gold crowns. Francis I. had suffered for a long time in consequence of a shameful disease, brought from America into Europe by Spaniards, and which brought him to his tomb. When he felt death approaching, he addressed, according to the custom of kings, wise advice to his successor. He caused the only son who survived him, Henry, then twenty-nine years old, to draw near to his bed. He recommended him to free his people from the tributes with which he had been compelled to burden them, and to profit by the good state in which he had left the finances. He

Treaty of Guines, 1547.

was indebted, he said, to the wisdom of his ministers for this good administration, above all to Admiral Annebaut and to the Cardinal de Tournon, and recommended Henry always to follow their counsels, whilst he warned him against the pernicious policy of the Constable Montmorency, against the ambition of the Guises, and advised him to exclude them from power. Henry wept at the bedside of his father, but avoided giving him any promise. Henry VIII. and Francis I. died in the same year; the latter had reigned for thirty-three years.

Death of Francis I., 1547.

The chivalric bravery of Francis I., his magnificence, and the protection he afforded to talent, gave popularity to his name; he was called, *The father and restorer of letters.* But the brilliant qualities of this prince were tarnished by great faults and an odious abuse of power. His cruelty with respect to the Protestants ought to be attributed, in part, to the manners and prejudices of his age. But it is very doubtful whether a sincere faith inspired these frightful persecutions, seeing that in Germany he energetically supported those whom he struck in his own kingdom. He sacrificed the blood of his people to the purposes of his ambition, and their gold to his pleasures. In order to defray his expenses he multiplied and sold the offices of judicature, alienated the royal domains, instituted the lottery, and created by a loan of two hundred thousand livres the first perpetual annuities on the Hotel de Ville, the origin of the public debt in France. He prosecuted by illegal means, and before commissions arbitrarily chosen, many men of eminent rank, among others the Chancellor Poyet and Admiral Chabot, and in the judgment against the latter the King substituted his own will for the decision of the judges. He softened, without doubt, the rudeness of the national character by encouraging the progress of the arts; but by abasing the magistracy, placing his caprices above the law, and making a display of adultery, he corrupted the manners of his court and his people, and this corruption increased until the end of the reign of the Valois. The long struggle between Francis I. and Charles V. brought no lasting advantage to the kingdom. His severities against the Reformers prepared the way for bloody civil wars, and, in fine, his reign was less useful than fatal to France.

Considerations upon this reign.

Origin of the public debt in France; annuities on the Hotel de Ville.

France, however, had been increased by a part of Savoy and Piedmont,* and the royal domain since the death of Louis XII. had acquired Brittany, which was completely and legally united to France under Francis I. in 1532; it was augmented on the accession of Louis XII. by the apanage of Orleans and of Valois, containing the county of Blois, and the duchies of Orleans and Valois, and had gained the county of Angoulême at the accession of Francis I. That prince, lastly, confiscated to the profit of the crown the great possessions of the eldest branch of the House of Bourbon, which comprehended the duchies of Bourbon, Auvergne and Chatelleraut, Forez, the county of Clermont, the dauphiné of Auvergne, and a multitude of secondary fiefs.

Increase of the royal domain.

France, up to that time, had been divided into bailiwicks in the countries of the north, and into seneschalships in those of the south, for the administration of justice. In the fourteenth century *Généralités* were established for the collection of the imposts; Francis I. completed this organization of ancient France by the creation of nine great military governments, formed for the most part in the frontier provinces, and with a view to the defence of the kingdom. These governments were those of Normandy, Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiné, Burgundy, Champagne, Picardy, and Ile de France.† The power was thus centralized more and more. There still existed, however, some great feudal houses. The first among all was that of Bourbon, the issue of the blood royal, which had just been weakened by the disgrace of the celebrated Constable, which extinguished the eldest branch; the marriage of Antoine of Vendôme, chief of the younger branch, with Jeanne d'Albret, heiress of Béarn, of Armagnac, of the county of Foix, and the kingdom of Navarre, raised the fortunes of the family. As well as the Bourbons another princely family grew great, the Guises, a branch of the sovereign House of Lorraine. Claude, fifth son of Duke Réné of Lorraine, had made himself illustrious in the service of

The Bourbons and the Guises.

* Savoy and Piedmont, divided between France and Spain in virtue of the treaty of Nice, were restored in the year 1562 to the princes of the House of Savoy, except some towns which remained annexed to France until 1574.

† At the time of the French revolution the number of the governments in the provinces was thirty-two.

France. To recompense him, Francis I. erected the lands of Guise into a Duchy and Peerage in his favour. He soon perceived the error he had committed in establishing that foreign race in the kingdom, and we have seen how, on his death-bed, he advised his son to separate it from the government; but it was too late, and never were vassals more formidable to the Kings of France than the ambitious Lorrains. The foreign Houses of Clèves and Savoy had, like that of Lorraine, possessions in France. The first possessed the counties of Eu, Nevers, and Réthel; the second, the Duchy of Nemours, in Gâtinais; and the third, that of Bar, held under the crown. Calais always belonged to the English; Avignon and the county Venaissin belonged to the Pope; and the Principality of Orange belonged to the House of Nassau.

Possession of foreign princes.

There were still considerable fiefs held in France; but, with the exception of the Bourbons and Guises, the great Feudal system, rival of the crown, almost always in a struggle with it, and very often formidable, existed no longer. The great French barons had lost the most part of their regal rights which the crown had nearly everywhere reserved; they had ceased to coin money, to exercise legislative power, to make war on their own account, and found their judicial powers restrained by the royal judges. All political power was taken from them, but a brilliant bondage was offered them at the court, and Francis I., in forcing them to seek his favour as the source of riches and power, had commenced the work of Louis XIV.

Transformation of Feudalism.

Another course concurred towards the same end, manners were softened and minds enlightened. In the course of the Italian expeditions, the knights of Charles VIII., of Louis XII., and Francis I., had brought back to the depths of their Feudal keeps the remembrance and the taste for the elegant civilisation which flourished beyond the Alps, and it could be said of conquered Italy, as formerly of Athens, that she ruled her conquerors. The fall of Constantinople had spread abroad throughout Europe, at the same time, the chief works of antiquity, and printing, scarcely discovered, soon multiplied them to infinity. They formed the delight of the sixteenth century, and a new world was revealed to the sons of men, in the Middle Ages. With the treasures of

The Renaissance and its influence.

Greek and Latin literature, the chief works of antique art were drawn from the dust where they had lain forgotten, and before these great models, a young school of painters, of sculptors, and of architects was formed, which in its turn produced new marvels. It was this return to the healthy traditions of taste, and this restoration of the beautiful, after so many centuries of darkness and barbarity, that was called the *Renaissance.*

Francis I., above all the princes of Europe, and this was his greatest glory, encouraged this grand movement of the human mind. His mother, Louisa of Savoy, had died, leaving the prodigious sum of fifteen hundred thousand gold crowns, the fruit of her exactions and sordid economy. This treasure passed almost entirely into the hands of poets and artists; but Francis I. had too exalted a soul to believe that gold was sufficient to recompense genius, and it was by his respect and by honours, that he expressed his admiration for the great men whom he loved to have around him. It was thus that he named Leonardo da Vinci his father, and that he wished to close his eyes. Inspired by his charming sister, Marguérite of Navarre, who herself cultivated literature with success, he drew into France a great number of literary and artistic celebrities. Some, like the learned Lascaris, were Greek; others, like the poet Alamanni, and the historian Michael Bruto, were illustrious exiles from the republics of Italy. In the first rank of Italian celebrities called into France, Leonardo da Vinci might be distinguished; William Cop, principal physician to the King, was a Swiss. Among the number of Frenchmen whose works he encouraged, must be cited the learned William Budé, first professor of philology in France; the brothers Bellay, negotiators and historians; the poet Clement Masot, and the great printer, Henry Estienne. About this time also, the celebrated Rabelais, Curé of Meudon, wrote his satirical works. Dumoulin, Cujas, great jurisconsults, might then have been heard, and the chief works of the sculptors John Goujon, Germain Pilon, and John Cousin, sculptor and painter on glass, might have been admired. Pierre Lescot commenced the new Louvre and Philibert Delorme the Tuileries. Under the eyes of Francis I. arose, in part, the Palaces of Fontainbleau and Chambord. But among all his creations those which threw most brilliancy on his reign were the

Celebrated men in arts, literature, and science.

foundation of the royal printing office, and that of the College of France, then called the Royal College. Until this period the Sorbonne and the University of Paris had alone the right of spreading knowledge abroad. Chairs of Greek and Hebrew, next of Latin eloquence, and of the Arabian and Chaldean languages were first created; mathematics, medicine, and Greek philosophy had their professors in due course. The King desired to place at the head of this college the celebrated Erasmus, the finest mind, and the most learned man of his century, but he could not seduce him by his offers. Francis I., by his cultivated tastes, by his laudable efforts, and his noble aspirations, associated himself with all his strength in the great movement of the Renaissance, he thus raised himself in the eyes of posterity, who without that perhaps, and in spite of all the interest which his heroism, his bravery, and his misfortunes inspired, would have inclined rather to look upon him as a despot, without scruple, without breeding, and without pity. Happy are the Kings who love literature

Foundation of the College of France.

## CHAPTER III.

### REIGN OF HENRY II.

### 1547–1559.

Henry II., son of Francis I., was twenty-nine years of age when he ascended the throne. He despised the counsels of his father, changed the counsellors of the Crown, and recalled near to him the Constable Montmorency, whom he named his gossip, and who ruled him during all his reign. The Duchess of Etampes was exiled and sent back to her husband; her partisans only redeeming themselves from death, prison, or exile by ceding their castles, their lands, and their offices to the new favourites. The Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, his brother; Montmorency; Diana of Poitiers, styled the Mistress of the King; lastly, the Queen, Catherine de Medici, endowed with a supple and profoundly dissimulating mind, were at the head of each of the four factions which divided the court.

Accession of Henry II., 1547.

One of the first edicts of the new king condemned blasphemers to have the tongue pierced with a red-hot iron, and heretics to be burnt alive. Another edict assigned to the prévôts of the marshals, assisted by a commission of judges chosen in the tribunals, the trial of assassins, smugglers, poachers, and people who were not known. This edict despoiled the parliament of its special attributes and delivered over the lives of the citizens to arbitrary judgment. The magistrates made ineffectual remonstrances; but, compelled to yield, they registered it with this clause: *in consequence of the malice of the time.* A serious revolt broke out in the provinces of Outre-Loire, where the tax upon salt had been recently established by Francis I. Poitou and Guienne rose; at Bordeaux, above all, the populace committed great excesses. They repulsed the garrison of the Château Trompette and massacred its commandant, whose body

Despotic edicts.

Revolts in Poitou and Guienne, 1854.

they tore into pieces. The King promised justice and satisfaction; the people were appeased, and the parliament punished the seditious. Montmorency was charged by the King to render the justice which he had promised, or rather to exercise his vengeance upon them. "*Behold my keys*," said he to the Bordelais, showing them his guns; and he entered Bordeaux as into a conquered city. All the bourgeois, tried by commission, perished by executions; all colonels of the communes were broken on the wheel alive, with a crown of red-hot iron upon their heads. The whole town, attainted and convicted of felony, lost its privileges; its bells were taken down, and the fronts of the walls; a hundred and twenty of the principal inhabitants were condemned to dig up with their nails the body of the slaughtered officer, and the inhabitants paid two hundred thousand livres for the expenses of the expedition. Montmorency visited the district more as an executioner than a judge of the provinces which had revolted, and everywhere his passage was marked by gibbets. Bordeaux only recovered its privileges in the following year.

France had hardly taken breath for a year, when war broke out anew. Henry II. supported Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, against Pope Julius III. and the Emperor. The latter, without disquietude on the part of France, had gained, in 1547, the famous battle of Muhlberg over the confederates of Smalcalde. The venerable Frederic, Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, had fallen into his power. Charles V. compelled the former to cede his Electorate, which he gave to Maurice of Saxony, son-in-law of the Landgrave. Germany was yielding, and the Protestant League had no other hope than in France; it implored the support of Henry II., who granted it on condition that he should occupy the town of Cambrai and the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, to guard them as vicar of the Empire. He soon seized them; then, placing on his flag, as the symbol of liberty, a red cap between two daggers, he declared himself the defender of German independence and protector of the captive princes; but, following the example of his father, condemning at home that which he encouraged among foreigners, he caused the Edict of Chateaubriand to be published, which aggravated all the punishments of heretics, authorized

Henry II. declares war against the Pope and the Emperor, 1551.

He seizes the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, 1552.

secret prosecutions regarding individual opinions, and established an inquisitor of the faith.

An unexpected success rendered the support of Henry II. unnecessary to the Lutherans of Germany. Young Maurice of Saxony, cried down in his country as a traitor and usurper, preferred the *rôle* of Chief of the Protestants to that of a creature of Charles V. A profound dissimulation covered his projects. When he believed himself strong enough, he raised the mask and marched in forced journeys upon Inspruck, where the emperor, ill and almost alone, was nearly taken by surprise. Compelled to yield, Charles signed, with the Protestants, the Convention of Passau, changed three years later, at the Diet of Augsburg, into a definite peace. The era of religious liberty in Germany dates from that time.

Reverses of Charles V.

Convention of Passau, 1552.

France had no part in these great events; but she preserved the price of her alliance, in keeping the three bishoprics, in spite of the efforts of the emperor to take them. Hostilities were still prolonged between that prince and Henry II. for three years, with varied success, in Piedmont, Italy, Corsica, upon the frontiers of the North and East, and on the sea. The principal events of the war were:—the immortal defence of Metz by the Duke of Guise, in 1552, against Charles V., who besieged that place with a hundred thousand soldiers and a formidable artillery; the raising of that siege when the emperor lost forty thousand men; the invasion of Picardy by the imperial army, and of Hainault by the French army; the conquest of Hesdin by Henry II.; the loss of Thérouenne, which Charles V. razed to the ground; the battle of Renti, in Flanders, between these two sovereigns—a glorious combat, but of little advantage to the French, where Guise, Coligny, and Tavannes distinguished themselves; lastly, the defence of Sienna by Montluc, the ravaging of the coasts of Italy by Dragut, an Ottoman admiral allied with the French, and the fine campaign made in Piedmont against the Duke of Alba by Marshal Brissac, the most humane among the generals of his time.

Continuation of hostilities between the Empire and France.

Military operations, 1552–1555.

After these wars, the advantages of which were equally balanced, and in the course of the great troubles in Germany caused by the death

of Maurice of Saxony, and the rivalry between Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans and hereditary sovereign of Bohemia, there was opened at Augsburg a celebrated Diet, which ought to have followed immediately after the Convention of Passau. The emperor, burdened with his affairs and maladies, left the presidency of the Diet to his brother Ferdinand, whose language on that occasion was very different from that which he ordinarily used. "They could no longer expect," said he, "from a General Council a religious peace which the Council of Trent had not been able to establish, and it would be still more difficult to bring the German ecclesiastics to an unanimity of feeling in a national council; it was, then, from the Diet itself that it was necessary to demand this work of prudence and of charity." The Diet then took into consideration the state of religion. It was decreed that the Catholic and Protestant States should exercise their worship in freedom; that the Catholic clergy should renounce all spiritual jurisdiction over the States professing the Confession of Augsburg; that the ecclesiastical goods seized before the Treaty of Passau should be left to their actual possessors; that the civil power of each State should regulate its doctrine and religion, but that it should give entire liberty to every German who would not conform to the regulations to retire in peace whither he pleased with his fortune. Such was, in great part, the decree of the Diet of Augsburg of the 25th of September, 1555, and upon it, for a long time, the religious peace of Germany reposed. This decree struck a fatal blow at the policy of Charles V. whose object was always to maintain the unity of the Church under his sole dependence. Tormented by his disgraces as much as by his infirmities, incapable of work, and convinced that all would perish when he could not direct everything himself, he convoked the Chiefs of the Low Countries at Brussels, and there, on the 25th of October, 1555, he solemnly abdicated his hereditary crown, and placed it in the hands of Philip II., his son. He still held the Imperial crown for six months; then he retired to the Convent of the Hieronymites of Saint Just, where he died, after having caused the Office for the Dead to be sung around his coffin while he was still living. His brother Ferdinand,

Diet of Augsburg, 1555.

Celebrated edict of the Diet for the establishment of the religious peace, 1555.

Abdication of Charles V., 1555.

King of the Romans, was his successor in the empire. Philip II. had married, in the preceding year, Mary, Queen of England, daughter of Henry VIII. and of Catherine of Aragon. Husband and wife vied with each other throughout their possessions in supporting Catholicism by the Inquisition and by funeral piles.

Contradictory treaties of Vaucelles and Rome, 1555.

As soon as Philip had ascended the throne, Henry II. signed a treaty with him at Vaucelles, of which the principal clause was a truce of five years. The people received the news with transport; but their joy was short. It was from Rome that the new germs of discord arose. A contradictory treaty had been concluded between Henry and the Pope, some months before that of Vaucelles. Paul IV., whom his nephews, the Caraffi, urged on to outrageous severities, in order to provoke to their profit confiscations, and to stir up a war between the Empire and France, suspected Charles V., before his abdication, with having wished to kill him; he declared him a poisoner in full consistory, and invited Henry II. to avenge him, promising to him, by a treaty signed at Rome, the investiture of the kingdom of Naples.

Two parties then divided the Court of France; the one, stimulated by the Cardinal Caraffa, nephew of the Pope, demanded the carrying out of the treaty of Rome; the other, the maintenance of that of Vaucelles. All the young nobility wished for war; Montmorency was inclined for peace, and, partaking in this respect the wishes of the people, he wisely advised the King to maintain it. Hostilities broke out suddenly between the Pope and the Spaniards, and war was resolved upon.

Re-commencement of hostilities, 1557.

A French army, under the orders of the Constable and his nephew, Coligny, entered into Artois, and another into Italy, under the Duke of Guise. The first gave battle near Saint Quentin, to Philibert, Duke of Savoy, chief of the Spanish and English forces; it was completely vanquished through the fault of the Constable Montmorency. A charge of cavalry which the Counts of Egmont and Horn commanded, decided the victory. The French lost ten thousand men, their baggage, and the convoys, the road to Paris was open; the indecision of the conquerors saved France from great disasters. Guise was soon re-called from Italy, and signalised his return by a memorable exploit; he surprised Calais and

Battle of Saint Quentin, 1558.

took possession of it. This town, which had so often introduced foreigners into the kingdom, had remained for two hundred and ten years in the power of the English. France lost in the same year the battle of Gravelines, when the old Marshal Thermes was conquered by the Count of Egmont. These two events were followed by the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, signed in 1559. It was called *The Unfortunate Peace.* Henry II. gave up his conquests with the exception of the three bishoprics; he renounced all his rights upon Genoa, Corsica, the kingdom of Naples, and only retained in Piedmont Pignerol, and some fortresses. This treaty, far from glorious, but necessary, terminated the wars in Italy. Their principal results have been to hold in check the House of Austria, and to prevent it from subduing Germany by occupying its forces in Italy. They initiated the French in the progress of civilization and of the arts in that country, and also in its corrupt policy, without permitting it to make any durable establishment; they increased and fortified the royal authority, and rendered it absolute by the continual employment of numerous armies, permanent and paid. These wars were prolonged over four reigns, and lasted sixty-five years.

The Duke of Guise retakes Calais, 1558.

Battle of Gravelines, 1558, Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, end of the wars in Italy, 1558.

Their results.

France would have been happy, if it had known how to turn to profit this peace with the foreigner. Its finances were exhausted, and Henry, in order to provide for the expenses of the war and those of a prodigal and dissolute court, had recourse to deplorable expedients. He sold by auction the offices of the *presidials* or inferior tribunals, which he created and multiplied in the provinces. He established with the same aim and by the same means a Parliament in Brittany, caused an edict of inquisition to be bought by the clergy, sold a multitude of new offices, ordered that the titles or provisions of a crowd of public officers should be revised, and compelled them to buy them anew; he authorised the towns extraordinarily taxed to create annuities upon themselves; lastly, he dared to give the name of States-General to an assembly of notable persons, chosen by himself and devoted to his will, and he disguised under the name of loans, the taxes that he exacted from them.

Sale of offices.

Exactions of Henry II.

The Edict of Inquisition which he sold to the clergy was not executed. Already, however, the Inquisitor, Matthew Ori, had been named by the Pope; but the Parliament of Paris made an energetic resistance. This was not because it felt any pity for the Sectarians; its severities against them were excessive; but it was jealous of its rights, and did not wish that another tribunal should have the privilege of prosecuting heresy and punishing it. Henry did not support his edict and the inquisition did not take root in France.

The foreign war had, towards the end of this reign, wrought some relaxation in the Catholic persecutions. The Protestants grew bold, religious zeal served as a mask to the ambition of some; many princes of the Blood Royal, and with them illustrious warriors and magistrates embraced the new belief. Taking confidence in their forces, they assembled openly in Paris itself. The promenade of the Pré aux Clercs was used as their place of meeting; there they would be met singing in a loud voice the Psalms, translated into French by Clément Marot.

Progress of Protestantism in France.

Promenade of the Pré aux Clercs.

The court and the clergy feared above all that the Parliament, charged with the punishment of heresy, would not allow itself to be forced. The powerful Cardinal of Lorraine then persuaded the King that it was necessary that he should summon the Parliament to the throne, in order to propose a *Mercuriale* for the purpose of censuring many magistrates who adhered to the doctrine of Luther, and allowed those convicted of heresy to escape without condemning a single one to death; which was contrary to the decree of the late King, who prescribed them to be burnt and reduced to ashes. "Then that would only show," said the Cardinal, "to the King of Spain that you are firm in the faith; further, you ought to do it boldly and promptly, for the purpose of giving pleasure to the Princes and Lords of Spain who have accompanied the Duke of Alba, in order to solemnize and give honour to the marriage of their King with madame your daughter. I recommend the death of a half-dozen counsellors at least, who must be burnt in public, like heretic Lutherans, as they are, and who destroy that excellent body the Parliament. But if you do not adopt these

Exhortation of the Cardinal of Lorraine to Henry II.

means, all the court will soon be infected, even to the ushers, proctors, and clerks of the palace." The King listened to this advice and made arrangements to call together the Parliament on the morrow; but having, in the evening, communicated his project to his counsellor, Vieilleville, the latter gave advice that he should leave the matter to the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the Bishop of Paris. "It belongs to the priests," said he, "to do that which belongs to the office of the priest; if you go, Sire, to perform the office of a theologian or inquisitor of the faith, the Cardinal of Lorraine must come to teach you how to run in the lists, and how to manage weapons. Further, Sire, you will mingle sadness with joy; for to cause executions of justice so sanguinary and cruel in the midst of the wedding festivities, would be a bad augury." The King accepted these reasons, and said that he would not go; but the Cardinal of Lorraine, hearing of this resolution, entered in fury. Vieilleville relates also, in his memoirs, the continuation of this tragic event. "At the rising of the King," he says, "the Cardinals of Bourbon, Lorraine, of Guise, and of Pelvé, the Archbishops of Sens, and of Bourges, the Bishops of Senlis, three or four doctors of Sorbonne, and the inquisitor of the faith, who threatened him so strongly with the anger of God, that he thought himself already damned if he did not go. And so he marched with all his guards, the drum beating, without forgetting the Swiss, and the hundred gentlemen of the house, in great magnificence. Having gone down to the Augustines, where the Parliament was assembled, he ascended into the great chamber and sat on the throne, under the canopy, and commanded his attorney-general to propose the mercuriale. The latter soon attacked five or six counsellors, badly disposed to the faith, among whom was one Anne of Bourg, who sustained so audaciously before the King his religion to the disparagement of Catholicism, that His Majesty swore, in great anger, that he would see him, with his own eyes, burnt alive before six days were over, and ordered him to be taken prisoner to the Bastille, with five or six others; then he rose, ordering the assembly to proceed with the rest. Arrived at Tournelles, he repented not having believed M. Vieilleville; for in the streets he heard many who murmured at this enterprise, on account of the counsellors who had been made prisoners,

Celebrated Mercuriale, 1559.

Arrest of Anne of Bourg, and of Louis of Faur, 1559.

and who were of the better families of Paris, and who administered justice to all parties, very conscientiously." *

The counsellor, Louis of Faur, was in the number of the magistrates arrested in their seats. Henry placed them all in the hands of Montgommery, captain of his guards, and made him give instructions for their trial.

First Calvanistic Synod, 1559.

The French Calvinists held at this period their first Synod, and regulated the constitutions which should maintain in union their scattered societies, and rule them under the same discipline. The King received the news in the midst of the fêtes of the marriage of Elizabeth, his daughter, with Philip II., widower of Queen Mary Tudor of England. He swore that he would punish those whom he considered as rebels. His death prevented the accomplishment of his vow. Wounded in the eye, at a joust, by the lance of Montgommery, he died of the wound after a reign of twelve years. He left four sons, of whom three wore the crown. Francis, the eldest, had married Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, celebrated as much for her misfortunes as for her beauty.

Death of Henry II., 1559.

Henry II. had in his character neither grandeur nor virtue. Intimidated by the Guises, and ruled by Montmorency, the slave of his mistress and his favourites, he poured out on them the treasures of the State, introduced an unrestrained licentiousness into his court,

* Vieilleville became Marshal of France, and honoured his country by his tolerance, and the nobility of his character. Receiving one day a brevet, by which the King granted to him and five other gentlemen, among whom were MM. Aphem and de Biron, the confiscated goods of all the Lutherans of the countries of Guienne, Limousin, Quercy, Perigord, Saintonge and Aunis, of which the product would be at least 20,000 crowns for each, he answered, "that he did not wish to enrich himself by so odious and sinister a means, that he found in it no trace of dignity, and still less of charity . . . ." "Behold us, then, registered in the Courts of Parliament with a reputation of destroyers of the people, besides having, for 20,000 crowns each, the curses of an infinity of married women, maidens, and little children, who will die in the hospitals through the confiscation, right or wrong, of the persons and goods of their husbands and fathers: that would be to plunge into the abyss of hell cheaply." That said, he drew his dagger, and plunged it into the brevet in the place of his name. M. Aphem, reddening with shame, drew his likewise, and across his own appointment; M. de Biron did not do less. And all three went away, drawing each one on his own side without saying a word, leaving the brevet to any one who wished to take it, for it had fallen to the ground. (*Mémoires de Vieilleville.*)

already corrupted by his father, he oppressed the people without pity, violated the rights of the magistracy, obtained no personal military glory, and left the kingdom forty millions in debt.* The ignorance and the misery of the people, the increasing embarrassment of the finances, the scandals of the court, the Protestant proselytism on the one part, and on the other the Catholic intolerance, prepared the volcanic field, where great talents and great ambitions came to clash together under the following reigns The struggle lasted thirty-six years, and covered France with ruins.

* This sum would be equivalent to 160 millions at the present day, specie then having a quadruple value of that existing at the present time.

# BOOK II.

## FROM THE ACCESSION OF FRANCIS II. TO THE DEATH OF HENRY IV.

RELIGIOUS WARS.—THE LEAGUE.—END OF THE DYNASTY OF THE VALOIS.—ACCESSION OF THE BOURBONS.—REIGN OF HENRY IV.

1559–1610.

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## CHAPTER I.

REIGNS OF FRANCIS II. AND CHARLES IX.

1559–1574.

### FRANCIS II.

Francis II. ascended the throne at the age of sixteen years, and under this reign and the following one was seen anew the dangers of the law formed by Charles V., which fixed the majority of the Kings at their adolescence. The reigns of Charles VI. and Charles VIII., already sufficiently attested that the power, in the young age of the Kings, belonged, in spite of their legal majority, to any one who knew how to seize it. Under Francis II. there were the Guises, princes of the House of Lorraine, and uncles of the young Queen Mary Stuart, who divided all the authority with Catherine de Medici, one of them, the Cardinal, had a cruel and haughty spirit; the other was the famous Francis, Duke of Guise, whose prudence equalled his intrepidity, already illustrated by the fine defence of Metz, and the taking of Calais, and dear to the French by his great qualities. The two brothers, however, showed themselves

Power of the Guises, 1559.

equally ungrateful towards Diana of Poitiers, their benefactress. It was by sacrificing her that they bought the favour of Catherine de Medici. The characteristic trait of this Queen, who played so great a part under the reigns of her three sons, was a profound dissimulation, united with an intriguing and corrupt spirit.* Nurtured in Italy in the school of Macchiavelli, and the Borgias, she set in operation from the throne their fatal policy, of which the misfortunes of France attested the impotence, while at the same time they unveiled its infamy. The party opposed to Catherine and the princes of Lorraine, was that of Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarre, and of Louis of Condé, his brother, both princes of the Blood Royal, issue of Robert, Count of Clermont, youngest son of Saint Louis; it was to them that the old Constable of Montmorency, without credit at the court, and disgraced by the queen-mother, came and rallied against the Guises. A great number of French nobles, indignant at seeing all the authority usurped by princes of the foreign House of Lorraine, increased the party of the royal princes; secret conferences were held at Vendôme, between all the Malcontents, the object of which was to convoke the States-General, and take away the power from the Guises. The latter, informed concerning these hostile projects, and knowing the weakness of Anthony of Bourbon, prevented the danger by intimidating that prince. Invited by Catherine to defend her government, the King of Spain, Philip II., had answered that, should it cost him forty thousand men, he would sustain, in France, the authority of the King and his ministers. His letter, read in full council before the King of Navarre, frightened that feeble prince, who accepted the mission to conduct to the frontier the sister of Francis II., Elizabeth of France, in order to place her in the hands of the King of Spain, her husband, and was happy so to escape from the peril of his own resolutions.

Political parties.

Origin of the House of Bourbon.

The Guises triumphed; they then hastened to work out the destruction of Protestantism in France, and caused the trial of the counsellor Anne of Bourg to be proceeded with. This great cause

* She appeared indifferent to power when she was most covetous of it; incapable of a sincere affection, she deceived equally friends and foes. There was for her neither security nor pleasure, if she did not incite, renew, or perpetuate discords. (Charles Lacratelle, *Histoire de France pendant les guerres de religion.*)

Trial of Anne of Bourg, 1559.

held public attention, not only in Paris, but in Europe. The Protestant party became agitated; the queen-mother received alarming warnings; many princes of Germany also were moved in favour of the accused, and wrote in order to save him. The Guises, aware that Bourg would be more formidable if he died a martyr to his faith than if he lived abjuring it, set to work so that he should consent to recant. The advocate charged with his defence confessed in his name that he had offended God and the Church, and that he was ready to reconcile himself with it; the judges immediately, and without wishing to hear Bourg himself, held council in order to grant his pardon. While they deliberated, a note from his hand was delivered to them. Bourg disavowed the conclusions of his advocate, and persisted in his faith, which he was ready to confirm with his blood. From that time his fate was sealed; still, he could not perish without being avenged; it was unfortunately by an assassin. The President, Minard, his enemy, and one of his judges, was killed by a pistol-shot. This was the sinister signal for a bloody persecution. Sentence of death was soon pronounced against Bourg; he heard it read with heroic constancy, and answered by the cry of the martyrs, "I am a Christian! I am a Christian!" His eloquent farewell drew tears from his judges.

Assassination of the President Minard.

Execution of Aune of Bourg.

He was executed on the next day, the 23rd of December; they spared him the pain of the fire, having the grace to strangle him before throwing him into the flames.

The death of Bourg seemed to give a new activity to the persecution. The Cardinal of Lorraine designed, as he had already done for Francis I., a particular chamber, charged with punishing the reformers. Fire was the chastisement which it pronounced against them, and the cruelty of its judgments gave to it the frightful nickname of the *Burning Chamber*.

The burning chamber.

The peace of Cateau-Cambrésis had left without employment a crowd of gentlemen and soldiers, whose only resource was war. A great number came to the court to petition, some for that which was due to them, and others for pensions and pardons. Importuned by their demands and their misery, the Cardinal of Lorraine caused a gibbet to be erected, at the entrance to the Château of Fontainbleau, with a threat that he would hang those petitioners who

had not left the court on the following day. They moved away, but they promised to present to the *Lorrains* * complaints of another sort. These men, among whom were many people without name, united with the nobles who were enemies to the tyranny of the Guises, and formed with them the party of *Malcontents*, which doubled its forces by allying itself with the Protestants. The latter, counted with pride in their ranks the Prince of Condé, a man of heart and head, brother of the King of Navarre, and the three brothers Châtillon, of whom the eldest, Admiral Coligni, of austere manners, of an immovable firmness, skilful in repairing his reverses without ever despairing, was the most illustrious among the Protestant chiefs of France; Audelot, one of his brothers, celebrated for his bravery, commanded the French infantry; his other brother, Odet Châtillon, a skilful diplomatist, had secretly embraced the reformed faith and was married, although he was Bishop of Beauvais, and Cardinal. The ability of the three brothers, their offices and alliances, soon rendered formidable the party which had adopted them as chiefs, and who reckoned already on the tacit concurrence of the Prince of Condé.

The Châtillons.

A vast plot, known in history under the name of the *Conspiracy of Amboise*, was then formed in secret by the enemies of the government, Catholic and Protestant. Both one and the other bound themselves by an oath to attempt nothing against the King, the Queen, or the authority of the laws. Their object was to carry off the King, to remove him from the influence of the Guises, to arrest the latter, and to cause them to be tried as guilty of high treason. An adroit and bold gentleman, named Renandi, was chosen as the apparent chief of the enterprise, which he conducted with great skill. The real chief, known only under the name of the *Dumb Captain*, was the Prince of Condé. From all parts bands of armed men were set in movement, without being in the secret of the conspirators. The Guises, under vague suspicion, removed the court from the Château of Blois to that of Amboise. The conspirators persevered in their project with an incredible audacity. An advocate, named Avenelles, a friend of Renandi, revealed their design; and while this

Conspiracy of Amboise, 1560.

* The Guises, Princes of the House of Lorraine, were commonly designated by this name.

news still held the Guises and their court in stupefaction, the conspirators, informed of the treachery, marched forward and directed the courses of the different bands upon the Château of Amboise, on the 16th of March, 1560. Already the town was filled with troops called together in haste by the Guises. Coligni and Condé found themselves both one and the exposed to an extreme defiance. Condé, overlooking closely, received the order to defend some posts. Combats then took place, and were unfortunate for the conspirators; the Guises rushed upon a crowd of men, who ran according to the order of their chiefs and conspirators, without knowing the reason why; the party was dispersed and the executions began.

Defeat of the conspirators.

Whatever name is given to this enterprise, whatever motive is supposed for it, it was culpable, since it tended to overthrow by violence a government legally established. However, the barbarities exercised upon the captives, and the constancy with which they held firm, excited interest for them and horror for their executioners. The vengeances of the Guises were atrocious. The waters of the Loire carried away a multitude of corpses, which floated fastened together with long poles; the streets of Amboise ran with human blood. The Conspirators marched boldly to death; some were killed without even having heard their sentence. One of the principal, the Lord of Castelneau, gave himself up to the Duke of Nemours, with fifteen of his companions, on condition that he should do them no harm; the Guises caused them to be condemned like the rest. Nemours interposed vainly to save them, they all died. Castelneau dipped his hands on the scaffold into the blood of his decapitated companions, and, lifting them to Heaven, all wet with blood, he cried to God for vengeance upon those who had betrayed him, and upon the Chancellor Olivier who had condemned him. The latter, secretly attached to the conspirators, had been compelled to exercise against them the vengeance of the Guises. "In listening to the words of Castelneau, whom he had loved, he wept, and, siezed with remorse, he fell ill of an extreme melancholy, which made him sigh without ceasing, and murmur against God, afflicting his person in a strange and dreadful manner. While he was in this furious despair, the Cardinal of Lorraine came to visit him, but he would

Vengeances of the Guises.

not see him, and turned on the other side, without saying a word; when he knew that he was far off," he cried out:—"Ah! cursed Cardinal! you damn yourself and us along with you." Two days afterwards he died.* For a month they did nothing but behead, hang, and drown. Condé himself was in peril; he prayed for his audacity by justifying himself before the King; he caused his accusers to be silent, but not the suspicions, and civil war appeared imminent.

The two parties met together in arms at Fontainebleau, where the Guise had convoked the principal magistrates to consult concerning the means of establishing peace. Coligni in this assembly presented uselessly a petition in the name of fifty thousand *Relisionaires*,† who supplicated that temples should be granted to them, and the permission to pray to God according to their hearts. The assembly requested the States-General, and the Princes of Lorraine acquiesced in this wish. On both sides plots were woven. Orléans had been fixed upon as the place of meeting for the States; the King betook himself there with a threatening display. The two Bourbon Princes were drawn there by the Guises. The King of Navarre ran the risk of his life in an audience which Francis II. gave him, and Condé was made prisoner. A commission, appointed by the Guises, and presided over by Christopher of Thou, father of the historian, condemned Condé to lose his head. The death of the feeble Francis II., whom a disease of exhaustion consumed away, prevented the execution of the prince.

Assembly at Fontainebleau, 1560.

States of Orléans, 1560.

Condemnation of the Prince of Condé, 1560.

Death of Francis II., 1560.

This reign finished under the most sinister auspices. If one man could have conjured down the tempest that was about to burst, it would have been the wise and virtuous Michael of the Hospital, ancient superintendent of the finances, and successor to Olivier in charge of the chancellorship of the kingdom; he belonged to those men who present a beautiful type in the moral order, and who seem born to soften down the evils of humanity.‡ He made the greatest

* De Vieilleville, *Mémoires.*

† All those of the reformed religion were designated by this name.

‡ "He was," says Brantôme, "another Cato the Censor, who knew very well how

efforts to prevent the Guises from introducing into France the execrable tribunal of the Inquisition, but he could only succeed in it by publishing the Edict of Romorantin, which attributed to the prelates of the kingdom the knowledge of the crimes of heresy (May, 1560). The Parliament modified this Edict before registering it, and permitted the laity to have recourse to the judge royal.

Edict of Romorantin, 1560.

## CHARLES IX.

Charles IX. was only ten years old when he succeeded his brother, Francis II. The States-General were still assembled at Orléans, and only took a feeble part in political affairs; however, it decreed the regency to Catherine of Médicis, and recognised the King of Navarre in his quality as Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. The Chancellor L'Hospital exercised a wise influence upon the States, and he leant upon them in order to cause the ordinance called that of Orléans to be issued. It was celebrated for the excellent arrangements touching ecclesiastical matters, the administration of justice, and the police of the kingdom. This ordinance re-established the ordinances proscribed by the Pragmatic Sanction for the election of the bishops; but its arrangements in this respect were not observed for any length of time. L'Hospital had refused to sign the arrest which condemned to death the prince of Condé. Médicis, by her counsel, declared Condé innocent of the crime of which he was accused, and Montmorency was recalled to the court, where, nevertheless, the Guises remained powerful and formidable.

Accession of Charles IX. 1560.

The queen-mother played fast and loose between the two parties, at one time relying on the Guises and the Catholics, and at another attaching herself to the Protestants and the Bourbons against the Guises. The latter sought the support of the gloomy and cruel Philip II., King of Spain, the firmest champion of Catholicism in the

to reprove and correct the corrupt world. He showed it in all his outward appearance, with his great white beard, his pale face, and his grave expression, so that one would have said that to see him, was to see a true portrait of Saint Hierosone: so said many at the Court."

whole of Europe, and who already, under the preceding reign, had declared himself protector of the kingdom of France. The Guises felt equally the want of again attaching to themselves the Constable. They knew that in the eyes of this old warrior, all interest disappeared before that of the Catholic religion. They showed to him that it was in peril, and he entered into their views. The Marshal of Saint André was also gained over to the side of the Lorraine princes, and formed, with the Constable and Francis of Guise, a league which received the name of the Triumvirate.

The Triumvirate.

Then appeared an edict, dated in the month of July, which granted to the Protestants an amnesty for the past, and ordered them to live in the Catholic religion, under pain of prison and exile; death would no longer be pronounced against them. This edict only made malcontents, and was never observed. The Queen endeavoured to bring together Francis of Guise and Condé; they embraced each other, but remained mortal enemies.

Edict of July, 1561.

The States-General assembled in the course of the year at Pontoise. The electors were assembled by province, and not by bailiwick, and each of the thirteen provinces having only named one deputy from each order, thirty-nine members alone sat in the States. They voted for the election of the prelates by the chapters, and the abolition of the Annates, and caused the greater part of the public offices to fall to the clergy. That order, fearing the most severe measures with regard to its immense wealth, taxed itself with fifteen millions, which it offered as a free gift. In the meantime, a celebrated assembly was held, under the name of the Conference of Poissy. Anxious to cause his eloquence and erudition to shine, the Cardinal of Lorraine had invited the Protestant ministers and Calvin himself to open with him and the Catholic bishops' conferences, where the principal points of the two religions should be dilated. Poissy was designated as the scene of this theological struggle. Many French cardinals, forty bishops, and a great number of doctors appeared there; not more than twelve Protestant ministers were there. Calvin did not present himself; he sent in his place Theodore of Beza, the most distinguished of his disciples. The discussion finished like all theological disputes; each one remained more firmly fixed than ever in his own opinion.

States of Pontoise, 1561.

Conference of Poissy, 1561.

The Edict of July was not observed in any part; the Protestants braved it openly, and united together in a great number of places. Catherine of Médicis then gave an order to all the parliaments to appoint deputies who should assist in forming an edict more suitable to the circumstances. This new assembly was presided over by L'Hospital, who spoke these beautiful words:—"Try and find out," said he, "if a man can be a good subject of the king without being a Catholic, and if, after all, it is impossible for men who are not of the same belief to live in peace with each other, do not then tire yourselves with searching as to which religion is the best; we are here, not to establish the faith, but to regulate the State."

Efforts of the Chancellor L'Hospital to secure peace.

The wise *Edict of January* was the result of the efforts of the chancellor. It was therein decreed that the Calvinists should give up the usurped churches, the crosses, the images and the relics, and that they should submit to the collection of tithes; it ordered them to keep the fête days, and to respect the exterior acts of the Catholic religion. It permitted them, nevertheless, to meet together, in order to exercise their religion outside the towns, and without arms; it enjoined upon the magistrates to watch lest they caused any disturbances. The parliaments of Rouen, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Grenoble, with little difficulty registered the Edict; that of Burgundy resisted it; those of Paris, Landguedse, and Dauphine offered a long resistance. This celebrated Edict was welcomed by the Calvinists with an enthusiasm which doubled their confidence; while the Catholics received it in a stern and mournful silence. The peace that it maintained between them was of short duration; each party strengthened and prepared itself for war. The Guises had drawn to them the King of Navarre, whom Philip II. flattered by promising to him Sardinia; while Condé, his brother, declared himself chief of the Protestants, towards whom the queen-mother appeared then to incline. The Catholics, alarmed at the favour which Condé enjoyed, called Guise to Paris. He hastened from Joinville, and passed through the little town of Vassy, in Champagne, at the time when the Protestants were assembled in worship. His fanatical troops fell upon them sword in hand; the Duke of Guise was wounded in the cheek

Edict of Tolerance of January, 1562.

Massacre of Vassy, 1562.

in the tumult, and sixty Calvinists were slaughtered; this massacre became the signal for war.

Guise entered Paris as a conqueror, amid the cheers of the people; Catherine, jealous and troubled concerning her influence, drew nearer to the Protestants, without giving herself opening to them. The two parties, in arms, watched each other for many days in Paris, and the Queen, in order to prevent the shedding of blood, arranged with their chiefs, Guise and Condé, that they should leave the capital; they obeyed, but this was in order to unite their partisans and to prepare themselves for war.

However, the great captain who was then in France, the firmest supporter of reform, the Admiral Coligny, hesitated to take up arms; his brothers, the Cardinal of Châtillon and Audelot, pressed him to join; but he himself thought over all the evils of civil war; he thought with fear of the number of his adversaries, and the weakness of his party and the greatness of the peril. For two days he resisted, when he was awakened at night by the sobs of his wife. It was not on account of herself that she wept, but on account of her husband's wish to abandon his brothers in Jesus Christ, whom she looked upon beforehand as men condemned to die by executions. "To be wise for men," said she, "is not to be wise for God, who has given you the science of captain for the service of his children." Coligni related to her all his just motives and fears, and added:— "Place your hand upon your heart, sound well your conscience, and see if you can put up with general disasters, the outrages of your enemies, the treachery of your own side, flight, exile, your hunger, and that which is harder, that of your children, perhaps, even your death by an executioner, after having seen your husband dragged along and exposed to the ignominy of the vulgar * * * *. I give you three weeks to try you." "These three weeks are passed," replied that heroic women; "you will never be conquered by the virtue of your enemies; use your own, and do not have upon your head the deaths of three weeks."* Coligny departed on the following day with his brothers and joined Condé.

The prince thought of making himself master of the person of Charles IX., the Triumvirate prevented him; they removed the

* Daubigné, *Notice sur Coligni.*

First civil war, 1562.

young king to Fontainebleau, and conducted him to Paris, where Catherine herself accompanied him. The Constable could no longer restrain his fanatical zeal; he advanced into the Faubourgs at the head of his troops, attacked the Protestant churches, and with his own hand set fire to their temples, which were consumed amid the joyous and barbarous cries of the populace. It was thus that the first war was declared. Condé, Admiral Coligny, and his brother Audelot, hastened immediately to Orléans, and assembled there their forces. Both sides had recourse to foreign aid; the Guises were supported by the King of Spain, and they

Alliance of the two parties with foreigners.

bought, at the price of the town of Turin, the support of the Duke of Savoy; the Calvinists negotiated with Elizabeth; they wished to sell to her Dieppe and Havre, and called into France a body of German knights, known by the name of *Reîtres*, a great number of nobles, besides the Châtillons, embraced their side; among their ranks might be distinguished Anthony of Croï, La Rochefoucauld, Rohan, Montgommery, Gramont, the one drawn by the true zeal for reform, the others by their hate of the Guises, and by the chances which a civil war offers to all who are ambitious. The army of the Huguenots,* or Protestants, was remarkable for its fine and severe discipline. No games of hazard, no women of bad reputation, and no marauders were to be seen there; swearing was rigorously forbidden; ministers went amongst the companies and conversed there with religious enthusiasm; but under this austere exterior fermented a fanatacism as gloomy and as cruel as that of the Catholic army. Woe to the vanquished! Woe to the towns taken by either one or the other army! The most frightful atrocities were committed by them in cold blood. Beaugency was carried by assault by the Protestants; Blois, Tours, Poitiers, and Rouen experienced first all the fury of this atrocious war. The town of Rouen, defended by Montgommery, the involuntary murderer of Henry II., had been besieged by the King of Navarre, Anthony of Bourbon, who was slain under its walls. The only glory in this prince is that he was an ancestor of Henry IV. of France.

* They began then in France to give the name of *Huguenots* to the reformers, by which name they distinguished themselves. This word comes from the German word *eidgenossen*, which signifies *confederates*, and which they used among themselves.

Of all the great towns of France which he had taken, Condé only possessed Lyons and Orléans, when the two armies, the one commanded by that prince, and the other by the Constable, met together near to Dreux. They engaged in battle, which was sanguinary. The Constable charged first impetuously; his squadrons were broken by Coligny; Montmorency, surrounded on all sides, remained a prisoner; the Marshal of Saint André was killed in going to his assistance. One part of the Catholic army took to flight, and the Protestants dispersed themselves in pursuit of the vanquished. Then Francis of Guise, up to that time immovable with his cavalry, ran his eyes rapidly over the field of battle. "They are ours!" he cried, and plunged in a gallop upon the astonished Protestants. This unexpected charge decided the victory; Condé himself was made prisoner. This new triumph, the captivity of the Constable, and that of Condé, the death of Anthony of Bourbon, and of Marshal Saint André, rendered Francis of Guise the most powerful man in the kingdom. He was appointed Lieutenant-General, and hastened to march upon Orléans, the siege of which he pressed. This was the end of his success and of his life. A Protestant, John Poltrot of Méré, assassinated him by shooting him with a pistol; his death was the safety of Orléans. Guise terminated his illustrious career by pardoning his murderer, and in seeking to justify himself for the massacre of Vassy. The assassin, in the midst of the most frightful tortures, designated Coligni as his accomplice; but he varied in his confessions, and the grand character of Coligni sufficed to shelter him from the suspicion of being an assassin.* Henry, son of Francis of Guise, however, received this accusing evidence as a proof, and vowed an implacable hatred against the Admiral.

Battle of Dreux, 1562.

Death of Francis of Guise, 1562.

Desolation weighed heavily upon the towns and the country of France; bands of fierce soldiers covered its soil; the finances were pillaged and commerce destroyed. These calamities, and above all, the ascendency which the death of Francis of Guise had given to

* M. Charles Lacratelle has perfectly appreciated the value of the denuciation of Poltrot, in his *Histoire de France durant les guerres de religion* (Book V.); the opinion which he emits, and the motives on which he supports it, do not appear susceptible of refutation.

Condé, led Catherine to propose peace. The Prince, unknown to Coligni, and without sufficient guarantee, which granted to the Protestant seignors and nobles the right to exercise their religion in their seignories or houses. The bourgeois obtained the liberty of conscience; but they could only exercise their religion in one town of each bailiwick and in the places which were in possession of the Protestants. The death of the Duke of Guise had placed the party of Condé in a position to dictate peace, and this treaty, called the *Convention of Amboise*, was received with indignation by Coligni, by Calvin, and by the Protestant chiefs. "Behold!" said the Admiral, "a dash of the pen which overthrows more churches than the enemy's forces could have destroyed in ten years."

Convention of Amboise, 1563.

The Protestant army was dissolved and the *Reitres* had returned to Germany. Catherine gave them a safe conduct, and attempted to cause them to be massacred on the road. This period only presents a course of prejudice and cruel vengeances. Montluc, among the Catholic chiefs, and the Baron of Adrets, among the Protestants, distinguished themselves by their barbarity, "*One could recognise*," says the former, in his Memoirs, "*by which way he had passed; for the signs were to be found on the trees by the road-side.*" The second compelled his prisoners to throw themselves from the summit of towers on the pikes of the soldiers.

Peace was taken advantage of, in order to attack the foreigners. The Constable, at the head of the rest of the royal army, drove the English from Havre, and the clergy paid the expenses of the expedition. Its goods, by the advice of L' Hospital, were alienated to the value of a hundred thousand crowns per annum. This was the first time that such means had been employed in order to provide for the resources of the State. The expenses of that year were valued at eighteen millions, the receipts promised no more than eight, and there was deficit of forty-three millions in the Treasury. Charles IX. entered into his fifteenth year, and his majority was declared. Catherine preserved the power; Condé forgot himself at the court among pleasures, while the Constable, little sought after by the Queen, strove to break the peace by exciting the people anew to massacre the Protestants. Three hundred death judgments were, it is said, signed by his hand;

First alienation of the goods of the clergy.

the Queen baffled this frightful plot. Danville, son of the Constable, Governor of Languedoc, Tavannes, Governor of Burgundy, and many other commandants of provinces, supported the projects of Montmorency. The thunders of the Vatican, the anathemas of the Council of Trent, the entreaties of foreign princes, all excited the passions of the Catholics, and everything presaged that peace would be of short duration. Pope Pius IV. summoned before him many French bishops who had been accused of having embraced reform; among this number was Cardinal Châtillon, Saint Romain, Archbishop of Aix, and Montluc, Bishop of Valence, brother of the redoubtable captain of that name. At the same period Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, and widow of Anthony of Bourbon, having been suspected and convicted of heresy, a bull declared her deprived of her royal dignity, and delivered up the States to the first occupant.

Last acts, and end of the Council of Trent, 1563.

The Council of Trent approached its end, after having existed twenty-one years from its first session. Before dissolving, it issued some important decisions concerning dogmas and discipline. The bishops drew up clear and precise canons, which defined, in an invariable manner, the articles of faith of the Catholics; but they refused all concession to the spirit of the times. France accepted the acts of the council relative to dogmas; it was not the same with regard to dicipline, and many articles having been judged, under the opinion of the great jurisconsult Dumoulin, contrary to the principles of the Gallican Church, the Parliament of Paris refused to admit them, and did not allow them to be published in the kingdom. The Council was dissolved in December, 1563.

In the following year the Queen made a voyage to the provinces of the east and south, and took with her the King and all his court. State affairs were forgotten during this journey, and they passed through ruined towns, and devastated country, in the midst of rejoicings, of festivals, and spectacles. The Duke of Alba came to visit the King at Bayonne, and, in a conversation that he had with the Queen on the means of destroying the Calvinists, he used the following words, which afterwards became famous:—"Ten thousand frogs are not worth the head of a salmon." It was in this manner that he spoke of the principal chiefs of the Protestant party.

Charles IX., on his return, assembled at Moulins an assembly of the principal inhabitants, to which were summoned for the purpose of conciliation, the Duke of Guise, Admiral Coligni, and a great number of princes and seignors, also the presidents of the different parliaments. During the session of this assembly, L'Hospital caused many celebrated ordinances to be passed, known under the name of the *Edicts of Moulins*. One of them, in eighty-six articles, was a code of reformation for justice, based on principles full of moderation and equity; another ordinance recalled the ancient principles of the monarchy, in so far as it touched the inalienability of the crown domain;* but all the efforts of L'Hospital failed in bringing together the Guises and the Châtillons. The latter had only too much cause for alarm; everywhere the Convention of Amboise was violated by the Catholics, and the infractions remained unpunished. Catherine negotiated with Philip II. for the destruction of the Protestant chiefs, and redoubled the injurious suspicions with regard to them. The creation of the French guards dates from this period; they were composed of ten companies of fifty men; the Swiss guards, created by Louis XI., were at the same time strongly augmented. These precautions gave umbrage to the Protestants; they had warning of the project of their enemies, and sought to prevent them. Médicis suspected their design, and charged some of her trusty followers to act as spies over the Admiral. They found him, on the 26th of September, in his working dress, *gathering in his vintage;* and on the 28th, fifty places were in his power. The King, nearly taken by surprise at Monceaux, by Condé, gained Meaux in all haste, then Paris, under the protection of six thousand Swiss. The cavalry of Condé hovered constantly round the escort, and the second civil war was declared.

Assembly of chief inhabitants at Moulins, 1564.

Ordinances of Moulins, 1564.

Second civil war, 1567.

The battle of Saint Denis followed closely these first hostilities. The advantage rested with the Catholics, but it cost them dear; the old Constable there lost his life. He

Battle of Saint Denis, 1567.

* Etienne Parquier said the ordinances of L'Hospital surpassed everything of the kind that he had previously seen, and the Chancellor Aguesseau, made this eulogy, that they had been the cause of all the ameliorations obtained in French legislation.

had been famous under four reigns; no illustrious warrior of that period had shown more devotion to his kings; but his intolerant and fierce zeal for religion, rendered him guilty of great acts of violence. The battle of Saint Denis had no decisive result.

The Duke of Anjou, brother of the King, was proclaimed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, although he was only sixteen years old, and Prince Casimir, of the Palatine House, at the head of a numerous body of Reitres, joined the Protestants. The latter, animated by the example of their chiefs, despoiled themselves of their jewels and money in order to pay these useful allies. Catherine, seeing them in force, again made advances for peace, offering permission for the exercise of the reformed religion by replacing the *Convention of Amboise* in vigour, and to pay the Germans, if the places taken were restored. These conditions were accepted, contrary to the advice of the principal chiefs, and the two parties signed a second peace at Longjumeau. The people, who foresaw the motives and results, gave to it the name of the *badly established peace;* it suspended hostilities with difficulty, but assassinations multiplied.

The badly established peace, 1568.

L'Hospital once more uttered words of wisdom, and endeavoured to struggle against passionate feelings; but he opposed them with a powerless rampart. Crime was reigning; it was necessary to get rid of L'Hospital,* and soon the seals were demanded from him.† He retired into his lands, where he sought, in literature and in the practice of domestic virtues, a distraction of the calamities which afflicted his attention, and from the still greater evils which he foresaw. France owes to him among other useful reforms, that of the calendar; by a decree of 1563, he caused it to be decreed that the year, which, until then, had commenced at Easter, should begin on the 1st of January.‡

Reform of the calendar, 1563.

L'Hospital having retired from public affairs, nothing could restrain the rage of the factions. He was not ignorant of it, and displaying

* J. Droz, *Notice sur Michel de l'Hospital.*

† He nevertheless preserved to his death the dignity of Chancellor, which was immovable.

‡ This reform, of which the advantages were only properly appreciated a little later, was not definitely carried out and adopted till 1587.

one day his long white beard to those whom his old age troubled:—"When this snow shall be melted," said he, "there will be nothing remaining but mud." Moderate men, like himself, received the derisive name of *politiques*, and were hated by all parties. Médicis herself seemed to have renounced temporising and prudence. She endeavoured, but vainly, to take by surprise the Protestant chiefs. Then there appeared edicts thundering against the Calvinists, and their religion was forbidden throughout the kingdom. They took up arms in all parts; in their fury they profaned the altars, they devastated, burnt the churches and the convents, and committed many atrocities. Briquemont, one of their chiefs, excited them to murder, carrying himself, hung round his neck, a necklace composed of the ears of priests; but Louis of Bourbon, Duke of Montpensier, a Catholic general, was far above all in barbarity, and history refuses to repeat the frightful executions, of which he gloried in being the inventor.

Third civil war, 1568.

The Catholic army, under the Duke of Anjou and of Marshal Tavanne, met the Protestant army, commanded by Condé, upon the banks of the Charente, near to Jarnac. There a sanguinary and unequal combat took place, sustained by the cavalry of the Prince alone, against all the forces of the Catholics, Condé, wounded in the evening, wore his arm in a sling; at the moment of action an impetuous horse broke his leg. "Go on, noble French!" said the Prince to the nobles who surrounded him, "behold the combat which you have so much desired; remember in what state Louis of Bourbon entered into it for Christ and his country." Thrown from his horse, Condé defended himself like a hero; among those who made a rampart of their bodies might have been seen an old man, named La Vergne, with twenty-five young men, his sons, his grandsons, and his nephews; all fought valiantly until La Vergne had perished with fifteen of his relatives; the others were made prisoners. Condé then gave himself up; but soon Montesquiou, captain of the guards of the Duke of Anjou, rushed in and assassinated the Prince in a cowardly manner by a pistol-shot. Thus died Louis of Condé, who had scarcely attained thirty-nine years.

Battle of Jarnac, 1569.

Death of Louis of Condé, 1569.

The Protestants were beaten, and the Court abandoned itself to all the intoxication of triumph, when the Queen of Navarre, Jeanne

d'Albret,* a woman of great piety and of noble courage, reanimated the hopes of her party. She repaired to Cognac, in Augoumois, where the remains of the Calvanistic army were assembled, and took with her Henry her son, Prince of Bearn, and Henry, son of Prince Louis of Conde, both sixteen years old. Jeanne presented herself to the soldiers, holding by the hand the two young men. "I offer to you," said she, "my son, and I entrust to you Henry, son of the Prince whom we regret. May Heaven grant that they both show themselves worthy of their ancestors." The Prince of Bearn advanced immediately, and said: "I swear to defend the religion and to persevere in the common cause, until death or victory has restored to us all that liberty for which we fight." Conde signified by a gesture that a similar resolution animated him, and immediately the Prince of Bearn was proclaimed General-in-Chief, amid the applause of the army under the direction of Coligni.

Jeanne d'Albret presents as chiefs to the Protestant army her son Henry, Prince of Bearn, and the young Prince of Condé, 1569.

The Duke of Deux-Ponts, at the head of a considerable body of Germans, came to join the Calvanists, whose forces were raised to more than twenty-five thousand men. The combat of Roche-Abeille, the first where Henry of Bearn distinguished himself, was to their advantage. Soon the two armies found themselves in presence of each other, near *Moncontour*, in Poitou; a simple defile separated them. The Calvanists were the most numerous, but they occupied a bad position. Coligni wished to change it; the soldiers wished to fight. The action commenced; the carnage of the Protestants was frightful, and, in half an hour, of twenty-five thousand men only five or six hundred rallied round Coligni. That warrior, severely wounded, showed himself in that battle, so fatal to his party, above himself even. He had recently lost his brother and saved all the remnant of his army. He took them back into Languedoc together with the young Princes, where Montgomery rejoined them with his troops. The Calvanists reappeared once more in an imposing attitude, and Coligni conducted them towards Paris by forced marches. On both sides the need for

Combat of Roche-Abeille.

Battle of Moncontour, 1570.

* A queen who had nothing womanly but her sex; her soul was entirely devoted to manly concerns, her mind was powerful in great affairs, and her heart invincible in adversity. (D'Aubigne, *Hist. univ.*, t. II., liv. Ier, Ch. II.)

Peace of St. Germain, 1570.

rest was extreme, and peace was signed at Saint Germain, where the Court was then being held.

The Calvanists, besides the advantages accorded by preceding treaties, obtained their choice of four places of safety; they chose Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac; and Charite, which they engaged to restore at the end of two years. Charles IX, married almost immediately Elizabeth of Austria, daughter of Maximilian II., and from that time he profoundly concealed his hatred of the Reformers. The gloomy Philip, at the same period, practised the most atrocious cruelties on his subjects. The Moors who composed the most industrious portion of the inhabitants of Spain, had been, on account of their religion, reduced to the most miserable condition

Cruelties of Philip II.

under Philip II. they were decimated by the sword and by fire. The Spanish monarch, assured against the attacks of the Mussulman by the victory of Lepanto, wished also to extirpate heresy in his states, and the Duke of Alba was the worthy minister of his fury in Belgium. Philip, glorying in the frightful triumphs of his General, did not cease to excite Charles to imitate him; but Charles had no need of his advice in order to become his rival.

Peace called back into France order and security; the people hoped that they had seen the end of so many evils. The attentions and benevolent proceedings of the Court towards the Protestants, in

Perfidious attentions paid by the Court to the Protestant chiefs.

place of making them more circumspect, appeared to them to be so many guarantees of a happy future. Jeanne d'Albret, the young Princes, and Coligni, were invited to the Court, and went there. The King lavished upon them the most flattering words. "I hold you," said he graciously to the Admiral, "and you shall not quit us when you wish." The marriage of the Prince of Bearn with Margaret of Valois, sister of Charles, was projected. The difference of religion presented an obstacle, but the King himself smoothed away all difficulties. Jeanne d'Albret died in the middle of

Death of Jeanne d'Albret and marriage of the Prince of Bearn, King of Navarre, with Margaret of Valois.

these negotiations. Some persons affirmed that she had been poisoned; but little attention was given to such an event in a time when death by poison or by the poignard was almost a natural kind of death. The projected marriage was conducted between Margaret and young Henry, who

immediately after the death of his mother, had taken the title of the King of Navarre.

The Catholic troops were on the march on all points of the kingdom. The Court effected loans with foreigners, and redoubled its attentions towards the Calvinists. The latter, nevertheless, remained in profound security. Coligny, consulted by Charles IX., advised him to stop the progress of the Spanish power, by sustaining insurgent Flanders against him. The King appeared to approve of this project, and troops took the road for Belgium. Then Medici and the Duke of Anjou—whether they were surprised at the hesitation in the mind of Charles, and wished him to compromise himself altogether with the Calvinists, or whether they desired, above all, to get rid of Coligny—posted an assassin, named Maurevel, who wounded him dangerously by a shot from an arquebuse. The Admiral was brought home bleeding. Charles was playing at tennis when he learnt this news. "Am I then always to see fresh troubles?" cried he, throwing away his racket with fury. He accompanied his mother to the house of the Admiral, and overwhelmed him with perfidious caresses and false evidences of regret and indignation.

Attempted assassination of Coligny by Maurevel.

Medeci already had fixed the day for the greatest of the enormities. Supported by the Duke of Anjou, she convinced the King that the moment for striking had arrived. Charles immediately plunged into a gloomy fit of anger. "Let the Protestants perish, then!" said he, "but do not allow any one to remain to reproach me."

Every means was taken to draw to Paris the greatest number of Protestants possible. Charles, with this intention, designedly inspired some inquietude, and made them understand that it was necessary that they should be in force, in order to be safe from all surprise and all peril. They flocked together in crowds, and soon the arrangements for the work of blood were finished. A council was held at the Tuileries between the Queen, the Duke of Anjou, the Duke of Nevers, Henry d'Angoulême, Grand-Prior of France, René de Birague, Marshal Tavannes, Albert de Gondi, and Baron de Retz. The distribution of the different parts was accomplished, and it was settled that the execution would commence on the following day, at dawn, Saint Bartholomew's day. Tavannes gave the order, in the presence of the King,

to the prevôt of the merchants, John Charron, to cause the companies of bourgeois to be armed, and to unite at midnight, at the Hotel-de-Ville, and to throw themselves upon the Calvinists at the first sound of the tocsin bell. The murderers, in order to recognize each other, were obliged to carry a scarf on the left arm and a white cross in the hat. At break of day, Medici, impatient, caused the signal to be given, by the clock of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. At the gloomy sound of the bell, the town was filled with assassins, and first of all a band of soldiers, directed by Henry of Guise, sought out the house of Coligny. The gates were opened in the name of the King; the murderers went up and found the Admiral at prayers. "Are you Coligny?" asked their chief, a man named Bême, threatening him with his sword. "Yes, I am he;" answered the latter; "young man, you ought to respect my gray hairs!" Instead of answering, Bême struck him with repeated blows, mutilated him, and threw his corpse into the street, where Henry of Guise waited, and trampled it under his feet. Already death was everywhere in Paris; the Huguenots left their houses, half naked, at the sound of the tocsin, amid the cries of their murdered brethren, and perished by thousands. Tavannes, the Dukes of Angoulême and Anjou, Henry of Guise, and Montpensier, stirred up the executioners to the carnage. 'Bleed, bleed!" cried Tavannes, "the doctors say that bleeding is as good in the month of August as in May." The bourgeois were rivals in ferocity with the greatest seignors. The goldsmith, Crucé, boasted of having killed more than four hundred Huguenots in one day. He who had ordered the crime, wished to partake in a part of its execution. "The King might be seen," says Brautôme, "firing from a window in the Louvre, on the fugitives." He afterwards went, with a brilliant cortege, to the gibbets of Montfaucon, where were suspended all that was left of the Admiral, half consumed. He appeared to enjoy the spectacle, and repeated, it is said, the frightful saying of Vitellius: "The body of a slain enemy always smells well." The massacre lasted three days in Paris, where five thousand persons lost their lives. On the third day Charles summoned the Parliament; he dared to justify his conduct, and the President, Christopher de Thou, had the shameless weakness to approve of it. Royal orders were hurried into all the provinces, commanding similar massacres. Meaux, Angers, Bourges,

Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, 24th August, 1572.

Murder of Coligny.

Orleans, Lyon, Toulouse, and Rouen became the theatres of horrible scenes; many governors, however, refused to obey. The Viscount d'Orthez, commander of Bayonne, wrote the King:—"Sire, I have found in the town only good citizens and brave soldiers, but no executioner." The Count of Tendes, in Provence, made a similar answer: the deaths of both of them were sudden and premature. The young King of Navarre and Henry de Condé ran the risk of their lives during the massacre; Charles made them come into his presence, and said to them, in a terrible voice, "The mass or death!" Yielding to necessity, the two princes apparently recanted and remained prisoners. Such were the principal scenes of that frightful day, in which the Roman court thought they saw a triumph, but of which L'Hospital said, in causing his doors to be opened to the assassins, "Perish the memory of this execrable day!" *

Medici and Charles IX. had hoped for a peaceable reign as the result of their crimes; they deceived themselves; a most terrible civil war broke out, and a great number of Catholics embraced the reformed religion on account of the horror inspired in them by Saint Bartholomew. The party of the *Politiques* raised themselves against the court, and soon there were to be reckoned in their ranks many of the most illustrious seignors of France, to whom Damville and Thoré, sons of the Constable Montmorency, added their names. The thirst for vengeance, carried to rage, doubled the forces of the Protestants. The weakest places resisted the royal troops, whom the insurgents insulted from the top of their walls:—"Approach, assassins," cried they to them; "come on, murderers, you will not find us asleep like the Admiral." La Rochelle was the principal place of the Protestants; Charles felt the necessity of taking it. The Duke of Anjou departed on this ex-

Fourth civil war, 1572.

* That day struck him with such a horror that it could only be called death. When he was informed of so many atrocities: "I recognise," cried he, "the councils that were given to the King for a long time; it is necessary to die when one cannot prevent such misfortunes." The assassins of Admiral Coligny approached very slowly the dwelling of the Chancellor L'Hospital. His domestics came to tell him that an armed band directed its course from Etampes towards his Château. "Open the doors to them," said he, "let no one offer any resistance, and let them be conducted to my apartment! If the little gate is not sufficient, open the great one; I have seen enough of life."

(C. Lacretelle, *Histoire de France pendant les guerres de religion*, liv. VII.)

pedition at the head of a numerous army, and led the two captive princes to the siege. The defence was heroic, it lasted six months, and cost, uselessly, immense sums, and twenty thousand men to the Catholics. Sancerre also sustained a memorable siege; Montauban, Nismes, and other towns, were in the power of the Protestants. A fourth peace was signed; it granted to the reformers in these places the most part of the advantages guaranteed by the preceding treaties.

Fourth peace, 1572.

The Duke of Anjou had just been chosen King of Poland, and soon he left the kingdom. An enterprise called *des jours gras*, (Shrovetide,) because it was made in the time of the Carnival, was attempted in the following year, in order to free the two princes. It partly miscarried, and cost the lives of La Môle and Coconnas; they were beheaded. The Queen of Navarre and the Duchess of Nevers, whose lovers they had been, caused their bleeding heads to be brought to them, and abandoned themselves to fierce transports. Condé alone was able to escape; Henry of Navarre was watched still more closely till the death of the King.

The enterprise *des jours gras*, 1573.

Charles IX. pined away after the massacre of Saint Bartholomew. Often he appeared to be the prey of a furious delirium; he then thought that the spectres of his victims were ranged before him. In the last night of his life, says L'Estoile, when there only remained in his chamber two persons besides his nurse, whom he loved much, she heard the King complaining, weeping, and sighing. She softly approached the bed and drew the curtain, and the King said to her, with a great sigh, and weeping so much that his sobs interrupted his words:—"Ah! my nurse, my nurse, what blood! what murders! Ah! but I have followed an evil counsel! O my God! pardon me!" His own blood came out from his skin and inundated the bed. He died on the 30th of May, 1574, when only twenty-four years of age.

Death of Charles IX., 1574.

## CHAPTER II.

### REIGN OF HENRY III.

### 1574-1589.

The Duke of Anjou succeeded his brother under the name of Henry III. He was in Poland when Charles IX. died, and Catherine de Medici again siezed the regency. One of the first acts of her authority was to order the execution of Montgommery, made prisoner at Domfront, the accidental murderer of Henry II., and one of the most illustrious of the Protestant chiefs. His execution provoked new acts of vengeance on the part of the Protestants.

Accession of Henry III., 1574.

Informed of the death of his brother, Henry deserted his kingdom of Poland, and then allowed himself to sleep, during four months, in the midst of the fêtes given to him by the monarchs through whose states he passed, and scattered gold and diamonds on the road. On arriving at Turin, he had nothing more to give; but he ceded to the Duke of Savoy, the towns of Pignerol, Savigliano, and Pérouse, the only fruit that France had gained for all the blood poured out in Italy. Henry arrived at last, and showed himself in public for the first time in Avignon, in the procession called the *Battus*, with Catherine de Medici and the Cardinal of Lorraine, all three dressed in sackcloth, as penitents. The king and his courtiers walked with bare feet, a crucifix in their hands, and scourged themselves as they marched. The Cardinal of Lorraine was seized with fever at the conclusion of this ridiculous ceremony, and died almost immediately afterwards. No person had fanned the fire of the civil wars more than he, and no one had shown himself more cruel. Medici appeared to breathe again after his death; but on the following night they heard her crying out in terror; her women ran

Procession of the *Battus*.

to her and found her delirious. "Deliver me from this sight," cried she. "See! the Cardinal pursues me; he drags me down to hell!"

The Huguenots take up arms again, 1574, fifth civil war.

A new war was announced; the Protestants saw with horror one of the principal authors of Saint Bartholomew upon the throne; one who had signalized himself the most on those execrable days. Condé assembled his forces and negotiated with the Elector Palatine, in order to obtain considerable support. Many nobles of the Moderate party were united with the Protestants, and among them, in the front rank, the two sons of the Constable Montmorency, Damville, and Thoré. Suddenly the Duke of Alençon, brother of the King, suspected by the Queen since the enterprise of the *jours gras*, in which he had joined, escaped from the court, though closely guarded; joined the Confederates, and reappeared before the gates of Paris. Soon after, the King of Navarre, baffling also the watchfulness of Medici, and snatching himself away from the voluptuous snares with which she surrounded him; succeeded in concealing his flight; joined the princes, and abjured Catholicism in their camp, where he found Prince Casimir at the head of a numerous corps. Henry III. had already signed a truce with the Confederates; he engaged to deliver to them six towns, and to pay the garrison maintained under the Duke of Alençon and the Prince of Condé.

Henry III. and his court.

In the midst of so many agitations and dangers, it is difficult to explain the contemptible life then led by the effeminate monarch. He divided his time between unrestrained debauchery and the punctilious practices of a puerile devotion. Surrounded by young favourites, whom he called his minions, and by dissolute women, at one time he caused the shrines of saints to be carried before him, while he followed, dressed as a penitent, mingling obscene buffooneries with the litanies of the Church; at another he ran into the places of debauch, telling over, to the light of the orgies, his rosary of death's-head beads. Often he ran through the streets, insulting the passers by, or begged for the Church from door to door, with his queen, and a number of little dogs, monkeys and parroquets, in which they both took delight. Historians say that Henry III. followed a deeply-considered plan in the midst of these shameful disorders; the book of Macchiavelli was his gospel, as, following him

he wished to rule the great by all the allurements of vice. However that may be, his mother in this respect gives him both precept and example, surrounding him with maids of honour, skilful in seducing those whose ambition or resentment she wished to lull; without religious faith, she believed in witchcraft and sorcery; astrologers, and one above all—Cosmo de Ruggieri, were in high favour at the court. To these imposters was attributed the power of giving death, by pricking to the heart figures of wax, over which they pronounced mysterious words. The practices of a superstitious devotion mingled itself with poisonings and debaucheries in this infamous court. Sensual pleasures were the price of crimes, and Marguerite de Valois, worthy of her brother and her mother, thus bought the death of Dugast, her enemy, and one of the favourites of the King, who saw him stabbed at his feet, and forgot to punish the assassin.

Catherine de Medici alone showed some resolution in the party of the King. She repaired, at the head of his women, whom she called her "flying squadron," to the camp of the Confederates, and first seduced her son, whose apanage she tripled, and who took for that time the title of the Duke of Anjou. The submission of this prince led the reformers to accept peace, which borrowed from him its name, and was called the *Peace of Monsieur.** The Confederate States separated, going into quarters, the King of Navarre into Guienne, Condé into the environs of Rochelle, Damville into Languedoc, at the head of the Moderates, and the Prince Casimir on the frontier of Champagne.

Fifth peace, called that of *Monsieur*, 1576.

The shameful conduct of the King rendered him an object of contempt even in the eyes of his own friends, and made even his most zealous friends forget his exploits on Saint Bartholomew. For a long time there had been formed in the princes particular leagues for the defence of the Catholic religion; soon they joined together and formed themselves into one only, which had for its apparent aim the maintenance of Catholicism, the safety of the King, and the destruction of Protestants. But secretly the authors intended to depose the unworthy Henry III., descendant of the usurper Hugh Capet, and to shut him up in a cloister; then to transmit

Origin and aim of the League.

* The brother of the King, and first prince of the royal house, was called *Monsieur*.

the crown to Henry of Guise, surnamed the Balafré (on account of having a scar on his face), son of the great Francis of Guise, who was said to be descended from Charlemagne. Some words of the formula of the oath of the Leaguers were as follows:—"we bind ourselves to employ our wealth and our lives for the success of the Holy Union, and to follow even to the death who ever wishes to hinder it. A chief will soon be elected to whom all the Confederates are to hold themselves in submission. Those who will not join the Holy Union will be treated as enemies, and pursued sword in hand. The chief alone will decide the disputes which may arise between the Confederates, and they will only have recourse to the ordinary magistrates, by his permission." The Leaguers thus transferred all the royal power to their future chief, who was to be the Duke of Guise. Pope Gregory XIII. encouraged them, and Philip II. promised to support them both with men and money.

Oath of the Leaguers.

This League had already become formidable when Henry came to know of it, and understand the aim of the association. He assembled, in 1576, the States-General at Blois, which he inaugurated by an address filled with dignity. The greater part of the deputies were attached to the League. The King, by the advice of his mother, baffled their schemes and deceived the hopes of Henry of Guise, by declaring that he himself was the chief of the Holy Union. They drew up a formulary; the monarch swore to it, caused it to be accepted by the States, and ordered that it be signed in Paris, and in the whole of France. At this news the absent Duke of Guise made all haste to push on the war. The three orders demanded that the Roman religion should be the only one tolerated in France; but the Third Estate protested against the employment of violence and arms in order to gather the Protestants into the heart of the Church. This wise restriction not having been carried by the expressed wishes of the two other orders, the King interpreted their votes according to his own desire, as an adhesion to war, for which he asked subsidies from the States. The nobility offered its services and nothing more; the clergy promised to maintain four hundred foot soldiers and a thousand cavalry, on condition that the government granted to them the publication of the decrees of the Council of

First States of Blois, 1576.

Trent, and the election to the prelacies. The Third Estate refused every new tax. Nevertheless, the King raised by letters patent the sum of one million two hundred thousand livres to meet the expense, said he, for the war resolved upon by the States; he revoked the edict of pacification and took up arms. The three orders were already separated, and it was only three years later (1579), that the Ordinance of Blois appeared, drawn up according to the instructions of the last States. This edict renewed some wise arrangements of the Ordinance of Orleans, and introduced into the legislation, administration and police, some new and useful reforms. The Ordinance of Blois published also, under the discipline of the Church, some of the arrangements of the Council of Trent, that council having never been completely admitted into the kingdom.

Ordinance of Blois.

New hostilities had broken out between the parties since the dissolution of the States of Blois, and two Catholic armies entered upon a campaign, the one under the Duke of Anjou, the other under the Duke of Mayenne, brother of Henry of Guise. Many places were taken from the Confederates, and intrigue separated from them Damville and his partisans, the *Politiques*, or Moderate party. These successes and this defection were followed by a new peace, which prepared the way for the celebrated Edict of Poitiers and of Bergerac. Henry III. granted to the Protestants by this edict the public exercise of their religion in each chief place of the bailiwick, and in each royal jurisdiction outside of Paris; he re-established them in their citizens' privileges, with right to the offices and dignities, gave them particular judges in each parliament, and granted them nine places of safety. The King permitted besides, on certain conditions, the marriage of priests, repudiated Saint Bartholomew, and prescribed the League.

Sixth civil war, 1577.

Edict of Poitiers, 1577.

The Edict of Poitiers, soon confirmed by the treaty of Nérac, could have pacified the kingdom, if the King had watched over its execution; but, freed from the cares of war, he plunged again into his shameful pleasures. All his liberality, all his dignities, were lavished upon his minions, from whom he exacted

Treaty of Nérac, 1577.

Dissolute manners.

infamous compliances and acts of fierce bravery. A furious infatuation siezed the whole court, where the time seemed to be divided between prostitution, duelling and murder. The King bestowed extravagant honours on the memory of two of his favourites, Quélus and Maugiron, killed in a duel; another, named Saint-Mesgrin, was assassinated by the Duke of Mayenne, while Bussy d'Amboise, a bold and sanguinary man, favourite of the Duke of Anjou, and mortal enemy of the minons of the King, was drawn into a snare and slaughtered. All these murders remained unpunished. The King sold his clemency; the scaffold was only erected for the people and the Huguenots, and it was an act of clumsiness or absurdity to be condemned for the crime of assassination. The Duke of Villequier stabbed his wife, who had repulsed the lawless desires of the King: he was named Governor of Paris. Licentiousness had no longer a curb, and debauchery presided at the banquets of the Queen-Mother, where Henry III., himself disguised as a woman, affected to imitate the language and the affectionate manners of the sex whose costume he wore.

Soon, upon frivolous pretexts, war rekindled in all parts. The love intrigues which, in part, occasioned it, caused it to be named the *war of the Lovers*. Henry III. had written to the King of Navarre, with the intention of imbroiling him with his wife Margaret. It did not succeed, and the King of Navarre answered him by the heroic taking of Cahors. Condé soon showed himself in arms in Languedoc, ready to sustain him. An advantageous peace for the reformers was signed in the following year at Fleix, through the intervention of the Duke of Anjou, whose views upon Belgium, Henry III. promised to second. Philip II. had just taken Portugal, and all his forces were then employed in subduing the Low Countries, and in struggling against the celebrated Prince of Orange, William the Silent, who had torn away the Western Provinces from the tyranny of the Spaniards. The great Captain, Alexander Farnese, succeeded the conqueror of Lepanto, Don John of Austria, in the post of governor of that country. The Flemings were reduced to extremities, and implored the support of the French

Seventh civil war, called the war of the Lovers, 1580.

Peace of Fleix, 1581.

Liberation of the United Provinces, 1581.

Protestants. The Duke of Anjou, to whom Queen Elizabeth had given hopes of her hand, could assure to them by this marriage the support of England. They proclaimed him Count of Flanders, and Duke of Brabant. Profiting by the Peace of Fleix, and furnished with the consent of the King, the duke recruited an army among the French reformers. With it he freed Cambray and took Ecluse; then he exercised in Flanders a despotic power, chastised the towns which opposed his pretensions, and covered himself with blood in the massacre of the inhabitants of Antwerp, executed by his orders. Driven away by those who had called him, he retired into his own domains, and there he died. A month later, the illustrious William of Orange perished at Delft, assassinated by the hand of Balthazar Gérard, a fanatical emissary of Philip II., who, after having paid for this murder, applauded it highly.

Campaign of the Duke of Anjou in Flanders, 1581.

His death, 1583.

The King of Navarre, chief of the House of Bourbon, became, by the death of the Duke of Anjou, the nearest heir to the throne; * but in the eyes of the people his religion rendered him incapable of holding it. This circumstance reanimated the boldness and efforts of the League. Henry III., although in the vigour of his life, was reputed to be incapable of having children; and the zealous Catholics turned their regards towards the old cardinal, Charles de Bourbon, uncle of the King of Navarre, they depended upon his name, until they could throw away the mask and declare openly for the Duke of Guise. The latter placed himself again boldly at the head of the Leaguers; however, he hesitated to break out; Philip II. decided him. That monarch knew that the revolted Flemings had offered to look upon themselves as subjects of Henry III., and that the best means to remove from them the support of France was to foment the interior troubles of that kingdom. He then incited Henry of Guise by promises and threats. Paris became the focus of the League, and, from that centre, the leaders stretched out their ramifications over the whole of France. They made the preacher thunder forth from the pulpit against the heresy of Henry of Navarre

Henry of Bourbon becomes heir presumptive to the crown, 1583.

Rousing of the League.

* Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre, was descended in a direct line from Robert de Clermont, fifth son of Saint Louis.

and the effeminacy of Henry III.; they placarded in all the streets representations of the frightful tortures to which, the Catholics, they said, would be delivered over if the heretic prince ever became king. The people, rendered furious, demanded war and the extermination of the Calvinists. The League addressed itself to Pope Sixtus V., who fulminated a bull of excommunication against the King of Navarre, and declared him unable to succeed to the throne. Terrified at this popular effervescence, Henry III., after long hesitation believed that he ought to draw closer to him Duke Henry of Guise; he had the weakness, by the Treaty of Nemours, to admit all his pretensions. He forbade, under pain of death, the exercise of all religions except the Roman, throughout the kingdom; delivered the places of safety to the duke, and paid his foreign troops. Almost immediately the Calvinists took up arms, and this eighth war was called, *the War of the three Henries*.

Sextus V. declares the King of Navarre unable to succeed to the throne, 1585.

The Princes of Condé and Conti, La Rochefoucauld, Rohan, the four brothers Laval, the intrepid, La Noue, La Tremouielle, Roquelaure, and Biron, drew their swords for Henry of Navarre; the faithful Rosny sold his woods, and in the face of a thousand perils, laid the price at his feet. That prince, after having, in order to save the blood of the people, vainly proposed to his enemies the assembly of the States, a council or a duel, astonished them by his adroit manœuvres, and caused his authority to be recognized in many provinces of the south. But Condé was less skilful and less happy; he marched rashly to meet the Catholics who met him on the Loire; he could not cross the river, and his army was dispersed without having fought. The brilliant Duke de Joyeuse, favourite of Henry III., commanded the Catholic army; he met the Calvinistic troops of Henry of Bourbon near Courtras, in Perigord. A multitude of young courtiers had wished to follow Joyeuse; gold and precious stones sparkled upon their arms, while Henry had only iron to oppose them. Before the action, a minister of the Gospel went out from the ranks, and represented to the young King of Navarre that he had brought trouble into an honest family by a criminal liaison, that he ought to make public reparation for this scandal to his army, and a humble confession of his fault to God, before whom, in an instant, perhaps, he would appear. Henry con-

Eighth civil war, called the *war of the Henries*, 1586.

Battle of Courtras, 1587.

fessed himself to the minister Chaudieu, and said to the nobles of his court, who wished to dissuade him :—" We cannot humiliate ourselves too much before God, nor dare too much among men." He then fell on his knees with his protestant soldiers; the pastor offered up a prayer. Joyeuse, at the head of the Catholic army, saw them, and cried :—" The King of Navarre is afraid !"—" Do not take it so," answered Lavardin; " they never pray unless they are resolved to conquer or die." Henry rose; he animated his troops by gesture and voice, and, addressing himself to Condé, to Conti and the Duke of Soissons, his cousins :—" To you, I have nothing else to say, except that you are of Bourbon blood, and, with God's help, I will make you see that I am the eldest." The battle took place, and the whole of the army of Joyeuse was destroyed; he himself perished fighting. After the victory, Henry showed himself as humane and generous as he had shown himself brave during the action; but he did not know how to profit by his triumph and forgot himself in effeminacy. A German army that he endeavoured to rejoin was repulsed by the Duke of Guise, and his own was dispersed through want of pay. The Prince of Condé survived this victory only a short time; he died poisoned.

Trial and execution of the Queen of Scotland, Mary Stuart, 1587.

Elizabeth, the Protestant Queen of England, then tarnished her glory by ordering the execution of Mary Stuart, widow, by her first marriage, of Francis II., and Catholic Queen of Scotland, who, flying from her revolted subjects, sought a refuge in the states of her rival. Elizabeth never pardoned either the superiority of her charms nor the title of Queen of England, which she had given to herself. She held her captive for nineteen years, and ended by sending her to the scaffold. The tragical death of this Queen, sister-in-law of the King of France, contributed as much as the defeat of Courtras to increase the fanatical zeal of the Leaguers and their contempt for Henry III. That Prince had given to his favourite, d' Epernon—hated by the people—the spoils of Joyeuse, and abandoned himself again to shameful or frivolous occupations, studying grammar, and learning to decline nouns amidst his little dogs, parroquets and minions. Henry of Guise, however, as prudent as he was brave and ambitious, always skilful in watching his advantage, increased in public favour, and the boldness of the League was doubled. The Faction of the Sixteen began particularly

to render itself formidable. Paris was then governed by a municipal régime; the bourgeois had the guardianship of the walls and the principal ports; the magistrates held the keys of the ports. In each of the sixteen wards of the town, there was established a kind of council, where they considered the interests of the *Holy Union.* The chief of the assembly then sent in his report to the Council General of the League. All these chiefs having the same passions and the same interests, accustomed themselves to unite together; thus was formed the celebrated Council of the Sixteen, of which Bussy Le Clerc, an old master-of-arms, was one of the most violent members. They laid a great number of plots against the liberty of Henry III.; but, constantly betrayed by one of the conspirators, named *Nicholas Poulain*, they failed in all their projects. The King, perfectly informed as to all their intentions and power, and secretly pressed by Henry of Navarre to join with him, thought of seeking a refuge in his army; then taking suddenly a bold resolution, he forbade Guise to approach Paris. But such was the poverty of the treasury, that it could not furnish twenty-five crowns to send a courier to the Duke. The letter of the King was sent by the post, but he denied that he had received it.

Council of the Sixteen.

Called by the Leaguers, Guise entered Paris amid the acclamations of the multitude; his feeble escort increased to an idolatrous crowd, eager to see him and to touch his person or his dress. The people called him the new Gideon, the new Maccabæus. "France," says an historian of the time, "was foolish about that man." He descended at the house of Medici, who conducted him, without guards, to her son at the Louvre. The King deliberated as to whether he would stab him on the spot. Colonel Alphonse offered his arm, and Henry hesitated. "Why have you come here, in spite of my orders?" said he to the Duke on perceiving him; Guise feigned that he was ignorant of them, and answered that he came to justify himself for the calumnies of which he had been the object; then alarmed at the fierce looks of those around, he bowed and disappeared; on the morrow he returned to the Louvre, but well accompanied, and more disposed to give than to receive the law. He requested that a war to the death should be made against the Huguenots, and that the favourites Epernon, La Valette

The Duke of Guise returns to Paris, 1588.

and all suspected people, should be driven from the court. The feeble monarch yielded, on condition that the Duke would assist in purging Paris of foreigners and people without occupation. Guise promised it, and the people murmured loudly. The King ordered the nobles to place themselves in arms round him, and sent for four thousand Swiss to come to Paris. They arrived, carrying their arms raised and their banners unfolded. The sight of them rendered the people furious, and excited a general uprising; the streets were soon unpaved, and the windows furnished with stones; they stretched chains across and behind them the multitude improvised a thousand barricades; the royal troops saw themselves invested and attacked on all sides, without hope of retreat or safety. The King, in consternation, entreated the Duke of Guise to stop the disorders and effusion of blood. "They are escaped bulls," coldly replied the Duke of Guise; "I am not able to restrain them," at last, when he thought that it was time to act, he left his hotel, and showed himself to the people, with a slight cane in his hand. On seeing him the crowd gave itself up to frantic transports of delight, and the barricades fell before him. Guise thus penetrated almost as far as the posts of the unfortunate Swiss; he caused the fighting to cease, opened up a road for them and saved their lives. Medici hastened to meet him; they carried her over the barricades, almost close to Guise; she negotiated with him. He asked that the Bourbons be deprived of their privileges, for places of safety, for money, and for war. Medici prolonged the interview, in the midst of which the Duke learnt that the King had fled from Paris. At this unexpected news, "I am dead, madame," said he; "the King is going to destroy me." Taking advantage of the tumult, Henry III. had left Paris at a gallop, and did not believe himself in safety till he was at Chartres, when he was rejoined by his troops and court. This famous day, when the people delivered Paris to the Duke of Guise, was called in history the *Battle of the Barricades.*

Battle of the Barricades, 12th May, 1588.

Guise set to work to gain profit out of his victory by exercising the functions of the King before taking the title. He assembled the people, caused new town officers to be created, and other captains; then he prayed the first President, Achille de Harlay, to assemble the Parliament, in order to undertake measures suitable to the circum-

tances. But that magistrate only answered his requests by these bold and severe remarks :—" It is a great pity," he said, " when the valet drives away the master ; but, my soul is God's, my heart is the King's, and my body is with the wicked." Guise insisted. " When the Majesty of the Prince is violated," boldly replied Harlay, " the magistrate has no more authority." President Brisson showed himself more flexible, and lent himself to the wishes of the Duke of Guise. The latter, however, having failed in his project of carrying off the King, endeavoured to repel every suspicion of violence. He did not wish to be reproached with having driven away his master before he was able to crush him. He then thought, secretly counselled by Medici, to appease the anger of Henry, and he inspired the same desire in the people. The Parisians, informed of the taste of the King for processions, thought of leading one almost to Chartres, and the chiefs of the League lent themselves to this caprice. Their impetous friends, monks of every order, the most dissolute women dressed in sackcloth, wished to join this extravagant procession. Henry de Joyeuse, a courtier who had become a monk, marched at the head, under the name of *Frère Ange* (brother Angel). Two capuchins were on either side, representing one the Virgin the other the Magdalen. Frère Ange carried with difficulty an enormous cardboard crucifix, and four vigorous attendants scourged him when he showed signs of weakness. Trumpets and kettles announced the march of the procession. The frivolous monarch, contrary to general expectation, only regarded it with disgust, and saw in the pretended penitents none but rebels. Nevertheless, the negotiations continued. Henry consented to meet with the Duke of Guise ; the famous *Edict of Union* appeared, and the King seemed to be delivered over to his enemy. He engaged by this edict to destroy the heretics even to the last man ; he disinherited Henry of Bourbon from the throne, named Guise Generalissimo, with absolute power, and gave over to him, for many years, several places of safety.

Excellent remarks of Achille de Harlay.

Procession called that of the Beaten, 1588.

These accessions concealed the designs of the King. He had already taken, without consulting his mother, an extreme resolution, and to accomplish it, the States-General were convoked again at Blois. Henry of Guise and the Cardinal his brother, presented themselves

there boldly. The deputies were numerous; more than five hundred came, and amongst them might be distinguished Guy-Coquille, a celebrated jurisconsult and writer on the laws of foreign nations; the Advocate-General, Etienne Pasquier, author of *Recherches sur France*, and Michael Montaigne, whose *Essays* are still one of the most precious monuments of the French language. The election had been made under the influence of the Guises, and the greater part of the deputies belonged to the League. The King opened the States on the 16th of October in the great saloon of the Château of Blois; he protested, in a very remarkable discourse, his ardent desire to root out heresy and remedy the evils of the country, "which he had not altogether caused," said he, "but for all of which he was not going to excuse himself." He deplored the necessity that there was for asking from the States new subsidies, and he threw back the fault upon those who had wished to use violence towards himself, and who stirred up troubles in the State by means of leagues and illegal associations, pointing out clearly the Duke of Guise, upon whom every eye was turned. The latter appeared to be the king of that imposing assembly of which he was the soul. An historian of the time has depicted him "piercing with his eyes the density of the assembly, in order to recognize and distinguish his followers, and with one glance alone to strengthen them in hope of the advancement of his designs, of his fortune, and his greatness, and to say to them without speaking:—"I see you." * After the meeting, the Duke of Guise forced from the King a humiliating concession; he enacted and obtained that Henry should cut out from his harangue, in publishing it, the passages where he and his followers were designated as factious. His project, which he little disguised, was to depose the feeble monarch and to cause himself to be proclaimed in his place. His pride was flattered by listening to his imprudent friends, who compared him to Pepin, while they dishonoured the monarch by the name of the *Idler-King*. His sister, the ardent Duchess of Montpensier, transported with rage against Henry III., carried at her girdle golden scissors, destined, she said, to make a monk's tonsure for the new Chilpèric.

Second State of Blois, 1588.

* Mathieu, *Histoire de France.*

These rash speeches were reported to the King, and confirmed him in the violent resolution that he had taken. He took the sacrament with his enemy, and, in dividing the host at the holy table, he swore in public friendship for the future and forgetfulness of the past; he had secretly resolved upon his death. A murderer was necessary for Henry; he sounded the brave Crillon, he refused nobly; he offered to call the Duke of Guise out in a duel, he would fight at the peril of his life, but he would not be an assassin. Henry ordered him to keep his secret. Loignac, chief of the gentlemen of the guard, was proposed; the King reckoned upon his arm. The hour and place were fixed; but rumours were circulated, the partisans of Guise were alarmed, and threatening notices came to him from all parts. One day he found under his napkin a note, which informed him of the designs of the King; without troubling himself he wrote underneath, *He dare not*, and threw the note beneath the table. On the morrow, the 23rd December, he presented himself to the council; the doors were closed, the guard seized their arms, and an officer notified to him that he was required at the house of the King. He directed his steps towards the cabinet of the monarch; just as he entered, Montlhéry, one of the forty-five, plunging a dagger into his breast, cried:—"Traitor, you shall die!" others threw themselves upon him and struck him, while Loignac thrust his sword into his back. Feeling himself wounded from behind, the Duke cried out, *Misericorde!* and, although he had, says the historian of the time, his sword entangled between his mantle and his seized limbs, he would not allow the assassins to drag him from one end of the chamber to the other. He walked with outstretched arms, blinded eyes, and his mouth open, as if he were already dead. He fell upon the bed of the King. The Cardinal of Guise, seated at the council with the Archbishop of Lyons, heard his brother, who cried for mercy to God. "Ah!" said he, "they are killing my brother!" And as he rose, the Marshal d'Aumont, with his hand upon his sword, said:—"Do not stir, Monsieur; the King has business with you." The Cardinal and the Archbishop were transferred to the Tower of Moulins.

Assassination of Henry of Guise, and of the Cardinal, his brother, 1588.

After the event, Henry went out from his cabinet to see the body of the victim. He trampled it under his feet, as Guise himself had trampled under his the corpse of Coligny. He contemplated it for a

moment, and said:—"My God! what a great man! he appears still greater dead than living!" L'Estoile relates that he pushed him with his foot a second time, and said to Loignac:—"Does it appear to you that he is dead, Loignac?" The latter, taking the corpse by the head, answered to Henry of Valois, "Yes, I believe it, Sire." "And," continues the chronicler, "I think that, if M. de Guise had only breathed when he pushed him with his foot, the King would have fallen down beside him through fear." All the relations and friends of Guise that could be seized were arrested, and on the morrow the Cardinal, his brother, perished by assassination in the Tower of Moulins. Seeing the murderers enter, he threw himself on his knees, covered his head, and said:—"Do your commission." He was killed by blows from halberds.

Such was the bloody catastrophe of the States of Blois, which separated, a month later, without having resolved upon or granted anything. Medici only survived the Lorraine princes a few days. Faithful to her custom of seeking for force when she believed she recognised it, she had never completely broken with them, and perhaps she betrayed her son more than once in order to acquire the homage and support of the Guises. Their death cast trouble into her mind; on hearing of it she said to the King:—"It is well cut, my son, but it is necessary to join again." Henry did not profit by the counsel; he remained undecided, did not march upon Paris, where the storm was brewing, and swear anew in the States, to the Edict of Union, before dissolving them. He had allowed many prisoners of high importance to escape. His two most formidable enemies, the Dukes of Mayenne and Aumale, brothers of the assassinated Guises, remained at large, although closely pursued, and they hastened to raise the people and the army.

The rage of the Parisians had no need for being excited. The news of the gloomy events of Blois provoked the explosion of their hate and of their fury. Fanatical propheciers, at the head of whom the Curè Lincestre, thundered from the pulpit against the assassin, and pronounced curses on his head; children, women and men, half naked, ran together in procession, with wax tapers in their hands, to the cemetery of the Innocents; there extinguishing their lights, they might be heard crying, "So may the detestable race of the Valois be

extinguished!" They proclaimed the Duke of Mayenne Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; the powers of the Sixteen were confirmed; the enthusiastic Bussy Le Clerc, Governor of the Bastille, enclosed in it the greater part of the members of the Parliament who were inimical to these disorders, and a new Parliament was instituted. From that time all hopes of conciliation with the Partisans of the Guises faded away before Henry III.

Pope Sixtus V. redoubled the audacity of the enemies of the monarch by refusing to absolve him for the murder of the Cardinal, and he excommunicated him by the famous bull *In Cœna Domini*. On the point of being invested by Mayenne in the town of Tours, one resource only remained to Henry, and he seized it by joining himself with the King of Navarre, whom he had just disinherited. "Against the thunderbolts of Rome," said the Navarrese king to him, "there is no other remedy than to conquer." The interview of the two monarchs took place at the Château of Plessis-lez-Tours. The frankness and loyalty of the King of Navarre soon gained the confidence of Henry III., and touched his heart. After a glorious success at La Noue, in Senlis, the kings marched together upon Paris; Bourbon pitched his camp at Meudon, and Henry arranged his upon the heights of Saint Cloud: where, contemplating his capital, he gave vent to his anger in these words:—"Paris, head of the kingdom, but too big and too capricious a head, you have need of bleeding, in order to cure you; also the whole of France, from the frenzy which you have communicated to her." Time and force failed him in carrying out his threat. The Monks, the Jesuits, and the priests openly preached regicide in Paris. A miserable enthusiast, named Jacques Clement, rendered fanatical by them and also by the Duchess of Montpensier, who, in her mad hatred, drew from him a promise of murder, made a vow to assassinate the King. This wretch repaired, on the 1st of August, to the camp of Henry III., and requested to speak with him; introduced into his tent, he fell on his knees, delivering a petition to the monarch, and at the same time he stabbed him in the pit of the stomach with a knife. The King withdrew the weapon from the wound and wounded on the forehead the assassin, who was soon killed by the guards.

Assassination of Henry III., August, 1589.

Henry of Navarre, when informed of the event, hurried from his

quarters at Meudon. The life of the King was not yet despaired of, and Bourbon left him after a friendly interview. However the doctors soon declared the wound mortal, and Henry III. prepared himself for death; he received absolution, and then caused the doors to be opened and the nobles to enter. He exhorted his officers to recognize as his successor the King of Navarre, the legitimate heir to the throne, without stopping at the difference of religion; then he expired, in his thirty-eighth year, after reigning fifteen years. Henry of Bourbon returned with all haste to receive the farewell of the dying King; but he was too late. As he entered into Saint Cloud with twenty five gentleman-at-arms, amongst whom were Rosny, d'Aubigné and La Force, they heard in the street this cry; "we are lost; the King is dead!" They advanced and met the Scotch Guard, who fell at the feet of Henry of Navarre, saying:—"Ah! Sire, you are now our master." Biron, Bellegarde, Dampierre, and many others, soon came to salute Henry IV.; but afterwards, at ten paces from him, they were heard to say:—"That they would rather give themselves up to every kind of enemy than suffer a Huguenot King!" * This remark alone expresses all the difficulties of the new reign.

Situation of the kingdom.

Never had France been seen nearer to ruin than at the end of this reign, when it was divided into three parties, desperately bent on destroying each other; the Royalists, the Leaguers, and the Calvinists or Huguenots. Then provinces, cities,†

* Sully, *Economies royales.*—D'Aubigné, liv. II.

† *Division of the provinces and towns between the League, the Royalists, and the Huguenots.* In nearly all the provinces there were some towns belonging to each of the three factions which divided the State. The League ruled in the North in Normandy, Picardy and Ile-de-France; in the East in Burgundy, in the West in Brittany, and in the South in Provence; it possessed in the other provinces among various important places, Mayenne, Le Mans, Chartres, Orleans, Verdun, Bourges, Périgueux, Cahors, Agen, Narbonne, Toulouse, Montpelier, Alby, and Valence. The Royalists did not possess any great province, but they were disseminated throughout all. Their principal places were: Dieppe, Coutances, Caen, and Saint-Lô, in Normandy; Calais, Boulogne and Compiègne, in Picardy; in the centre they held Charité, Blois, Tours, Angers, Saumur, Clermont-Ferrand and Limoges; in the South, Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Carcassonne; lastly, in the West, Brest, Vannes, Rennes, and Saint-Malo. The Huguenots ruled in half of Dauphiné and in almost all Poitou and Guienne, of which the great towns belonged to the Royalists. In the North they only had Sédan and the Principality of Bouillon; many towns in Brittany, Roche-Bernard, Rieux and Rochefort, were in their power, also the important place of Rochelle in Aunis, and that of Saumur in Anjou. They also possessed Saint-Jean d'Angely, in Saintonge, Tulle, and some other places.

and families, which were often divided, might be seen armed against one another. War was everywhere dragging in its wake misery and anarchy. The great nobles, quartered in their governments, aspired, in the midst of the general confusion, to see arise again to their advantage the ancient feudality; they coined money, levied armies and taxes, braving the authority of the monarch and the laws, and recognizing no power but their own. Such was the nearly desperate state of the kingdom in 1589, at the death of the last Prince of the House of Valois; but Henry IV. was about to reign and become the deliverer of France. With him the branch of the Bourbons mounted the throne; that of the Valois had reigned two hundred and sixty-one years, and died out after having given thirteen Kings to France.

# CHAPTER III.

## FROM THE DEATH OF HENRY III. TO THE PEACE OF VERVINS AND THE PROMULGATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.

## 1589–1598.

### HENRY IV.

THIS history has often saddened the reader by showing in it the lot of people abandoned to feeble, unskilful sanguinary hands. To the cry of humanity—too frequently outraged or misunderstood—is now to succeed love for the most truly French King who had ever occupied the throne. To him providence had reserved the double task of pacifying his country and healing its deep wounds.

Accession of Houses of Bourbon, 1589.

This prince had been brought up by his pious and noble mother, Jeanne d'Albret, in the fear of God and the principles of virtue. Torn away by her, while still very young, from the corruption of the court of Charles IX., he passed his tender years in the plains of Béarn, surrounded by companions of his own age. He knew the men by living from his infancy among them; it was thus that he learned to love them and compassionate their misfortunes. Tried early by adversity, he knew how to support it with courage and to conquer it. No prince had found himself in a more difficult position than was his after the death of Henry of Valois; having before him the League, the anathemas of the Pope, the gold of Philip II., and the half of his own army; and while his predecessor had scarcely breathed his last sigh, he was exposed to a hard trial. The Catholic chiefs held council, and declared to the King, by the mouthpiece of d'O, superintendent of the finances, that the moment had now come to choose between the misery of a King of Navarre and

Declaration of the Catholic chief to the King of Navarre.

the high condition of a King of France; but that, if he wished to reign over the kingdom he must become a Catholic. The King turned pale at these words; then, having recovered his presence of mind, he pronounced these words:—"Among the astonishments which God has brought upon us during twenty-four hours, I receive one from you, Messieurs, which I had not expected. Are your tears already dried up? Have the memory of your loss and the prayers of your King vanished away in three hours, with the respect which we owe to the words of a dying friend? It is not possible that all you who are here would consent to all the points that I have just heard. And from whom could you expect such a change in his belief except from one who had none? Would it be more agreeable to have a King without a God? Will you assure yourselves in the faith of an atheist, and, in the days of battle will you follow with assurance the wishes and the auspices of a perjurer and an apostate? Yes, the King of Navarre, as you say, has suffered great miseries, and is not astonished at it; but can he despoil heart and soul for the entry of royalty? Those who will not take a more mature deliberation, those whom their fear and the brief prosperity of the enemies of the state have removed from us, to them I freely give leave to seek salaries under insolvent masters. I will have among the Catholics those who love France and honour." In spite of this noble answer, eight hundred gentlemen-at-arms and nine regiments left his banners. A small number of devoted friends, with the Swiss, and some companies of cavalry, formed the permanent foundation of his forces. His followers came one by one to arrange themselves under his banner, and, in default of pay, they returned to their own homes, to remain for some months. It was necessary too, to run from town to town, struggling and negotiating without intermission.

Excellent answer of Henry IV.

Fanaticism and delirium were carried to their height in Paris when they learnt that Henry III. was assassinated. The Duchess of Montpensier flung herself upon the neck of the first man who bore the news; then she entered a carriage, with Anne d'Este, her mother, and rode through the streets, crying, "*Good news!*" and inciting the people to rejoice. They lighted bonfires; the preachers made eulogies on Jacques Clément

Mad joy in Paris after the death of Henry III.

whom they called a martyr. They ran in crowds to see his mother, a poor villager, welcomed by the Duchess of Montpensier. The portrait of the regicide was placed on the altar while the people before it, on their knees, cried:—*Saint Jacques Clément, pray for us! Blessed,* said (in the language of the Scripture, the haranguers of the Sixteen) *blessed is the womb that bore thee, blessed the breasts that gave thee suck!* Then they insulted the memory of the Valois, and spread abroad furious invectives against Henry of Bourbon, recalling the Edict of Union, the bull of the Pope, and the decrees of the Sorbonne, which declared him deprived of the throne. They sought a chief, and their regards turned towards Mayenne, brother of Henry of Guise, and alone in his family capable of directing affairs. Mayenne took the title of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and caused to be proclaimed King, under the name of Charles X., the old Cardinal of Bourbon, whom Henry IV., his nephew, held a prisoner at Tours. He went out from Paris afterwards at the head of twenty-five thousand men, making it public that *he was going to take the Béarnais.* He met, near Dieppe, with all his forces, the feeble army of the King, composed altogether of seven thousand soldiers. Henry sustained many attacks in his camp, and won a signal advantage in a bloody combat which took place near the village of Arques. Three flags fell into the hands of Mayenne, who hastened to send them to Paris as pledges of a victory, announcing that he was going to lead Henry into the capital bound and tied. The intoxication of the Parisians lasted until Henry IV., strengthened by five thousand English and a numerous nobility, appeared before Paris, attacked the faubourgs, and took possession of them, driving back the Parisians into the interior of the town. He allowed the pillage of the faubourgs, in order that the booty might serve as pay to his soldiers; but he prevented murder, incendiarism, and extreme licentiousness, and caused the churches and monasteries to be preserved. In vain he offered battle to the Duke of Mayenne, and quitted Paris in order to subdue Lower Normandy, of which he made himself master. The ambassador of Venice at this time presented to him letters of credence. This republic was the first Catholic power which recognized him as King of France.

The Duke of Mayenne is elected chief of the League, and the Cardinal of Bourbon is proclaimed King, under the name of Charles X., 1589.

Battle of Arques.

Discord reigned in France; some wished to crown Mayenne; others declared themselves for the old Cardinal of Bourbon, prisoner of Henry IV., his nephew; the gold of Philip II. corrupted the Sixteen and the population. That King claimed the throne for his daughter, Isabelle-Claire-Eugénie, niece of the four last Valois by her mother Elizabeth. Pope Sixtus V., struck with the madness of the Leaguers and with the great character of Henry of Navarre, had sent into France a legate named Caétan, with an order not to pronounce in favour of one of the two parties, except with the entire knowledge of the case. Caétan, neglecting his instructions, hastened to embrace the party of the League: pursued by Henry IV., he entered Paris as a fugitive, and was received as a martyr. The Sorbonne thundered against the Bearnais, declaring that he was in a state of mortal sin, and excommunicated all those who should think of adopting him for King, even if he became a Catholic. The Parliament of Paris, presided over by Brisson, ordered the recognition of Charles X.; the parliament sitting at Tours, and presided over by Achille de Harlay, recently escaped from the Bastille, annulled the arrests of that of Paris, and proclaimed Henry IV. King. The faction of the Sixteen added to these many causes of disorder, and carried the distraction to such a pitch that Mayenne broke it up, and renewed that Council, of which the succeeding members continued to constitute a formidable cabal.

Competitors for the throne.

Intrigues of Philip II.

Sentence of the Sorbonne against Henry IV.

The two parliaments.

Henry IV. again approached the capital, and Mayenne closed up the road. The two armies met near Dreux, in the plain of Ivry. On the morrow, at break of day, arrangements were made for the battle; Henry made none for retreat. "No other retreat," said he, "than the field of battle." Both sides betook themselves to prayers. Henry, advancing before his on horseback, armed at all points, but with his head bare, cried:—"Lord! you know my thoughts, if it be advantageous to my people that I reign, favour my cause and protect my army." Then, after the acclamations excited by these words had ceased, "Children," said he to the soldiers, "if the ensigns should fail, you follow my white plume; you will find it always on the road of honour." He ordered the charge, and the army of Mayenne, although very superior in numbers, was

Battle of Ivry, 1590.

almost destroyed. * The conquerer immediately marched upon Paris, and caused the town to be blockaded by his troops. The old Cardinal Bourbon, rival and prisoner of Henry IV., whose rights, however, he recognized, died at this time; but Henry knew his weakness, and feared that he would only serve as an instrument for the Leaguers if he fell into their hands.

Death of Cardinal Bourbon.

The blockade of the capital brought famine and mortality into its walls: each day lightened up new horrors. The people, without bread, sought for nourishment among the offal and the cemeteries; a mother was known to roast her dead child, to devour it, and to die after this horrible repast. Henry suffered greatly when he saw the extremity to which these unfortunate people were reduced; he often permitted provisions to be taken to the besieged. Two peasants were surprised taking a waggon of bread through a postern gate; they were going to be hanged when Henry met them; they threw themselves at his feet, pleading misery as their excuse. "Go in peace," said the King to them, giving them all the money he had about him; "the Béarnais, if he had more would give it to you." During this siege the monks, in order to reanimate the courage of the besieged, made processions, bearing in one hand an arquebuse and a crucifix in the other, mingling discharges of musketry with the chant of sacred hymns. At last, conferences were opened at the Abbey of Saint Anthony-in-the-Fields, between Henry and many deputies of the League. Gondi, bishop of Paris, went there with the design of conciliating both parties; but he had no power to treat, and these conferences were useless. Alexander

Siege and blockade of Paris; famine, 1590.

* After the Battle of Ivry, Henry IV., meeting near the field of battle the illustrious and faithful Rosny, covered with wounds, addressed to him these words, in which this good and generous heart depicts itself to the life :—"Brave soldier and valiant knight, your remarkable actions on so important an occasion have surpassed my expectation, and therefore, in presence of these princes and captains who are here around me, I wish to embrace you with both arms, and to declare you, in their sight, a true and free knight, not so much from the accolade which I have just given, nor of the Holy Ghost nor Saint Michael, but from my whole and sincere affection, which, united to the long years of your useful and faithful services, makes me promise to you, as I do to all these brave and valiant men who listen to me, that I shall never have good fortune nor increase of grandeur without your participating in it. Fearing, however, that speaking too much might be prejudicial to your wounds, I return to Mantes; therefore, adieu. My friend, take care of yourself, and be assured that you have a good master." (*Memoires de Sully.*)

Farnese, Duke of Parma, celebrated by his exploits in Flanders, and by the taking of Antwerp, advanced upon Paris with Mayenne, and penetrated as far as Meaux. He compelled the King to raise the blockade, forced his lines at Lagny, and revictualled the capital. Incapable of coming to an understanding with the Sixteen, and docile to the injunctions of King Philip, Farnese retreated and returned into Artois, harassed in his retreat by the Royal army. Nearly an equal number of English and Spanish troops remained in the kingdom.

The Duke of Parma forces the Royal lines at Lagny, and revictuals the capital, 1590.

Henry returned to establish his quarters at Saint Denis, and attempted to surprise Paris by means of soldiers concealed under sacks of flour. This abortive attempt and the stratagem to which the King had recourse, gave to this engagement the name of the *journée des Farines* (the Flour battle). Discord reigned in Paris; Mayenne agitated on one side for his house; on the other the Sixteen and the populace agitated for Spain, who paid them. A new chief divided the members of the League; the young Duke of Guise, son of the Balafré, recently escaped from prison, was received with transports in Paris, and many opposed him to Mayenne. Nevertheless, he played no important part. The new Pope, Gregory XIV., eager to sustain the League, sent him a reinforcement of soldiers, who only signalized themselves by the most horrible brigandage. The most fanatical chiefs were once more masters of Paris, in spite of the purifying effected by Mayenne in the Conciul of the Sixteen; that council modified and rendered more numerous, called itself the Great Council of the Union; a committee of ten members, elected by all, directed its affairs. These ten had been chosen out of the most violent and enthusiastic. The curés and the preachers drove the fury of the spirit of party almost to madness; they excited the people to massacre, and pointed out openly from the pulpit the men suspected of moderation as wretches unworthy of pity. The president, Brisson, and the counsellors, John Tardif and Claude Larcher, endeavoured to oppose so much excess; they were assassinated; the Committee of Ten pronounced their sentence; Bussy Le Clerc executed it. The three magistrates were taken and hanged at the very gates of the palace where they had

The Flour battle.

Violences of the Sixteen; frightful excesses, 1591.

administered justice. Thus perished the chief of the parliament of the League, the famous president who had pronounced the penalty of forfeiture on Henry III., but whose violent acts were blotted out by the new violences of his party. His death was the signal for cruel persecutions, and the power passed from the bourgeois to the populace. The magistracy and the army were purified by the Great Council, and all moderate men trembled for their lives. Warned by them, Mayenne hurried from Soissons, aimed his cannon upon the Bastille, of which Bussy Le Clerc was governor, took possession of that place, caused the four most culpable agitators to be taken in their beds, and ordered them to be hanged on the spot. Bussy Le Clerc escaped, abandoning the treasure which he had gained by his peculations. Mayenne re-established in their posts the magistrates and officers dismissed from office by the Sixteen; the bourgeois recovered their ascendency, and the parliament acquired in the League an influence that it had not before obtained.

Chastisement of the guilty.

The war continued with ferocity, and the Duke of Parma re-entered France by skilful marches. Henry rashly exposed himself in the battle of Aumale, where he was wounded; Farnese nearly took him prisoner, and compelled him to raise the siege of Rouen. The misunderstanding between Mayenne and the Duke relaxed the efforts of the Royal army, and gave them time to breathe. Although very inferior in forces, Henry sustained the war with advantage, displaying a marvellous activity, and the resources of a fertile and indefatigable genius, escaping from the enemy when the latter thought they were about to seize them, and falling upon them unexpectedly, when they thought that he was far off. It was thus, that by a course of prudent and bold manœuvres, he shut up Farnese near Dieppe, between the sea, the Seine, and the three main bodies of his army. The Duke of Parma, suffering and broken down with fever, under these circumstances re-animated his own genius, then almost extinguished. Unknown to the King, he constructed a bridge in one night, deceived his vigilance, crossed the Seine, and covered his retreat.

Battle of Aumale, 1592.

Skilful manœuvres of Henry IV. and Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, 1592.

Marshal Biron, slain in the same campaign, was suspected of favouring this bold operation. His son requested from him two thousand knights, so that he might cut in pieces the Spanish rear-guard.

The marshal refused, and it is reported that he afterwards said:—"If you had done so, the war would have been finished, and you and I would have nothing more to do than plant cabbages at Biron." This sentence will make apparent the innumerable obstacles which stopped Henry IV. and the causes of the prolongation of the war. A crowd of gentlemen-at-arms joined in it for their own advantage, and we have already seen that the great nobles indulged in the hope that by it they would rebuild to their own profit the edifice of feudalism. They flattered themselves that they would preserve their governments with the title of sovereignty. It is thus that the Duke of Mercœur hoped to be recognized as Duke of Brittany, and that the Dukes of Nemours, Guise, Joyeuse, and Aumale thought of dividing the other provinces of the kingdom.

Dispositions and hopes of the chiefs of the nobility.

Henry again approached Paris, when the States-General of the League, convoked by Mayenne at the request of Philip II., assembled together to elect a King. He caused himself to be well informed in the Catholic religion, and Mayenne, in the midst of the factions which divided the States, remained undecided between the two principal, of which the one consented to proclaim Henry IV. if he abjured, while the other was devoted to Spain. The Duke of Faria and the jurisconsult Mendoza audaciously sustained, in the midst of the States, the interests of Philip II. That monarch insisted, together with the Cardinal de Plaisance, legate of Clement VIII., that Henry, being infected with heresy, ought to be excluded from the throne even if he abjured, and that by the fact of this exclusion the *Salic Law* was abolished in France. He then requested that his daughter Isabella, niece of the three last Kings, should be proclaimed Queen; but Farnese had just died, and no Spanish army could sustain the pretensions of Philip. Mayenne fought against them. The Catholic Seigneurs of the Royal army had been invited by him to the States. Conferences were held at *Surènes*, and afterwards in the faubourg of *La Villette*, between them and many deputies. Henry declared to the last of these that he was disposed to abjure his faith. This news crushed all ambitions and raised a tempest in the assembly of the States-General. The Spaniards hastened to point out that, if the Infanta were proclaimed King, he would fix upon a French Seigneur

States-General of the League at Paris, 1593.

Pretensions of Philip II.

for her husband. By not naming any one before-hand, the ambitious hopes of many were roused. Charles of Savoy, the Duke of Nemours, half-brother of Mayenne, and the Duke of Guise, allowed themselves to spring at this brilliant bait, and the States hesitated. It would have detracted from the greatness and power of the kingdom, if Spain had obtained the coronation of the Infanta. Philip consented to everything to ensure the sceptre to himself, and France would have been dismembered among the most powerful Seigneurs.

Henry IV., in this critical moment, obtained a support upon which he had not reckoned. The parliament humiliated by the Sixteen, and intimidated by the execution of many of its members, only issued servile decrees, imprints of fanaticism, and dictated by a furious populace sustained by the chiefs of the Spanish garrison. All of a sudden this parliament roused itself from its stupor, and displayed a noble energy upon the advice of Edward Molé, Attorney-General; it ordered the President, John Lemaitre, to present himself to the Lieutenant-General, in order to recommend him to watch so that no foreign house, under the pretext of religion, should place themselves on the throne, declaring all the treaties made with this aim null and contrary to the *Salic Law* and the constitution of the kingdom. This unexpected declaration surprised and irritated Mayenne, but John Lemaitre sustained this decree before him with courage. The Spanish faction did not lose all hope, and in order to assure itself of the support of his powerful family, it offered the hand of the Infanta to the young Duke of Guise, in case the latter should be recognized as Queen. Mayenne, however, only feebly supported the proposition of Spain and the pretensions of his nephew. He himself aspired to the crown and made differences in the election.

Excellent conduct of the parliament, 1593.

The Parisians began to tire of so many struggles, intrigues, and sufferings. They read greedily a book where the follies and the selfishness of the chiefs of the League were brought forward in evidence and devoted to ridicule. This book, entitled *Catholisme d'Epagne*, or the *la Satire Menippée*, struck a mortal blow at the Leaguers and the Spanish faction. Mayenne persisted in keeping power, and, although uncertain which side he should take, he united his efforts with those of the legate of the Pope to prevent the abjuration of the King, declaring that his conversion

The Satire Menippée.

did not open the road to the throne. A truce had been proposed by Henry, who fixed the day of his abjuration on the 25th of July. Mayenne forbade the Parisians to be witnesses, and ordered them to close their doors; they violated his order and assisted in a crowd at the ceremony. Henry made his abjuration at St. Denis, under the hands of the Archbishop of Bourges. He promised to live and to die in the heart of the Roman Catholic Church, and to defend it against all; he repeated his profession of faith at the foot of the great altar, then the *Te Deum* burst out, while the people interrupted with cries of *Vive le roi!*

Abjuration of Henry IV., 25th July, 1593.

The conversion of Henry IV. confounded all those in Paris who only lived for disturbances, and whose strength existed only in their audacity; they gave themselves up to the last excesses on hearing of his abjuration. The curé John Boucher, preached during nine consecutive days in the church of Saint Merry, seeking to persuade the Parisians that this act was the work of the devil; but the people sighed for rest. It remained unmoved by these fanatical declarations, the last convulsions of an expiring faction. A truce of three months, proposed by Henry IV., was accepted by both parties. The Duke of Mayenne caused the oath of union to be repeated in the States, and prorogued them till September. Determined by personal motives to prolong the war, he alienated himself from the Parliament and the people, and sought his support among the Spaniards and the Sixteen. He quitted Paris in the following year, to receive new troops on the frontiers of Champagne, while Henry IV. waited at St. Denis until the gates of the capital should be opened to him; they soon were. Charles de Cossé, Count of Brissac, son of the marshal of that name, and one of the authors of the famous barricades under Henry III., had been named by Mayenne governor of the town; he negotiated in secret with the King, deceived the League by false appearances of zeal, came to an understanding with the prevôt of the merchants, and on the night of the 22nd March he delivered up the town to the Royal troops. The soldiers entered in silence, passed through the streets in order of battle, and made themselves masters of the open spaces and cross roads. One corps of the Spanish guard alone resisted, it was put to the sword. Surprise and fear held back the factions. At length Henry presented himself. The prevôt of the merchants and the Count

of Brissac offered him the keys of the town; he advanced in the midst of a corps of nobles with lowered lances. His march was a triumph, and from that day he looked upon himself among the Parisians as in the middle of his children. "Leave them alone!" cried he, to those who pushed back the crowd, "Leave them alone! they are famished to see a king." His clemency extended itself to all his enemies, and he permitted the legate to take away under his safe-guard the Père Varade, rector of the Jesuits, and the curé Aubry, whose fanatical exhortations had driven almost to regicide a wild enthusiast named Barrière. The Spanish garrison left Paris on the same day with the honours of war; the Duke of Faria and the other ministers of Philip left with them. The King placed himself at a window to see them pass, and, when they departed, he said to them, laughing, "Gentlemen, my compliments to your master, but do not return here again." He received the Bastille on terms of war, welcomed the repentant and submissive Sorbonne, and united to the parliament of Paris the magistrates of the parliaments which he had established at Châlons and Tours.

Entry of Henry IV. into Paris, 22nd March, 1594.

As to the situation of the King between the Catholics and Protestants, the former had seen his conversion with distrust, and accused him of hypocrisy. He could only gain them over by lavishing on them numerous favours. The latter, irritated at his abjuration, looked with impatience on the honours and bribes heaped upon the Catholics, which they considered that they alone had a right to obtain, and they accused the King of ingratitude. Paris, however, was far from possessing the importance which it possesses at the present day; war, in spite of the submission of the capital, continued in all parts of the kingdom. However, Amiens, Beauvais, Cambrai, and Château-Thierry gave themselves up separately after the taking of Laon; soon, Montmorency, Epernon, the Duke of Guise, La Châtre, and Bois-Dauphin submitted, but they fixed their submission at an enormous price. It was necessary that the King should deposit in their hands immense sums and an authority which nearly rendered them sovereign in their own governments, and which, later on, was the cause of great troubles.

Difficult situation of Henry IV., 1594.

He buys the submission of many chiefs.

About the same time a new attempt placed the life of the monarch

Attempted assassination of the King by John Châtel, 1594.

in peril; John Châtel, a pupil of the Jesuits, given up to depraved habits, believed that he could save himself from the pains of hell by assassinating him. Henry, on the 27th December, received in pardon two gentlemen, ancient Leaguers. They were at his feet, and the King stooped in order to raise them, when he found himself wounded in the mouth by a blow from a knife. The bloody weapon was seized upon John Châtel. His confession inculpated the Jesuits, his masters, and revealed a fanaticism which was not altered by the atrocious horrors of the torture and execution of regicides. A Jesuit, the Père Guignard, was hanged, the parliament, prosecuted the entire order, and condemned all its members to exile. They quitted the kingdom with the hope of a speedy return. Philip II. would then have consented to a peace if Henry had wished to leave to him certain possessions in France; the French nobles of his party were equally willing on condition that they were allowed to keep the provinces of which they were masters, at the charge of homage to the crown. The King energetically repulsed these pretensions, and, in order to remove all pretext and every excuse from the allies of Spain, he declared war against Philip, whose most powerful supporters were the Duke of Mercœur in Brittany, of Aumale in Picardy, and Mayenne in Burgundy. The last of the three, not long ago chief of the League, and an aspirant to the crown, had become the instrument of Spain; he was accompanied by Valasco, Constable of Castille, when the King bore down rapidly to receive him near Dijon.

Exile of the Jesuits, 1595.

The glorious battle of Fontaine-Francaise, where Henry, with only three hundred horse, held ground against two thousand, and exposed his life in order to save that of Biron, confounded the hopes of Mayenne, who declared himself ready to recognise Henry as soon as that prince should have received the absolution of the Pope. A negotiation on this subject had already commenced; Clement VIII. seized that occasion to re-establish the authority of the Church over that of the King's. By the counsels of the Jesuit Torédo, who already entreated the recall of his order into France, he showed himself favourable to the King, but he made him pay dearly for his absolution. A vast scaffolding was erected in the basilica of St. Peter;

Battle of Fontaine-Francaise, 1595.

Absolution and recognition of Henry IV. by Pope Clement VIII., 1595.

there, under a magnificent tent, in the sight of an immense number of people, Clement VIII. struck with his wand, in sign of chastisement, the abbés Duperron and d'Ossat, representatives of the King, and declared null the absolution given to Henry by a French prelate, gave it to him anew, and proclaimed him King of France and Navarre.

This solemn act took away all motive for war and all hope for the Leageurs. Mayenne obtained from the King that his family should be declared absolved from the crime of complicity with the murder of Henry III.; he placed his submission at this price. The edict was promulgated; Mayenne recognised Henry IV., and from that time served him faithfully. The King soon assembled all his forces against the Spaniards, who had just taken Calais and many other places. The Royal army was weakened by the defection of a large number of Calvinists, ashamed of the humiliation imposed on the King by the Pope. La Tremouille, Bouillon, and Rohan, encouraged these murmurs. Henry, under these circumstances, convoked an assembly of the principal inhabitants of Rouen. "I have not called you together," said he to them, "as my predecessors have done, in order to make you approve my will. I have assembled you here in order to receive your counsels, to believe in them, to follow them; in short, to place myself in guardianship into your hands—a fancy which does not often take possession of kings with grey beards who have been victorious. But the violent love I bear towards my subjects makes me find everything easy and honourable." The acts of this assembly answered badly to these noble words. Nothing was requested for the finances, no resources were provided for the war, and Henry himself appeared to forget altogether his duties when near to Gabrielle d'Estrées, whom he publicly named his mistress, and whose children he brought up with a magnificence altogether royal. The Spaniards dragged him away from his shameful pleasures by surprising Amiens. Henry, without money, made an appeal to his people. The faithful Rosny, Duke of Sully, assisted him in raising some millions and an army. Amiens was retaken in the following year; the Duke of Mercœur treated then with the King, and Brittany laid down its arms. These happy successes prepared the way for a general peace. Philip II., a prey to a frightful malady, that of Sulla,

Submission of the Duke of Mayenne, 1596.

Assembly of the principal inhabitants of Rouen, 1598.

commenced to have a distaste for human blood. In 1598, six months before his death, he signed the *Peace of Vervins*, delivering over to the King of France all the places occupied by his troops, with the exception of Cambrai.

Peace of Vervins, 1598.

Henry, freed from the cares of foreign wars, issued during the same year the celebrated *Edict of Nantes*, which fixed the rights of the Protestants in France. This edict, drawn up by Jeannin, Schomberg, Colignon, and the historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou, granted to the Protestants the exercise of their religion; it certified to them admission to all employment, established in each parliament a chamber composed of magistrates of each religion, tolerated the general assemblies of the reformers, authorising them to raise taxes among themselves for the wants of their Church; lastly, it indemnified their ministers and granted them places of safety, the principal of which was La Rochelle. The Protestants were compelled to pay tithes and to observe the holy-days of the Catholic Church. The Edict of Nantes, registered by the parliaments after long resistance, put an end to the disastrous wars which for thirty-six years had desolated the kingdom.

Edict of Nantes, 1598.

Henry IV. then left the part of warrior for that of peace-maker. The last twelve years of his life belong to another series of events, to that which re-established calm in the interior, strengthened the Royal authority, and gave to it a vigorous impulse, which allowed it to absorb all the other powers until the period of the French revolution. That revolution is connected, in some respects, with the religious revolution of the sixteenth century, and we can see in it a distant consequence of the principles taught by Luther.

The detailed examination of the immense results of the Reformation does not enter into the plan of this work; it is sufficient to say that the memorable event, in spite of the bloody wars which were among its immediate consequences, communicated a great movement to the human mind. It assisted almost everywhere to separate the spiritual from the temporal power, broke the yoke of the scholastic spirit, and replaced it by a critical and philosophical spirit, the influence of which finished by endowing the people with civil liberty, and prepared the way for their political emancipation. This revolution, provoked by the abuses of the Church,

Considerations upon reform, and the state of Europe.

undertaken by Luther and other eager spirits, and continued afterwards by the efforts of reason and by the letting loose of all the human passions, could not accomplish itself without long tortures and frightful convulsions. The principles of the reformers were only imperfectly naturalised amongst us; however, they deposited in our soil a seed which bore its fruits later, under the favouring warmth of the liberty of conscience, that the Edict of Nantes assured to France.

The internal convulsions to which France was a prey during so many years, took away from it its political ascendency in the equilibrium of Europe, and Philip II. had, for some time, the hope of making France one of the provinces of his immense monarchy. Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, had perished with the flower of his nobility on the coast of Africa, and his grand-uncle, who succeeded him, had died without children; Philip violently made himself master of Portugal, joined it to his vast estates, which he had inherited from Charles V. in the two worlds. Spain then attained the apogee of its power. Its formidable armies, its skilful generals, and its inexhaustible treasures from America appeared to prepare for Philip the views of a universal monarchy; but the part that France could not sustain, England and rising Holland divided. The first of these two nations fixed in this century, under Queen Elizabeth, the foundations of its maritime greatness and future grandeur; its fleets, aided by the tempest, destroyed in 1588 and dispersed on the coasts of the British Channel the formidable armada, or the invincible fleet of Philip II.; eight years later the Earl of Essex planted the British ensign on the walls of Cadiz. The second people who held Spain in check were the people of Holland, who inscribed in that fearful struggle, for the first time, its name among the nations of Europe. Strong in its love of independence, in its religious belief, in its geographical situation, it separated itself violently from Belgium, and, protected by the genius of William, Prince of Orange, and of his son Maurice, a very great general, and quite as great a citizen, it formed the republic of Holland, or of the united provinces, and met without yielding, every effort of the Spanish power.

Grandeur and decadence of the Spanish monarchy under Philip II.

At the end of the sixteenth century, Protestantism and the Roman religion, the principle of the liberty of examination, and the dogma of authority in matters of faith,

Division of Europe between Catholicism and reform.

divided Europe into two nearly equal portions. The greater part of the States of the north, England, Scotland, Holland, Sweden and Germany, had adopted the principles of the reformation; the States of the south, Austria, Italy, France and Spain, remained faithful to Catholicism. The religious wars added much to the military force of Christian Europe. Each man became a soldier to defend his belief, and from this period dates the decline of the Ottoman power. It never recovered from the mortal blow which Islamisim received in 1571 at the battle of Lepanto.

Decline of the Ottoman power.

Great discoveries marked the course of the sixteenth century. The most illustrious is that of the true system of the world, made by Copernicus in 1543. It was followed by the definite reform of the calendar, decreed by Pope Gergory XIII., after it had already been commenced in France, and the reformed calendar was known under the name of the *Gregorian Calendar*. Among the useful inventions which enriched science in this century we must mention telescopes, thermometers, and pendulum clocks.

Discoveries, sciences and arts.

Literature, science, and the arts throw little brilliancy on France during the long torment of the religious wars. However, the *Satire Menippée* was written under the League, which it attacked in a manner quite as bitter as it was ingenious. It had for its principal authors the Canon Leroi, the learned Pithou, and the poets Rapin and Passerat. But among all the poets of the period none was more celebrated than Ronsard, who was a rich genius, but whose reputation is not sustained The name of the *Pleiades* was given to a group of poets of his school and his contemporaries. The best known are Joachim Dubellay, surnamed the French *Ovid*, and Jodelle, whose style is in the worst taste, to whom, however, and to his successor Garnier, belongs the honour of having founded the tragic art in France. The bishop Amyot, teacher of the children of Henry II., rendered himself illustrious by his translation of the works of Plutarch, at the same period when Michael Montaigne caused his immortal *Philosophical Essays* to appear, the finest literary monument of the century.

Literature.

## CHAPTER IV.

### FROM THE PEACE OF VERVINS TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF HENRY IV.

### 1598–1610.

Henry IV. was the only prince who, upon the death of Henry of Valois, was able to set up a legal claim to the throne of France. One section of the French nation recognized him as their King immediately after that event: but in reality his reign only commenced at the period of his abjuration, and of the downfall of the League.

The treaty of Vervins gave peace with the foreigners; internal tranquillity was re-established by the Edict of Nantes: it became necessary henceforth, whilst healing the deep wounds of the nation, to recruit its wealth, to restore its strength and its position in Europe. Henry IV. worthily carried out this noble task, and, in twelve years, elevated France to the highest degree of power she had yet attained; an everlasting subject of surprise and admiration on the part of those who are not acquainted with the immense resources which her soil possesses, and which require only a skilful and prudent hand to render productive.

Causes of trouble.

Two causes of agitation and disorder threatened, however, to arrest the course of this reviving prosperity: one was the dissatisfaction of a large number of Catholic and Protestant nobles, former enemies of the King, or his companions in arms, most of them suffering from the severe and economical measures of the monarch, and affected either in their fortunes or their political importance by the diminution which peace brought about. They all cherished the dangerous remembrance of the feudal times, and still clung to the hope of dividing France among themselves. Henry energetically contended against them, and neglected

no means of ruining or enfeebling their pretensions. The second cause of disorder in the State sprang from the personal weaknesses of the monarch himself. Frequently, during the war, his intrigues of gallantry, and the attractions of pleasure, had snatched from him the advantages derived by his valour; the same faults afterwards disturbed the peace of his reign; they afforded the malcontent nobles a pretext for revolt, and for embittering the course of his latter years. The marriage of this prince with Marguerite de Valois proved barren, Marguerite, taking no pains to conceal the scandals of her conduct, lived separate from her husband; and the austere Rosny, Duke de Sully, the confidant and prime minister of the King, would, long ago, have pressed her divorce, had he not dreaded the King's weakness towards Gabrielle d'Estreés, Duchess of Beaufort. Henry had already permitted the children, the fruits of this intercourse, to be baptized with royal pomp, and more than once he manifested a desire to raise their mother to the throne. Gabrielle died suddenly in 1599; and from that time the King's ministers were actively employed in bringing about the rupture of his marriage, which was pronounced, the year following, by the Church of Rome. During these negotiations the King commenced a new intrigue with Henrietta d'Entragues, who, actuated by an ambitious father, exacted a promise of marriage. Henry was imprudent enough to sign one, engaging himself to marry her if she brought him a son within the year. He showed this document to Sully, who had the courage to tear it up. The monarch retired to his closet, wrote a second promise, and sent it to Henrietta, naming her Marquise de Verneuil. This guilty and unfortunate connection, particularly the fatal engagement that sprang from it, reanimated, at a later period, the hopes of the factions, and became a source of uneasiness to the State, and of bitter grief for the sovereign.

Divorce of Henry IV. and Marguerite de Valois, 1600.

At the head of the malcontent nobles there were, in the Protestant party, the Dukes of Bouillon and La Trémouille; among the Catholics, the Duke d'Epernon, Charles de Valois, Count d'Auvergne, natural son of Charles IX., and uterine brother of the Marquise de Verneuil, and last, but not least, Charles de Gontaut, Duke de Biron, son of the famous marshal of that name, and himself one of the most illustrious and able generals

First conspiracy of the Duke de Biron.

of Henry IV. He had been loaded with riches and honours in recompense for his glorious services, and named, at thirty-three years of age, Marshal of France and Governor of Burgundy; but his ambition was as immoderate as his pride, and it was upon him, in particular, that the enemies of France counted. Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, retained possession of the Marquisate of Saluces, which he had usurped; summoned by the King to make restitution of it, he came to the court of France to hatch plots, and to this end, entered into a close alliance with the Count de Fuentès, the personal enemy of Henry IV., and Governor of the Duchy of Milan for Philip III., the new King of Spain. One of the daughters of Emmanuel was offered to Biron, with the full sovereignty of Burgundy as a dowry; on this condition the Marshal promised, in case of war, to arouse and gather to his standard all the malcontents against the King. Emboldened by these assurances, which were carried to him by Lafin, secretary and confidant of the Marshal, Emmanuel refused to make restitution of the Marquisate of Saluces, and Henry declared war against him. Sully, recently appointed Grand Master of artillery, disposed everything, so that the war might be glorious and rapid. The King set two armies in motion, he took the command of one, and confided the other to the Marshal de Biron. The latter was forced to conquer in spite of himself, in vain he forewarned the enemy's generals of his marches and attacks, their troops were beaten, their fortresses taken. Emmanuel sued for peace, and by a treaty, concluded at Lyons, was permitted to retain the Marquisate of Saluces in exchange for Bresse, Bugey, and De Gex, which were ceded to France. Henry IV. had received intelligence of the trafficking of Biron with his enemies. In a conversation he had with him at Lyons he revealed his suspicions: the Marshal did not deny his crime, and was generously pardoned. The King, however, had been but imperfectly informed, and Biron made only an incomplete avowal: this was one of the causes of his downfall. He renewed his guilty correspondence with the Duke of Savoy, Count Fuentes, and drew into his conspiracy the Duke de Bouillon, and the Count d'Auvergne, natural son of Charles IX. They fomented disturbances throughout the western provinces, whilst Limoges and many towns of Guienne rose against

Campaign in Savoy, 1600.

Treaty of Lyons, 1601.

a recently imposed tax of a sou per livre, and known under the name of the "Pancarte Tax." They at the same time spread the rumour that the odious tax of "the Gabelle" was to be re-established in Guienne, and in the other districts which had been freed from it. At last, Biron and the Duke of Savoy flattered themselves with the belief that an approaching insurrection was about to aid their projects.

Meanwhile, the King had become acquainted with the intrigues of the Marshal, whilst the latter believed himself in profound security.

New plot of the Marshal de Biron, 1601.

Lafin, made acquainted with the suspicions of the King, fearful for himself, and wounded by the coldness of his master, resolved to betray him. He had preserved the written proofs and details of the crime, and these he gave up to the King. Biron was immediately summoned to Fontainebleau, where the court was held; he repaired there. Lafin was there before him, and on his arrival said to him:—"Take courage; they know nothing!" These perfidious words emboldened Biron. Henry received him graciously: during a long walk which they took together he strove in vain to touch his heart, and induce him to confess; he offered him, if he would confess, an unconditional pardon and his favour; but Biron remained inflexible. He tried the influence of friends upon him, he was still unsuccessful. Taking Sully on one side, "My friend," said the King to him, "what an unfortunate man is the Marshal; I am anxious to pardon him, and to forget all that is past, and to do all in my power for him, I pity him." He made a final effort, and, towards nightfall, sent for him to his chamber. There he entreated him to speak out plainly. "Confess everything freely!" said he to him, "and I will cover you with my protection, and I will forget everything for ever." The Marshal became indignant at these entreaties, as though they were insults. "Farewell, Baron de Biron," replied the King, "you know what I have said to you." He then left him alone in the apartment, where immediately entered Vitry, Captain of the Guard, who took from him his sword, and made him prisoner. "My sword!" cried Biron, "my sword. which has done such good service!" He desired to speak to the King, but the time was past. The Count d'Auvergne was arrested the same day: both were conveyed to the Bastille, and the par-

liament received orders to proceed to their trial. Biron protested his innocence up to the moment that he was confronted with Lafin; then, seeing that all was lost, he invoked the pardon which he had obtained from the King at Lyons, declaring that, since that time he had never conspired. Every presumption was contrary to this declaration of the Marshal; but there existed no proof of his last intrigues. The King retracted the pardon he had granted without knowing the extent of his crimes, and Biron was condemned to death. On hearing this, he became furious, then implored the clemency of the King; all in vain; his head was cut off on the 2nd December, in the Court of the Bastille. Henry pardoned the Count d'Auvergne, the others escaped justice.

Trial and condemnation of Marshal de Biron.

The sentence of the parliament, and the merited death of the Marshal dealt a fatal blow to the hopes which the old feudal spirit had cherished in the kingdom. Elizabeth sent to felicitate Henry upon this subject. Philip III. disavowed all participation in the intrigues of the Count de Fuentes, and complimented the King upon the issue of the conspiracy. The two sovereigns remained not the less enemies. Henry constantly afforded succours to the Dutch against Spain, and Philip, according to the words of a contemporary, continued to irrigate in France "the bad roots which were not yet dead."

Henry was then at the height of his fortune. After his divorce he had espoused Marie de Medici, niece of Francis II., reigning Grand Duke of Tuscany. The new Queen had arrived at Marseilles, accompanied by a magnificent fleet, and escorted by a brilliant suite. The year following she gave to her husband a son, who became Louis XIII. * The kingdom prospered by the vigilant attentions of the monarch, by his economy, and above all, in consequence of the cares of Sully. It is an immortal honour to the memory of Henry that he should have given all his confidence to this austere minister, who had so little indulgence for the frailties of his master. After the signature of the treaty of Vervins,

Henry IV., espouses Marie de Medici, 1600.

Administration of Henry IV. and of Sully.

* The other children by this union were Gaston, Duke of Orleans; Elizabeth, wife of Philip IV., King of Spain; Christine, married to Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, and Henrietta, wife of Charles I., King of England.

he found in his kingdom neither an organized army, nor commerce nor industry; forests and marshes still covered immense portions of the soil, through which ran neither roads nor canals. An enormous debt weighed upon the treasury, large pensions had, besides, been granted to the leaders of the League, and the credit of France was annihilated. Sully, grand-master of artillery, and superintendent of the finances, created in a few years an imposing war *matériel*, and placed the army upon a formidable footing; he exposed the frauds of the farmers of the revenue, who scarcely allowed one-tenth of the public revenue to find its way into the treasury; suppressed the system of underletting, together with a multitude of offices of finance; broke all the old leases and drew up others more advantageous for the Crown. Lastly, he established order and the strictest economy in all branches of the administration; revised the funds of the state, and quickly abolished many vexatious imposts. Agriculture became the object of his particular care: he permitted the exportation of corn, and, inspired by the security of his administration, he almost doubled the price of land by causing the fall of the interest of money.

"Tillage and Pasturage," said Sully—"these are the breasts from which France is nourished, the true mines and treasures of Peru!" Manufactures not the less attracted Sully's attention, he gave them a powerful impulse by suppressing the tax of a percentage upon all merchandize sold; but it was against his advice that the King encouraged the fabrication of stuffs made for the luxurious. Henry established manufactories for high-piled wool and for silk enriched with gold; he introduced into France a great number of mulberry trees, and very soon the silks of Lyons acquired great celebrity. About the same time, small mirrors, after the fashion of those of Venice, began to be manufactured in France. The King loved the luxury of palaces and gardens, without neglecting any of the useful labours of the state. By his cares and those of Sully, numerous communications were established throughout the kingdom, bridges were constructed, the roads were repaired; Paris was enlarged and embellished; Henry IV. joined the faubourg Saint Germain to the city, and caused it to be paved; he commenced the Place Royale, and finished the Pont Neuf, and the beautiful façade of the Hotel de Ville, as well as the gallery which unites the Louvre to the Tuileries; he excavated the canal of

Briare, which unites the Loire to the Seine, and conceived the project of uniting the two seas. The people were not long in tasting the fruits of such wise administration; their burthens were lightened to the extent of four millions, and we cannot recall without emotion the well-known saying of the good King, "If I live, there shall not be a peasant who cannot put a fowl into his pot every Sunday."

So many useful works and such sage reforms were not carried out without a violent opposition on the part of those who were interested in the waste of the public money. Numerous combinations were formed at court against Sully. One day, at Fontainebleau, the King's confidence appeared shaken; before setting out for the chase he took his minister aside and demanded an explanation of his conduct. In a very short time his friendship triumphed over his suspicions: he told Sully who his enemies were, showed him their written denunciations, and talked with him with all the effusion of his heart. Sully, profoundly moved, threw himself at his knees to embrace them. "What are you doing, my friend?" said the King, pointing to the courtiers a little distance away—"they will believe I am pardoning you." Then, advancing towards them, "Gentlemen," said he to them, "know that I love Rosny* more than ever, and that between him and me it is for life and until death!"

Sully retained to the end the confidence and friendship of Henry IV., who unfolded to him his grand projects for the establishment of a balance of political power, and the religious pacification of Europe. The King was desirous of allying himself with Elizabeth, Queen of England, who, under divers circumstances, had afforded him, somewhat parsimoniously, useful succour. Like himself, she designed to strike a blow at the House of Austria, her irreconcilable enemy, and her projects for assuring the peace of the world by abasing that power were identical with those of Henry IV. This prince made a journey to Calais at the commencement of the year 1601; the Queen of England despatched some of her highest ministers to invite him across the channel, and in order to facilitate their interview she herself went to Dover; but the King, nevertheless, was unable to pay her the expected visit.

* Sully bore at first the name of his family seat, the burgh of Rosny, where he himself was born, and was long known in history as Baron de Rosny.

Mission of Sully to England. Convention between Henry IV and Elizabeth for balancing the political and religious power in Europe, 1601.

In his place, he sent his minister Sully, who received from Elizabeth the warmest reception. It was arranged between them that the two sovereigns should use all their efforts to decide the protestant succession of Kings in Scotland, Denmark, and Sweden, and to join them in a league with France, England, and Holland; that these six states, in close alliance, should work in common to complete the independence of Holland and of Switzerland; that they should enlarge these two republics by provinces snatched from the House of Austria, giving to Holland the ten Belgian provinces, to Switzerland, Franche-Comté, Alsace, and the Tyrol; that the confederation, strengthened by this accession of territory, should cut off the Empire from the German branch and restore the elective monarchies of Bohemia and Hungary. It was arranged, moreover, that the confederation should support with all its power the progress of the three religions, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Lutheranism, subsisting simultaneously without being antagonistic to each other; that finally, the allies should labour to form among the principal states of Europe an equality of power which should guarantee the independence of the whole. Such was the celebrated convention which, although never settled by regular treaty, was formally agreed upon between Henry and Elizabeth, and which had spared Europe a half-century of war if the execution of it had not been stayed and rendered impossible by the death of its authors.

Henry IV., notwithstanding his advancing years, still listened to his passions, and fresh frailties were nearly proving fatal to him. He became smitten with the youngest daughter of the Count d'Entragues, sister of the Marquise de Verneuil. He put on a disguise to meet her, and went by night, and almost alone, through woods to the meetings she appointed. The Count d'Entragues saw in this new passion of the King a means of rendering valid the promise which the Marquise de Verneuil had formerly obtained from Henry IV., of nullifying his marriage with Marie de Medici, and thus declaring the Dauphin illegitimate. His principal accomplices were the Count d'Auvergne, and the Duke de Bouillon; the former put himself in communication with the court of Madrid, and they all counted upon the intervention of a Spanish army; d'Entragues

Conspiracy of the Count d'Entragues and of several other nobles, 1601.

was to carry off the King during one of his love adventures; the throne was promised to the eldest son of his daughter Henrietta. The King was, in fact, attacked in the heart of a wood by a number of masked men, and only owed his safety to his presence of mind and to his courage. The conspirators were discovered: the Counts of Entragues and Auvergne were arrested, with the Marquise de Verneuil and a vast number of subordinate conspirators. The King extended his grace to the two counts, who had been condemned to death, and granted a pardon to Henrietta. The penalties of the law fell upon their accomplices, and the heads of the minor conspirators paid forfeit upon this, as upon so many other occasions for the crime of their chiefs. The Duke de Bouillon soon afterwards made his submission; and Henry had now reached the zenith of his glory and of his strength. Master of a flourishing kingdom, of a treasury of forty millions, of a numerous army containing the finest artillery in Europe, he found himself possessed of the respect of all his contemporary sovereigns. Henry decided between them as an arbitrator, and reconciled their disputes. During the five previous years, he had enjoyed the favour of the Papal court, having regained it by the recall of the Jesuits at the pressing solicitations of his confessor, Father Cotton.

Recall of the Jesuits to France, 1603.

The last days of his reign were less happy. Marie de Medici, of a haughty and jealous temper, incensed at her husband's infidelities, maintained with him relations which were ever embittered by the remembrance of her wrongs. The Italians of her suite possessed her entire confidence, and formed a powerful faction at court; this party was headed and directed by the celebrated Galagai and Concini her husband, both of obscure birth and owing their rise to their intrigues and the favour of the Queen, whose pride they flattered, and whose resentments they fostered with a subtle art. Most of the old companions of Henry IV. had disappeared; some were dead, others had turned rebels; many others, again, discontented with him, kept themselves at a distance from the court, and among these last, the King saw with regret the brave Duplessis-Mornay, who had just compromised his dignity in a theological dispute with the Abbé Duperron. The King had also lost his faithful ally, Queen Elizabeth, who died in

1603, and the feeble James I., her successor, did not replace her in the esteem of either his own subjects or of those of Henry IV. But he had still Sully, who daily added greater lustre to his reign. The King had, moreover, the glory of acting, in 1609, as mediator between Spain and Holland. The new-born, but already formidable navy of that republic, attacked the Spanish and Portuguese establishments in the Indies, whilst her armies triumphed under the famous Maurice of Nassau, son of William of Orange. Henry IV. brought about a truce of twelve years, signed in 1609, between the two nations.

Henry IV. acts as mediator between Spain and the United Provinces. Twelve years' truce, 1609.

It was at this period that he committed the greatest fault of his reign, that which most troubled his peace of mind and stained his glory. Loving to infatuation Charlotte de Montmorency, whom he himself had caused to be married to the young Prince de Condé, he could not master his fatal passion. Condé, alarmed, took flight, abandoned the kingdom with his wife, and requested the protection of the Archduke Albert, governor of the Low Countries. Upon receiving this unexpected news, Henry burst forth into menaces, and summoned the Archduke to send back to him the fugitives. Condé left Flanders and repaired to Germany, whilst the Archduchess Clairer Eugenie, took the young princess under her safeguard to Brussels, keeping her out of the reach of the emissaries of the King, who suddenly declared war against Spain and Austria.

Declaration of war against Spain and Austria, 1609.

For long past, he had been desirous of lowering the power of the two kingdoms, and he now prepared to deal against them a terrible blow; but this sudden declaration of war, the apparent motive of which was personal vengeance and the desire to gratify a guilty passion, evoked a general outcry against him. Henry, notwithstanding, formed some useful alliances. John William, last Duke of Cleves, was just dead, without children; several pretenders disputed his heritage, and the Emperor Rudolph II. had summoned the decision of the cause to his tribunal. The Protestant prince would not accept of him as judge, and formed against him, at Halle, a celebrated league, known under the name of the "Evangelical Union." They asked for the support of France, and obtained it. Henry also allied himself with the Duke of Savoy, with the

Evangelical Union, 1609.

petty sovereigns of Italy and with the Grisons. Philip III., justly alarmed, talked of peace, and offered his daughter, the Infanta, to the Dauphin. Henry rejected this pacific proposal; he was alive to his own wrong-doings; but though he suffered he could neither justify himself nor change his conduct. Disquieted, irritated, his sole thought was of the young princess whom he pursued, and he hastened the warlike preparations, impatient to command his army and to march upon the frontier of Flanders.

He designed that the Queen should assume the regency during this campaign, and, either in accordance with her wishes, or because he desired to render her authority more imposing, he ordered that she should be crowned. This ceremonial took place on the 13th of May. Throughout the whole day the King was restless and melancholy. For a long time past, the estrangement of his old companions, the plots incessantly springing up about him, and the wickedness and ingratitude of those whom he had loaded with kindness, crushed his heart with sorrow. Sometimes he thought of punishing his enemies; but his goodness soon inspired other ideas, and he contented himself with saying:—"When I am no more, they will see what I am worth." Upon the 14th of May his melancholy increased; he was agitated with painful presentiments, which his friends could not remove. After dinner, about four o'clock, the officer of his guard, whom he had summoned, said to him:—"Sire, your Majesty is quite pensive; it would be better to take a little air—it would revive you." "That is well said," replied the King; "order my carriage, I will go to the arsenal to see the Duke de Sully, who is unwell." The King left the Louvre, followed only by a small number of gentlemen, and footmen. The carriage was open on both sides, the weather being fine, and the King, wishing to see the preparations being made in the city for the solemn entry of the Queen. On entering the Rue de la Ferronnerie, a confusion, occasioned by two vehicles, obliged the royal carriage to stop, and dispersed the royal servants. At this moment, a man named Francis Ravaillac mounted upon the wheel, and dealt the King a blow with a knife, between the second and third ribs. Henry cried out:—"I am wounded!" but the assassin, not disconcerted, dealt the King a second blow stabbing him through the heart, of which the King, heaving a deep sigh, died

Death of Henry IV., 1610.

immediately. The monster made no effort to escape, but remained immovable, as if he desired to be seen by every one, and to take glory from this, the foulest of assassinations. Thus perished Henry IV., at the age of fifty-seven. The Emperor, the King of Spain, the Queen of France, the Duke d'Epernon, the Jesuits, were all in turn suspected of having instigated the crime, because they all profited by it; but the assassin declared that he had no accomplices. The idea of murder had taken possession of his mind, in consequence of certain sermons that he had heard. He believed that the King was at heart a Huguenot, and thought that in ridding France of this monarch he was rendering a great service to his country. Condemned to the usual form of execution of regicides, his wonder was extreme when he saw the people ready to tear him in pieces themselves, and offering their horses to quarter him. Never did the death of a King cause such a general stupor, or cause more tears to flow. France was plunged into mourning, trade was suspended in Paris, work of all kind ceased, the country-folks everywhere flocked to the high roads to inquire the news, and when assured of their misfortune, they cried with sobs:—"We have lost our father!" Henry was worthy of the grand and endearing title of "father of the people," for the happiness of his subjects was the aspiration of his heart, and the end of his whole life. He ameliorated their condition, created for them new sources of wealth, and rendered his kingdom, whose limits he enlarged, as flourishing as it was possible to make it in twelve years after the horrible calamities of the wars of religion. The wise administration of this good King, as well as the heroic qualities which distinguished him, well merited the surname of "Great," which posterity has bestowed upon him.

State of letters and of arts.

Letters and the arts progressed in France under his reign, and he was their patron. The Presidents De Thou and Jeannin, the Cardinals d'Ossat and Duperron, were members of his Council; Pierre Pithou, one of the authors of the *Menippean Satire*, wrote a treatise upon the liberties of the Gallican Church; Jerome Bignon commenced his great works upon jurisprudence; Arnaud and Etienne Pasquier were the glory of the bar; Regnier distinguished himself by his wit in satire. Henry added greatly to the riches of the Royal Library; he gave a powerful impulse to works

of architecture; he enlarged and embellished the royal residences of Saint-Germain, of Monceaux, of Fontainebleau, and, above all, the Louvre, in which palace he gave apartments to artists of all kinds; Paris, in a word, owes to his fostering care much of her beauty. When Don Pedro of Toledo was sent by Philip III. as ambassador to the court of Henry IV., he failed to recognize once more the city he had formerly known so wretched and degraded. "That was because the father of the family was not at home," said the King to him, "but now that he takes care of his children, they prosper!" To the end of his days, Henry IV. might be reproached for his guilty frailties, for which he paid the bitter penalty. History is bound to record that he regretted them, and that sometimes he was able to conquer them. His reproof of Gabrielle d'Estreés is well known:—"I tell you, madame," said he to her, in presence of Sully, whom she accused, "I tell you that I would far rather consent to lose ten mistresses like you, than a single servant like him!"

The barbarous practice of duelling was at this period one of the pests of the kingdom, costing France, it is said, the lives of four thousand gentlemen in a single year. Henry IV. promulgated some severe edicts with regard to this practice; he condemned duellists to the penalty of death, and ordered that the tribunal of the Marshals of France should arbitrate upon the differences between gentlemen; he, nevertheless, succeeded in only partially overcoming a ferocious prejudice too deeply rooted in the national manners. According to the evidence of his minister, he meditated, towards the end of his reign, the abasement of the House of Austria, and formed important plans for the political and religious balance of power in Europe. "Henry IV.," says a contemporary historian, "believed himself endowed with the great mission of the religious moderator of Europe. The principal traits of his character were firmness, courage, active energy, and the dignity which springs from the sentiment of duty, and of a great mission to fulfil." * This prince has often been reproached with having made an insincere abjuration from motives of ambition entirely personal; and it has been averred, without a plausible foundation, that he might have reigned without changing his religion.

Character of Henry IV.

* Leopold Ranke, "History of France during the 16th century."

It is probable that if Francis I. had adopted the Protestant religion, he might have continued to reign over France; but when the people were persuaded that by the sole fact of being of different creeds, men were the mortal enemies of each other—when Catholics and Protestants threw themselves upon one another like wild beasts, tearing each other to pieces, during nearly forty years, the fatal mistrusts and implacable resentments thus given birth to, rendered all reconciliation for a long time impossible. It was as if they were two nations upon one soil; and it is not probable that the weaker would ever have been able to impose its chief upon the stronger; it became necessary, then, that after the death of Henry III. Henry of Bourbon should pronounce himself a Catholic, or that the civil war should not be ended. We have authority for our belief that in openly embracing Catholicism, he was actuated by sincere affection towards his people. His abjuration was, doubtless, regarded as a frightful act by those who did not believe in its sincerity, and who saw in it the sacrifice of convictions to interest; but Henry had not inherited the deep piety of his mother together with her heroic qualities. Men whose profound convictions; like Coligny, Duplessis-Mornay, La Noue, whose faith in Protestantism was as invincible as their courage, were not numerous in the ranks of the French nobility. The princes antagonistic to the Guises, as well as the greater portion of the gentlemen who ranged themselves under their banners, from the outset believed that Protestantism was a political party rather than a creed; many adhered to it—and this was a great misfortune—from the force of circumstances, from motives of interest, or of ambition, remaining for a long time faithful rather from loyalty than from religious conviction. Everything tends to assure us that Henry IV. believed, as when after the death of Henry of Valois he spoke the beautiful phrases we have already read, he would have been dishonoured by an immediate abjuration. But when at length he lost all hope of establishing peace in his kingdom, otherwise than by a public adhesion to Catholicism, after having shared during four years the fortunes of his former companions in arms, he doubtless believed that having satisfied his honour, he was now enabled to listen to his sentiments of compassion for his eople, and to his ardent desire to assuage the troubles of France. If there was anything in his abjuration—which we have detailed,

without pretending to have explained, if Henry did violence to his sincere convictions, if an entirely vulgar and personal ambition stifled in his breast the cries of conscience, we are not in a position to decide, and it belongs only to God to pronounce a severe judgment. France, whom he loved, and whom he saved from the horrors of civil war, will always honour, in Henry IV., one of the best princes that ever reigned over her, and the greatest King of his age.

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# HISTORY OF FRANCE.

BY

EMILE DE BONNECHOSE.

TO

# THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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# HISTORY OF FRANCE.

*(Continuation of the Third Epoch.)*

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## BOOK III.

### FRANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

REIGN OF LOUIS XIII.—RICHELIEU'S ADMINISTRATION.—THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.—REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.—MAZARIN'S ADMINISTRATION.—WAR OF THE FRONDE.—GOVERNMENT AND CONQUESTS OF LOUIS XIV.—SPLENDOUR AND POWER OF THE MONARCHY.—REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.—FRENCH REVERSES.—ENORMOUS DEBT.—A GREAT LITERARY AGE.

1610–1715.

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### CHAPTER I.

THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII. TO RICHELIEU'S MINISTRY.

1610–1624.

HENRY IV. left his kingdom in a flourishing state—treasure amounting to fifteen millions, large bodies of well-disciplined troops, strong places abundantly supplied with the materials of war, firm alliances with other kingdoms, and a well-composed council of state. After his death, the feebleness of the Government, the quarrels of the princes, and the jealous ambition and caprices of the Queen-mother, had speedily scattered all these elements of prosperity. The great nobles had acquired during the intestine dissen-

Situation of France at the accession of Louis XIII., 1610.

sions habits of independence and sovereignty, levied on their own account troops and imposts in the provinces and cities which they governed, and subsidized a certain number of gentlemen, who were always ready to support them, sword in hand, against the royal authority. The greater number of the nobility had lost during the wars of religion their former inviolable respect for the person of the Prince, and even any consciousness of their duties towards him. There had thus been formed a powerful class of men which did not constitute—as has been too often asserted—a new feudalism, since it possessed no power which did not emanate from the Crown, and which was not revocable at will, but which arose from the circumstance, that those who possessed the more important posts, and whom Henry IV. had known how to keep in check, had, since his death, abused their trust. Patriotism had died out; every thought, every effort of the princes and great nobles was directed towards their own aggrandisement; and no other age could present more shameful examples of unbridled ambition and insatiable cupidity amongst the first persons of the State.

In spite of so many elements of ruin and anarchy, no shock was felt at the first announcement of a change in the monarchy. Marie de Medici, an imperious, violent, and vindictive woman, at once claimed the right to assume the regency of the kingdom. There was no law, however, by which she could legally claim this office, and none which defined its attributes. The monarchy had no fundamental constitution, and it was from this fact that arose the numerous plagues which afflicted France on each occurrence of a minority. On the other hand, none of the members of the Bourbon family were in a position to dispute her authority. Condé, the first prince of the blood, was abroad; the Prince of Conti was infirm and imbecile; the Count de Soissons lived at a distance from the Court. The Duke d'Epernon, colonel-general of infantry, had the hall in which the Parliament, exceptionally convoked, was already debating, surrounded with troops; and, three hours after the death of the King, his widow was declared to be the Regent. On the following day, at a bed of justice, presided over by the infant King, that assembly pronounced its decision.

Marie de Medici, Regent, 1610.

Marie de Medici at first followed the advice of Villeroi, who had been Minister during the four last monarchies, and retained the council of the late King; although she, at the same time, weakened it by admitting into it many ambitious pretenders.

The question of war or peace was the first which had to be decided. Sully wished to persist in the path followed by Henry IV., and to maintain to the death the war with the House of Austria; but his advice was only followed in part. The Duke of Savoy was abandoned to the resentment of Spain, although he had compromised himself on behalf of France; and he was compelled to sue for pardon to Philip III. In Germany, operations were confined to the prosecution of the siege of Juliers, a city which had been seized by the Archduke Leopold, and which capitulated to Marshal de la Châtre and Maurice, Prince of Orange, who placed it in the hands of the two principal competitors for its possession, the Elector of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine of Neubourg, the brother-in-law of the last Duke of Clèves and Juliers. This campaign had no other results; and the Regent hastened to abandon the policy of Henry IV.; the deplorable state into which France had fallen in the space of a few months offering, it may be added, serious obstacles to the accomplishment of those vast projects which can only be successfully pursued when a nation is calm and prosperous in itself.

Taking of Juliers, 1610.

Condé had re-entered France, and, as the price of his adhesion to the regency of Marie de Medici, had demanded immense pecuniary compensation. All the courtiers, following his example, had claimed gold or honours, and Medici believed that, to secure the peaceful possession of the regency, it was only necessary to enrich her friends and her enemies. Possessed by this unfortunate idea, she converted into gifts and pensions the treasure left by the late King, and when it was exhausted, found herself deprived of the means of defence against those whose cupidity or ambition she had excited without possessing the means of satisfying them. Never had the highest members of the aristocracy displayed so greedy a desire for wealth; and in fact the whole of France appeared to be delivered over to the mercy of a number of plunderers whose numbers insured them immunity. The nobles demanded tolls on roads which were free, and taxes in cities which were exempt from them. They created offices, patents of nobility, and privileges of all sorts for money, and secretly increased the amount of every species of duty and excise.

Exactions of the nobles.

Sully left a council which connived at these proceedings, and was forced to resign the superintendence of the finances and the government

of the Bastille, although he still remained *grand-voyer* of France, and *grand-maîtrise* of artillery, and retained the governorships of Poitou and La Rochelle. From this time he seldom visited the Court, remaining in retreat at his estates, where he lived respected until the age of eighty-two.*

Retirement of Sully.

The Guises and the Condés, the Bouillons and the Epernons, therefore, remained the sole masters of the kingdom, and vied with each other in cupidity, egotism, and violence. But in the midst of these disorders Marie de Medici had raised her favourite Concini to the highest pinnacle of honour and fortune. He was a Marshal of France although he had never borne arms, was first gentleman of the chamber, Governor of Amiens, Péronne, and many other places; had purchased the marquisate of Ancre, of which he bore the title, and directed the Queen's counsels as he chose.

Elevation of Concini.

This shameful prosperity excited the envy of the great nobles rather than their indignation; and at this time the court consisted of three parties; those of the Condé, of Guise, and of Concini, which were by turns united or divided, according to the interests or caprices of their leaders. Money edicts were commonly speculated on; Signora Galigai, the wife of Concini, openly sold the decrees of the Council; those of the Parliament had long since fallen into contempt, and crimes remained generally unpunished. In the open day, in the street Saint Honoré, the Chevalier Guise assassinated the Baron de Luz, suspected of having betrayed the House of Lorraine; and the son of the victim, having attempted to avenge his father's death, perished by the same hand, without a single voice being raised against the double crime.

A revolt burst forth at length, but it was not the excess of the public misfortunes which lit its flame. At the commencement of 1614, the Prince of Condé, the Dukes of Nevers, Mayenne, Bouillon, and Longueville, being leagued against Concini, seized Mezières in the Ardennes, and raised the standard of insurrection. Condé was at the head of the movement, and published a manifesto which exposed in

Rebellion of Condé, 1614.

* Having been summoned on a certain occasion by Louis XV. to an audience, he perceived that his old-fashioned costume excited the ridicule of the young courtiers. "Sire," said he to the King, "I am too old to change my habits. When the late King, your father, of glorious memory, did me the honour to summon me to an audience on affairs of State, he used first to dismiss the buffoons and mountebanks."

bitter terms the ill administration of the Queen. It reproached it with having broken off the projected union between the young King and the House of Savoy, for the purpose of concluding two unpopular alliances with the House of Austria, in allusion to the project of a double alliance, on the one part between the Infanta of Spain and Louis XIII., and on the other part between the Princess Elizabeth of France and the Prince of the Asturias; reproached it with having failed to observe the Edict of Nantes; with having overwhelmed the poor with taxes; and openly attacked the insolent foreigners in whose hands was the government of the kingdom.

This movement, made by grandees in the name of the popular interests, attracted, however, but little popular sympathy. The mass of the people and the Protestants, enlightened by Duplessis-Mornay, perceived beneath this mask the real passions and aims of ambitious and discontented men, and remained deaf to the appeal. Villeroi advised the Queen to make an immediate attack on the Confederates, and his advice was good; but Concini preferred to deliberate. The opinion of the latter was followed, and the treaty of Sainte-Menehould, surnamed the "Malotrue Peace" (Paltry Peace), was concluded in 1614. By this treaty the Queen increased the dignities and pensions of the rebel lords, and promised a prompt assembly of the States-General.

Malotrue Peace, 1614.

Louis XIII. was now in his fourteenth year, and was recognised as of age, but it was long after this ere he was anything save King in name; and at the bed of justice at which his majesty was proclaimed, the young Louis said to his mother—"I consent and wish that you should be obeyed in everything and everywhere, and that, after me, you should be the head of my council." Marie de Medici still, therefore, retained her power; and for the purpose of executing the treaty of Sainte-Menehould, she convoked the States-General for the 26th October of that year. These States were the last which assembled before those of 1789. On this occasion it consisted of nearly five hundred deputies of the three orders. The Queen and her Ministers endeavoured to paralyse their influence by setting them against each other, and in this they were successful. Each order urged its own claims. The clergy, in whose ranks figured an orator already distinguished, and soon to become celebrated—Armand du Plessis, Bishop of Luçon—demanded that the decrees of the Council of Trent should be recognised in France

States-General, 1614.

in their entirety; the nobility asked for the abolition of the *Droit de paulette*;* and the Third Estate desired the suppression or diminution of the pensions which weighed so heavily on the Treasury. The latter order found itself cruelly humiliated by the two others. It was little that, according to custom, the sheriff of the merchants, Miron, who was its president, was only allowed to address the President on his knees; he was reproached for having compared the three orders of the Assembly to a great family, of which the nobility and clergy were the elder branches, and the Third Estate the younger. The Queen herself treated the deputies of this order with rudeness and arrogance, although they were the most zealous defenders of the royal prerogatives; not only demanding that it should be established as a principle that sovereigns should not be deposed on account of heresy, but even expressing a wish that the Crown should be rendered, by a formal law, independent of the spiritual power. The clergy, by the mouth of Cardinal Duperron, formerly Minister to Henry IV., energetically combated those propositions, and the Assembly evaded coming to any decision on the subject.

The Assembly was dissolved in the course of the following year without having achieved any important result; and the deputies were dismissed with a vague promise that the Government would examine their memorials and take into consideration their demands. The memorials of the Third Estate contained the elements of a portion of the reforms accomplished, at the close of the following century, by a more celebrated Assembly. These were, an uniform system of customs and weights and measures, the abolition of masterships and warderships, the suppression of farmers-general of the finances and of exceptional tribunals, and the diminution of the excise duties, and of aids. But, of all these wise and legitimate demands, not one was granted.

Memorials of the Third Estate.

The States-General were unable to pacify the kingdom, in which every kind of abuse remained unchecked; and the first ebullition of discontent arose in the bosom of the Parliament itself, secretly encouraged by the princes who had signed the *Malotrue* peace. This great judicial body, of

* According to this privilege or custom, the financial and judicial offices were hereditary on condition of the payment of an annual tax, amounting to the sixtieth part of the price at which they had been purchased. The nobility were jealous of the hereditary nature of these offices, because they were in the hands of members of the Third Estate. The *paulette* received its name from Charles Paulet, by whom it was introduced.

which many of the members were deputies of the Third Estate, eagerly laid hold of an opportunity of avenging the humiliations to which that order had been exposed, and of increasing its own importance, and invited, by a formal decree, princes, dukes, peers, and all in fact who had a right to do so, to assist them in deliberating on the state of public affairs. As many of the Queen's personal enemies were contained in this class, she saw in this hitherto unheard-of step a direct attack against her person and authority, and prohibited the proposed assembly. The Parliament immediately addressed to the King energetic remonstrances, which were read to him in the presence of his mother and his Ministers. It represented that it held the place of the Council of the great Barons of France, and that, by virtue of this, it had always taken a part in the conduct of public affairs. It entreated the King to follow, in domestic as well as in foreign affairs, the policy of his father; to provide that the sovereignty should be guaranteed against Ultramontane doctrines; and that the Government should not be influenced by foreign counsels. It censured the Queen's policy, the prodigalities of the Court, the obstacles thrown in the way of the due execution of justice by both the Court and nobles, and the insatiable avarice of the Royal officers and Ministers. It demanded that all abuses should be redressed, that no edict should be carried into execution without previous registration and verification by the Sovereign Courts, and that the Parliament should be at liberty to convoke the peers and princes whenever it should think proper. It further demanded the King's authority to name to him the authors of the existing disorders, and to expose their shameful malversations. These famous remonstrances excited the anger and indignation of the Queen, the Ministers, and the courtiers; and on the following day there appeared a decree of the Council by which they were suppressed. The Parliament resisted; but, having received Royal letters of command, was compelled to give way, and left its decree of convocation unexecuted, without, however, revoking it.

Celebrated remonstrances of Parliament, 1615.

The discontented party, and Condé especially, offered an energetic opposition to the marriage of Louis XIII. with the Infanta. They recapitulated the evils with which France had been overwhelmed by Spain, and urged the necessity of crushing the House of Austria rather than adding to its strength. The Queen treated these

Fresh civil troubles, 1615.

representations with contempt, and the marriage was resolved on. Condé immediately withdrew to Clermont in Beauvoisis, Bouillon to his principality of Sedan, Mayenne to Soissons, Longueville to Picardy. They no longer hoped for success save by force of arms, and prepared for the conflict. The Protestants, excited to action by the Duke de Rohan, ranged themselves on their side, and began to levy troops. The principal Ministers of the King were at that time the aged Villeroi, the President Jeannin, and the Chancellor de Sillery. They treated the above-mentioned hostile demonstrations with indifference, and hastened the conclusion of the marriage. Louis XIII. went to meet the Infanta as far as Bordeaux, and his progress was at once festive and warlike. Bois-Dauphin, Marshal de Laval, protected it by an army, which followed that of the insurgent nobles and Calvinists, commanded by Bouillon under the orders of Condé. The people took no part in the war, and the armies never came into actual collision. The Duke of Guise conducted to Spain the Princess Elizabeth, the King's sister, intended for the Infant, and brought back with him the future spouse of Louis XIII., celebrated under the name of Anne of Austria. This marriage was not a fortunate one, and the two spouses, who speedily acquired a dislike for each other, lived almost entirely apart. Medici, immediately after the marriage of her son, entered into negotiations with the young King's enemies, and signed the treaty of Loudun, the terms of which were entirely to their advantage. The Prince and his adherents were declared innocent and good servants of the King; considerable sums of money were bestowed on them; and a certain measure of satisfaction was accorded to the Calvinists and the Parliament. The article of this treaty which was most grievous to the Queen-Mother was that by which the King engaged himself to give no offices or dignities to strangers.

Marriage of Louis XIII. with Anne of Austria, 1615.

Treaty of Loudun, 1616.

The old Ministers, whom the Court nicknamed the *dotards*, were immediately dismissed. Du Plessis,* Bishop of Luçon, entered the new council, which was under the chief direction of Condé, who speedily became all powerful, and made his power felt by Medici and her favourites, and especially so by Marshal d'Ancre.

* Du Plessis entered the Council as Secretary of State for War and Foreign Affairs. He had for some time been the Queen's Almoner. He became a cardinal in 1622, and from that time bore the name of Richelieu.

The partisans of the prince believed they were at liberty to do what they pleased, and the Duke de Longueville pushed his insolence so far as even to seize upon Peronne, of which Concini was governor. The Queen sent troops to retake it, and Longueville defended it against her. Marie de Medici then perceived that Condé intended to deprive her of any influence in the Government, or with the King. Condé, as well as the chiefs of his faction, Vendôme, Bouillon, and Mayenne, were conscious of the peril they ran, and resolved to present themselves no more at the Louvre, where the Prince was arrested in the name of the King, on the 1st September, as he was entering the council chamber. Orders had been given to seize his partisans, but they escaped and flew to arms.

Arrest of Condé, 1616.

The King held a bed of Justice at the Parliament, where he explained the reasons for his cousin's arrest, alleging his criminal hopes, so incompatible with the duty of a subject; the pretensions of his partisans, so subversive of the Royal authority; and their audacious rallying cry of *Down with the bar*,* which intimated that the throne was the object of the Prince's ambition. The Parliament made no observations. Condé was shut up in the Bastille, and the Queen sent into the field three armies against the insurgents, who had fled to Soissons. Concini reappeared at the court more powerful than ever, inflated with the most unbounded pride, and so rich that he was able to maintain an army of five or six thousand men at his own expense.

The young King, however, whose wishes he frequently thwarted, bore the tyranny of the Marshal as impatiently as that of the Prince, and resolved at length to release himself from his state of pupilage. He might have achieved this purpose by legal methods, but his dark, vindictive spirit preferred assassination. On Monday, April 26th, as the Marshal was entering the Louvre, to attend the council, Vitry, the captain of the guards, stopped him, and demanded his sword. Concini made a movement, but immediately fell, pierced by three balls, and expired on the spot. The crowd of his flatterers disappeared, and Louis XIII. showed himself at a window of his palace, as though to take openly upon himself the responsibility of the murder. The courtiers ex-

Murder of Concini, 1617.

* The arms of Condé were only distinguished from those of the King by a bar, and to ask for the removal of this bar was almost to demand that the Prince should be King.

pressed their delight with acclamations, and hastened to offer the King their congratulations. From that moment he believed himself to be a monarch in reality, and having disarmed his mother's guards, he had the door which gave access from his mother's apartments to his own fastened up.

The people detested Concini as a foreigner, and an insolent upstart, and accused him of being the author of all their misfortunes. Their fury on the occasion arose to the highest pitch; they tore the Marshal's remains into fragments, put the gory morsels up to auction and devoured them. He was further pursued with hostility in the persons of his relatives. Signora Galigai, his widow, was dragged before the Parliament, and, in the absence of any other great crime, was accused of practising magic, and condemned as a sorceress. The judgment pronounced against her declared that she should have her head cut off, and that her remains should be consumed by fire. She bore her execution with fortitude. The Marshal's house was rased to the ground, his immense property confiscated, and, by the sentence of the Parliament, his son was declared degraded from the rank of nobility, and incapable of holding any office or dignity in the kingdom.

When informed of the great catastrophe, the insurgents, who had fled to Soissons, laid down their arms and gave themselves up to the King without making any terms, imputing to the Italian Tyrant all the troubles and misfortunes of France. The late Ministers, Villeroi, Sillery, Jeannin, and Duvair, returned with them. The Queen-mother was exiled from the Court, and selected Blois as her place of residence. The able Du Plessis, who had been Minister under Concini, demanded permission to follow her, apparently, the devoted servant of a protectress, of whom, at a later period, he was the most implacable enemy.

He who had the greatest share in this revolution, and who profited by it the most, was the young Charles d'Albert de Luynes, the companion of the King's pleasures, who had risen rapidly in the Royal favour. He was created a duke, overwhelmed with honours and riches, and became the possessor of all the possessions, and all the power of the late Marshal.

Condé, in the depths of his prison, and the Queen, in the place of her exile, continued to brew plots, and instigate their partisans; but the Duke de Luynes neutralized their influence by setting them one against the other.

Now he menaced Condé with the recal of the Queen to Court, and now he threatened the Queen that Condé should be set at liberty.

A skilfully-contrived conspiracy speedily changed the whole aspect of affairs. An Italian, named Ruccelai, a man of pleasure, resolved to assist the Queen, and to rescue her from the chateau of Blois, where she was kept in confinement, and he succeeded in persuading the Duke d'Epernon to join him in the enterprise. The Duke d'Epernon, the possessor of an immense fortune, Governor of Metz and several provinces, colonel-general of infantry, and always discontented, was better fitted than any other to assist in such a project, and to place the Queen in a position in which she might defy her enemies. He set out from Metz one morning at the head of a hundred well-mounted cavaliers, after having asked of the King permission to proceed to his governments of Saintonge and Angoulême. In his rapid and secret progress he met with no hindrance; and when the Queen was informed that D'Epernon was at hand, she escaped from one of the windows of the chateau by means of a rope-ladder, entered a carriage, and, escorted by Ruccelai and fifteen gentlemen, at Loches met the Duke d'Epernon, who conducted her to Angoulême. When, at length, the Court received information of the Queen's escape, Luynes was for immediately pursuing her with an armed force; but the King preferred to temporize, and an able peace-maker presented himself in the person of Du Plessis, who, after having secretly obtained the King's consent, persuaded the Queen to confide in him by the aid of the jealous D'Epernon himself, and a peace was in due course arranged by his exertions. The Queen obtained the government of Anjou, with regal rights, and three towns which were given her as places of safety.

France was desolated by ever fresh troubles, and to remedy them the iron hand was necessary, which at a later period bore down so heavily upon its turbulent and corrupt aristocracy; but the hour of Du Plessis had not yet sounded, and De Luynes, more a courtier than a statesman or soldier, was not equal to the work required. The disturbance had scarcely subsided before it again arose; the partisans of the Queen, or rather the enemies of the favourite, seized a number of places, and were speedily in possession of half the kingdom. A final conflict appeared imminent, and Mayenne and D'Epernon, fearing a surprise at Angers, were prudently anxious to convey the Queen to Guienne, where they

would be able to oppose a rampart of small fortresses to the progress of the Royal army. But Du Plessis, who was secretly in the King's interest, resisted this measure, and the Queen remained at Angers.

Louis XIII. set out at the head of his army, and having first reduced Normandy, arrived before Angers with all his forces. An engagement took place at Pont-de-Cé between his troops and those of the Queen, in which the latter were immediately routed. Peace was now concluded by the King's Ministers and Du Plessis; and a reconciliation took place between Marie de Medici and her son, which appeared to be cordial and sincere. The Queen returned to Paris, and Du Plessis received the promise of a cardinal's hat in return for his double treason; whilst a great number of the inferior leaders paid for their rebellion with their heads. The King led his army into Bearn,* where the revolt had found a certain number of partisans, and having re-established in this province, by a solemn decree, the Catholic religion, which had been abolished by Jeanne d'Albret, he restored to the clergy all their possessions. Finally, he bestowed a Parliament on Pau, with all the attributes of the other sovereign courts of the kingdom. He then returned to Paris, where he was received in triumph.

The reformed party in the kingdom became more and more disquieted by the manifest Catholic tendency of the Government. At a meeting held by them at Loudun in 1619, they had taken up the cause of their threatened brethren in Bearn. Their remonstrances were in vain, and two years later, at the General Assembly of La Rochelle, they distributed their seven hundred churches in eight circles, and drew up a species of constitution, in forty-seven articles, which regulated, *under the King's authority*, the levy of the taxes and the discipline of the troops, and which was, in fact, the creation of a distinct government in the bosom of the State. Louis XIII. marched against them, and subdued Saintonge and Poitou. Rochelle was invested, and Montauban, defended by the Marquis de la Force, resisted a siege which cost the Catholics the useless loss of eight thousand men and the Duke of Mayenne, the son of the famous chief of the League.

War against the Huguenots, 1621.

There was a universal outcry in France against the Duke de Luynes, to whom was attributed the blame of this reverse. In the course of this

* Bearn had formed part of the hereditary domains of Henry IV., but was not really one of the Royal possessions till 1630.

expedition the favourite had still further aggrandised his position, and had added to his numerous offices those of constable and keeper of the seals. He knew that if he would retain his influence with the King he must be everything; but he did not long enjoy his new dignities, for a fever carried him off in four days.

Death of the Constable De Luynes, 1621.

The Protestant Lesdiguières, commander-in-chief of the Royal army, became a convert to Catholicism, and was created Constable. His conversion was the signal for numerous defections in the Protestant party. The Marquis de la Force and the Count de Châtillon, Coligny's grandson, surrendered, the one Montauban and the other Aigues-Mortes, in return for large sums and marshals' batons. Rohan, however, remained incorruptible and desired peace. It was signed at Montpelier, despite Condé, through the influence of Medici, who was jealous of a prince whose power diminished when affairs were tranquil, and increased in the time of national troubles. The Edict of Nantes was confirmed; the King at the same time allowing the Protestants to assemble for the purposes of their worship, but prohibiting them to meet for political objects. Du Plessis, after the peace of Montpelier, obtained the cardinal's hat, and thenceforth became known under the celebrated name of Cardinal Richelieu, and was soon after made a member of the council by the Marquis de la Vieuville. La Vieuville inherited a portion of the favour enjoyed by the Duke de Luynes; performed the functions of Prime Minister without possessing the name, and maintained his credit by flattering the King's tastes and cherishing his dislike for his mother and jealousy of Gaston his brother. He was guilty of a great crime towards the latter, with the complicity of the King, by depriving him of an excellent governor he had, and whom he replaced by the Count de Lude, a man of pleasure, extraordinarily fitted to corrupt the mind and heart of his pupil. But this infamous action turned out to the profit neither of the King nor his minister. La Vieuville soon repented of having opened the council chamber to Richelieu, who obtained a great influence over the young King's mind by pointing out to him the vices of his Government, the immense resources of France, and the secret of its strength. La Vieuville was disgraced, and shut up in the chateau of Amboise. Richelieu became all-powerful, and possessed the great art of rendering himself indispensable to the King, although the latter by no means liked him. Louis XIII. hated any manifestation of a spirit of

Defection of several Protestant chiefs.

Peace of Montpelier, 1622.

liberty amongst his subjects; refused to admit that they possessed any rights independent of his will; and was inspired, in fact, with a passion for arbitrary power, whilst nature had only rendered him capable of obeying. He found in Richelieu the strength of mind in which he was deficient, and believed that, with his aid, he was an absolute monarch, whilst in reality he was a slave all his life.

## CHAPTER II.

### RICHELIEU'S MINISTRY.

### 1624–1643.

Condition of the kingdom before the Ministry of De Richelieu, 1624.

The great evils which oppressed the kingdom were, the moral weakness of the King; the ambition of the members of the Royal family, who were all clamorous for a share in the Government; the pride and avarice of the great nobles, who were accustomed to sell their services and obedience, and who were certain to increase their power and fortunes if they could render themselves indispensable to some powerful prince formidable to the monarch. Under these circumstances the forces of France were incessantly divided, the government uncertain, the treasury pillaged, and the kingdom a prey to anarchy. The Spaniards, assisted by Queen Anne, always a foreigner at heart, took advantage of these calamities to obtain the chief influence in the council, and their powerful political influence held the Protestant party in a constant state of alarm, although unable to crush it. The result was that the latter became accustomed to regard itself as a people distinct from the bulk of the nation, and that France contained one element of danger the more. Many strong places were in the hands of the Calvinists, and the success of the United Provinces had inspired them with the chimerical desire of forming themselves into a Republic, of which Rochelle should be the bulwark and capital.

All became changed in France as soon as Richelieu seized with a firm hand the direction of affairs. The resolutions of the council, which the Spaniards had hitherto always known, were now kept secret. The ambassadors were instructed to speak and act with boldness. The ambassadors from Rome having pointed out to the Cardinal the various steps which he should take in his negotiations with that Court, Richelieu replied, "The King is not willing to be trifled with; you will tell the Pope that an army will be sent into the Valteline." This was the first step in the new path of French diplomacy.

The Valteline, a valley of the Tyrolean Alps, serves as a passage between France, Germany, and Italy. The two branches of the House of Austria well understood the strategic importance of this pass as a means of communication between their States in the north and the south, the Tyrol and the Milanese territory. The people of this valley, who were Catholics, had, therefore, been incited to revolt against the Protestant canton of the Grisons, to which they belonged; and the Count de Fuentes, the Spanish Governor of Milan, who had so long been in desperate antagonism with Henry IV. and France, had raised forts so as to command the passage of this valley, and the Pope, in accordance with an agreement with Spain, kept a body of troops there to defend it. Without interfering openly, as yet, in the celebrated struggle known as the Thirty Years' War, which already shook Germany to its centre, France observed with dissatisfaction the successive encroachments of her old enemy, the House of Austria. The Marquis de Cœuvres, in pursuance of orders from Richelieu, arrived suddenly in the Valteline with a body of troops, repulsed those of the pontiff, and rapidly took possession of the forts and all the strong places. The Pope's nuncio burst into loud remonstrances against the support which had been afforded to the Protestant Grisons. "You will find it difficult," he said, "to defend the course you have taken in the council."—"Not at all," replied the Cardinal; "when I was created Minister, the Pope authorized me to say and to do, with a safe conscience, anything that might be useful to the State." —"But," replied the nuncio, "suppose it be a case of assisting heretics?" —"I believe," rejoined Richelieu, "that the Pope's authorization extends even to a case of that kind."

The Spaniards avenged themselves by promising their support to the Calvinists, who complained that the conditions of the peace of Montpelier had been ill observed; and that new forts had been erected around Rochelle. On this occasion they were the aggressors. Soubise, with a fleet, made a descent upon and seized the Isle of Rhé, and Rohan raised a revolt in Languedoc. Richelieu sent against them D'Epernon, Thémines, and Montmorency. The latter dispersed their fleet, Toiras wrested from them the Isle of Rhé, which was the defence of the port of Rochelle, and the Minister granted a fresh peace to the vanquished. Public clamour reproached him for not having taken this opportunity to crush once for all the Calvinist party, which seemed now to be completely broken, and he was spoken of as the *Cardinal*

Second war of Louis XIII. against the Huguenots, 1625.

*of Rochelle*, or the *Protestant Pope*. "I shall have," said Richelieu, on this occasion, "to scandalize the world once more first;" by which words he alluded to the marriage which he concluded between Madame, the King's sister, and the Protestant heir of the throne of England, so unfortunately famous under the name of Charles I.

The Valteline war was terminated by the treaty of Monçon, in Aragon, by which the Valteline was restored to the Grisons. Richelieu hastened to put an end to it, that he might be the better able to face the storm which was brewing against himself and the Court in the interior of the kingdom. The two queens, Marie de Medici and Anne of Austria, were in the highest degree jealous of his influence over the King, and condemned his policy of hostility towards the Pope and Spain. Gaston, the King's brother, hated Richelieu because he had refused him any place or authority in the council; and the courtiers, from whom Richelieu withheld any access to the public treasury, overwhelmed him with insults and accusations. It was against this formidable league that the Cardinal now had to contend. It was his policy to heap favours and honours on the nobles of high birth and distinguished merit; but as soon as they displayed any hostility towards him they found no mercy at his hands. The accomplices in the conspiracy, known by the name of its principal concocter, the young and imprudent Chalais, speedily experienced the truth of this fact. As a passionate admirer of the Duchess of Chevreuse, one of the Cardinal's enemies, Chalais was the soul of this conspiracy, in which even the King's brother took part at the instigation of his governor, Ornano. The latter had, nevertheless, been loaded with honours by Richelieu, who, for the purpose of securing some influence with the heir-presumptive to the crown, had bestowed upon Colonel Ornano a marshal's bâton. With Gaston and Chalais were joined the Duke of Vendôme, governor of Brittany, the grand-prior of Vendôme, his brother, both natural sons of Henry IV., the Queen Anne, of Austria, herself, and a multitude of inferior accomplices, amongst whom were the Abbé Scaglia, ambassador from Savoy, and an English agent, the creature of the frivolous Duke of Buckingham. This duke, the favourite of James I. and of Charles his son, had been sent into France to espouse Henrietta, the King's sister, in the name of Charles I., who had succeeded his father. He displayed

Treaty of Monçon, 1625.

Powerful league against Richelieu, 1626.

Conspiracy of Chalais.

during his embassy an unheard-of magnificence and an audacious gallantry, of which even the Queen herself became the object. Richelieu, himself suspected of having a tenderness for this princess, avenged the King, or himself, by adopting measures which were humiliating towards Buckingham; who, in his turn, entertained a deep resentment against the Cardinal, and entered into the cabal which had been formed against him. The object of this league was to overthrow the minister; and those of whom it was composed were even accused of a desire to depose the King, crown Gaston in his stead, and marry the latter to Anne of Austria.

Informed of this vast conspiracy, Richelieu made the King acquainted with its existence, and cunningly frightened him by a prospect of dangers which only threatened his own ministry. He pointed out to him that his dignity as a king and as a husband were equally outraged, and thus rendered him the implacable instrument of his own vengeance. The feeble Gaston had betrayed his accomplices, and Ornano was, in the first place, thrown into the prison of Vincennes. The brothers Vendôme were arrested and sent to the Château of Amboise. Chalais, discovered to have been guilty, by his letters to the Duchess of Chevreuse, of having insulted the King, and given seditious advice to Gaston, was condemned to death by a commission, and executed. Marshal Ornano died at Vincennes, and the grand-prior at Amboise; whilst the Duke of Vendôme was only released from prison after having made all the confessions required of him. The King made Anne of Austria appear in his council chamber, and severely reproached her with having wished to obtain a new husband in Gaston of Orléans; upon which she coolly replied, "I should not have gained enough by the change." She was subjected to the observance of a severe system of etiquette; and the entrance of men into her apartments in the King's absence was strictly forbidden. A great number of nobles were disgraced; and amongst the most distinguished of them was Baradas, the monarch's favourite, whose elevation had been as sudden as was his fall. The keeper of the seals, d'Aligre, was dismissed, and Madame de Chevreuse was banished to Lorraine. A guard of musqueteers was granted to the Cardinal, together with the town of Brouage as a place of safety. Finally, Gaston in return for the confessions which he made, and his consent to espouse

Severe revenge of Richelieu, 1626.

Mdlle. Bourbon Montpensier,* received the rich Duchy of Orleans, in exchange for the Duchy of Anjou, of which he had hitherto borne the title. The result of this great intrigue was to increase the power of the Minister, and he was suspected of having designedly aroused it against himself as a means of enabling him to punish and crush his enemies. He exercised the sovereign authority without any of those who possessed the great offices of the Crown being able to counterbalance his authority. There was no longer any constable, that office having been abolished after the death of Lesdiguières, and that of grand admiral had been converted into a general superintendence of commerce and naval affairs, which Richelieu had adjudged to himself.

An Assembly of Notables, convoked in 1626, was opened at the Tuileries by the Chancellor Marillac, keeper of the seals.† It sanctioned all the proceedings of the Cardinal, the suppression of the great offices, the repurchase of royal domains, which had been alienated for a trifling price, and the reduction of the pensions. It expressed hopes that the taxes would be more equitably arranged; that the expenses of the State would be kept down to a level with its income; that plebeians would be permitted to obtain commissions in the army, in order that the military spirit might be spread through the unennobled classes; and that the interior fortresses would be demolished. The nobles further demanded that the national power should be supported by a standing army; that the commercial spirit and traffic with distant parts should be encouraged by the establishment of great companies; and that the classes engaged in peaceful pursuits should be protected against the outrages of the military. They finally voted with enthusiasm the equipment of two fleets, the one for the high seas, and the other for the Mediterranean—France at this period possessing only a few galleys. The Assembly only showed itself stubborn on one point, and even on that its apparent opposition was an act of accordance with the Cardinal's

Assembly of Notables, 1626.

* Mademoiselle Montpensier, whom Gaston long refused to marry, from political motives, was one of the richest heiresses of Europe. She brought to him as her dowry the sovereign principality of Dombes, the Earldom of Eu, the Duchy of Chatellerault, &c. The issue of this marriage was an only daughter, the celebrated *Mademoiselle.*

† All the Notables, to the number of fifty-five, were nominated by the Cardinal. There were twelve members of the clergy, fourteen of the nobility, and twenty-seven members of the sovereign courts. Gaston, the King's brother, presided over the assembly, the vice-presidents being the Marshals de la Force and Bassompièrre.

wishes; for when Richelieu affected to desire the abolition of capital punishment for political offences, the Assembly comprehended his real wishes, and insisted on the necessity of exemplary punishments.

The Notables separated in February, 1627, and a commission was immediately appointed to reduce to a code or body of laws the reforms promised either to the last Assembly or to the States of 1614. Two years were devoted to this great work, and at length, in January, 1629, an *ordonnance* was promulgated, consisting of 461 articles, which is one of the great monuments of old French Legislation. It referred to the laws, as well civil as criminal, to the general police, to affairs ecclesiastical, to the management of the law courts, to the finances, to instruction, to the naval and military armaments; and gave extensive encouragement to industry and commerce. It not only enabled the nobles to traffic without loss of dignity, but afforded the privileges of nobility to every plebeian who should maintain upon the seas during five years, a vessel of at least 200 tons burden; and rendered military commissions accessible to all private soldiers who should show themselves worthy of them. This code met on many points the necessities of the period; but afforded no relaxation to the shackles of the municipal *régime*, which it subjected to one uniform rule for the whole kingdom; and we here see that tendency to centralisation which is doubtless useful when its action is limited to matters which properly come under the notice of the State, but which, when abused, has led France into excesses, and all the dangers of modern civilization.

Ordonnance of 1629.

Richelieu was tolerant neither of contradiction nor obstacle; and he had especially at heart to make it thoroughly understood throughout France that no one, whatever his rank, was beyond the reach of the law; a principle which, in the very year in which theAssembly of the Notables was dissolved, received a striking example, hitherto unheard-of in the annals of our history. François de Montmorency, Count de Bouteville, who had already fought twenty-two duels, having slain in private combat the Count de Bussy, was tried and condemned to death, together with François de Rosmadec, Count des Chapelles, his second, by virtue of an edict of Henry IV. against private combats, which were so murderous to the nobility. Their execution afforded an example, rare in France, of the punishment of great nobles for having offended, not the prince, but the laws.

Execution of Counts de Bouteville and Des Chapelles, 1627.

Fresh conspiracies were speedily formed against Richelieu, and were, in fact, the expression of the proud Duke of Buckingham's hatred for the Cardinal. Under pretence of the oppressions suffered by the Protestant churches, a rupture took place between France and England, and Buckingham with a formidable fleet descended upon the coasts of Aunis. Many Calvinist leaders supported the invasion, but their rising cost them dear.

Descent of the English upon the Isle de Rhé, 1627.

The English had disembarked near Rochelle, in the Isle of Rhé, where they asserted that they intended to found a colony. The Marquis de Toiras defended with distinguished valour the Citadel of Saint-Martin, and afforded the Marshal de Schomberg time to bring up numerous reinforcements. Buckingham set sail and abandoned his imprudent allies.

The moment had now come for the Cardinal to destroy a perpetual source of disturbance and the Protestant party; and he laid siege to Rochelle, commanding the forces in person. The siege was a remarkable one, for the courage and perseverance which were displayed on each side.

Memorable Siege of Rochelle, 1627–1628.

Rohan, an illustrious soldier, and chief of the party, was at this time absent from the town. His mother and sister, however, encouraged the inhabitants by their words and their example. Full of enthusiasm for their religion and liberty, they had chosen as mayor one named Guiton, who, before accepting the magistracy, had shown them a poniard, and said, "I will not accept this office save on condition that I shall be at liberty to plunge this dagger into the first who shall speak of surrendering, and that I shall be treated in the same way if I dream of surrendering." Lines of circumvallation three leagues in extent enclosed the town on the land side; but on the side fronting the sea, the Rochellois hoped to be furnished by the English with munitions and reinforcements. Richelieu, however, frustrated the fulfilment of this hope by a gigantic piece of engineering—a mole in the sea four thousand seven hundred feet long.* The besieged allowed it to be constructed without interruption, in the belief that the waves would destroy it; and, in fact, they did so twice; but the Cardinal had the work commenced a third time, and it was at length successfully accomplished. Louis XIII. animated the operations by his presence.

* The Engineers under whose direction it was constructed were Métezeau and Tiriot.

An English fleet, commanded by the Duke of Buckingham, was equipped for the purpose of affording succour to the town; but just as the Duke was about to embark, he was assassinated by an Englishman named Felton. The fleet nevertheless set sail, and after having cannonaded the mole without effecting any important result, withdrew. The besieged after a time became a prey to the horrors of famine, but Guiton, the mayor, replied to every complaint, "If there were but one man left in the town, it would be his duty to shut the gates against the enemy." At length, after an heroic defence of a year's duration, the Rochellois, driven to despair, consented to surrender. The result was, that their town lost its privileges, but that they retained the right of worshipping according to their faith.

Fall of Rochelle, 1628.

The Protestant party was not the only one on which Richelieu inflicted a severe blow by the capture of Rochelle, for the whole of the factious princes and nobles admitted that the fall of this city had crushed them even more severely than it had the Huguenots. Richelieu had now torn from the spirit of revolution, under whatever flag it might choose to rise, a stronghold which was reputed to be impregnable, and which possessed a free communication with foreign countries, and he had consequently deprived the disaffected of the resources without which they could not hope to obtain any permanent success.

France, delivered at length from the apprehension of civil war, now ardently desired peace; but, if there had been no longer any national difficulties and perils, there would have been an end of Cardinal Richelieu's administration. Louis XIII. bore his yoke with impatience; his flatterers urged him to dismiss his Minister, and to take the government into his own hands; and he promised to be a king in reality, but at the same time he was resolved not to endure the fatigues and troubles of actual rule. It was to Richelieu's interest, therefore, to create an incessant series of fresh embarrassments, and only to put an end to one war for the purpose of commencing another. The national pride was in accordance with Richelieu's views for his personal aggrandizement, for it inherited the projects formed by Henry IV. against the house of Austria, and desired that France should be the first nation in Europe, sincerely believing that not only its safety but even its honour demanded that all other States should be prostrate at its feet. A pretext for war was not long wanting.

Vincent de Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua and Montferrat, died in 1627, and his cousin, Charles de Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, whose family had been long resident in France, claimed to be heir of his States. But the Emperor, the Spaniards, and the Duke of Savoy set up in opposition to him the Duke of Guastalla, a member of the elder branch of the Gonzaga family, and supported his pretended rights by the invasion of the two principalities. The whole of Montferrat was speedily conquered, with the exception of Casal, its capital. Richelieu pointed out to the King how much it was to the honour and interest of France to assist a prince who was half French, and especially to counterbalance the influence of Austria in Upper Italy.

Succession of the Duke of Mantua, 1627.

Louis XIII. arrived with his army, in the depth of winter, at the foot of the Alps. The only road at this part was the pass or defile of Susa, which nature and art seemed to have combined to render impracticable. Redoubts crowned the heights, and the pass was closed by three entrenchments, behind which were ensconced a Piedmontese army. The Musqueteers of the King's household, led on by three marshals, effected a passage through the whole of these defences, and the Duke of Savoy, terrified, abandoned the Spaniards, and signed at Susa a treaty which secured to the Duke of Nevers the peaceable possession of Mantua and Montferrat.

The pass of Susa opened, 1628.

Treaty of Susa, 1628.

During this campaign the Calvinistic party attempted a final effort. The Duke of Rohan maintained his position in the South by the aid of the Spaniards. The Count Duke of Olivarez, faithful to the policy of the time, thought it well to protect in France the remains of this unhappy party, and promised Rohan three hundred thousand ducats; but this assistance came too late. Louis XIII., on his return from Piedmont, fell rapidly upon the small number of strong places still possessed by the Protestants, and burnt or destroyed those which still existed. Rohan now sent in his submission, and peace was concluded, on the 27th June, at Alais. He received a hundred thousand crowns from the King to enable him to pay off his troops, and then retired to Venice.

Submission of De Rohan and ruin of the Protestant party. Peace of Alais, 1629.

From this moment the Protestants no longer formed a *State*, separated from the general body of the kingdom. They had been reduced to this necessity, so fatal to the country, by the odious violence of the sons of Henry II.; but France could not without peril remain thus divided, and

the ruin of the Calvinists, as a political party, justly did honour to Cardinal Richelieu. They ceased to possess a government of their own, and to treat with that of the King as one power treating with another. At the same time, they preserved the right of worshipping according to their own tenets, and all their privileges, as established by the Edict of Nantes.

New War against the Empire and Spain, 1630.

The flame of war was speedily relighted in Italy. The Empire and Spain had refused to recognise the Treaty of Susa; the ambitious Duke of Savoy had hastened to support anew his former allies in their designs upon Mantua and Montferrat. His son, Victor-Amadeus, husband of the Princess Christina, sister of Louis XIII., succeeded him in 1630, and adopted his policy. The presence in Piedmont of a French army, and the conquest of many important places—amongst others, of Pignerol—could not prevent the capture of Mantua, defended by its sovereign himself and the Marshal d'Estrées. The capitulation of Casal speedily followed this catastrophe, Toiras, deprived of help, surrendering the city to the Imperialists, and retaining the citadel. The signing of peace, at the Diet of Ratisbon, put an end to this war of succession. The Emperor undertook to put the Duke of Nevers in possession of Mantua and Montferrat; and France promised to restore the conquests made at the expense of Victor-Amadeus, and to form no alliance with the enemies of the Empire. Marshal Schomberg, who was ready to give battle to the Spaniards under the walls of Casal, refused at first to acknowledge this treaty, when a young man, merely secretary to the Pope's nuncio, threw himself between the two armies at the commencement of the action, in the midst of a shower of balls, and stopped the French troops, who, eager for the fray, cried out, "*No peace! no Mazarin!*" This young man was, in fact, the future Cardinal Mazarin. He succeeded in persuading the leaders, and the Treaty of Ratisbon was confirmed at Cherasco by the Marquis of Sainte-Croix for Spain, and Marshal Schomberg for France.

Peace of Ratisbon confirmed at Cherasco, 1631.

Louis XIII., who had rejoined his army in Piedmont, on the signature of peace returned to France, and fell dangerously ill at Lyons. Richelieu thought himself lost; but the King recovered and returned to Paris where his Minister was threatened by an equal danger. The Queen-mother, always hostile to the Cardinal, and enraged at the results of the

war in Piedmont, undertaken against her son-in-law, Victor-Amadeus, demanded of the King, with indignant tears, that he should disgrace the Cardinal in her presence, and overwhelmed him with bitter reproaches. Louis XIII., to put an end to this painful scene, abruptly ordered Richelieu to retire. The latter considered himself disgraced, and the Queen looked upon her triumph as certain. This was the opinion of the whole Court; and whilst the Cardinal was burning his papers and securing his treasures, the courtiers flocked in crowds to Marie de Medici to congratulate her, and express their delight at what had happened. The King had retired to Versailles,* and Richelieu, encouraged by his friends, determined, before departing, to make a final effort. He followed the King, obtained an interview, justified himself, received orders to remain at the helm of the State; and whilst his enemies were already triumphing over his fall, reappeared more powerful than ever. This day is known by the name of *The Day of Dupes.*

Arrest of the Brothers Marillac.

The first act by which Richelieu attested his re-establishment in power was the arrest of the two brothers Marillac—the one a Marshal of France, the other the Keeper of the Seals—who owed their elevation to the Cardinal, and had shown themselves his most bitter enemies. Before punishing them, however, Richelieu sought to abate or put an end to the hostility of his powerful foes, and overwhelmed with favours and promises the friends of Gaston of Orléans; especially distinguishing Puy-Laurens and the President, Le Coigneux, the confidants of the prince, whose favour he thus sought to gain. But, urged on by the two queens, Gaston visited the Minister at the head of a crowd of gentlemen, insulted him, and threatened him with the full weight of his vengeance. After this violent and ridiculous scene, during which the Cardinal believed himself to be in peril of his life, Gaston retired to his appanage of Orleans and began to levy troops; but, at the approach of the Royal army, he fled without offering any resistance, and passed into Lorraine.

Gaston of Orleans takes refuge in Lorraine.

It was not yet enough. So long as the Queen-mother, imbued with the intriguing, jealous, and vindictive spirit of the Medicis, remained at the Court, Richelieu could never be sure of the morrow. Perceiving that he was sufficiently strong to make a daring stroke, he told the King that

* Versailles was at that time a mere shooting-box.

he must choose between his mother or himself. The King, cold of heart and feeble in mind, did not hesitate. He proceeded to Compiègne, accompanied by his mother; departed from it without her knowledge, and left her alone with her women in that residence, where she was informed of his will respecting her.

Flight of Marie de Medici, 1631.

Blinded with rage, the Queen-mother committed the error of withdrawing into Spanish Flanders, whence Richelieu prudently allowed her a free passage, and where, to the Minister's great satisfaction, she demanded refuge and protection. To do this, was to break with her son and with France. The King replied to her complaints by the following letter. "The course which you have taken, madame, does not allow me to doubt what have been your intentions during the past, and what I have to expect of you in the future. The respect which I owe you, permits me to say no more." Marie de Medici never again re-entered France.

Free from henceforth to listen to the dictates of his wrath, and to satisfy his vengeance, Richelieu gave conciliatory tactics for the most vigorous measures. All those who had hesitated between his party and that of the Queen-mother were forced to quit the Court and their offices, and the trial of Marshal de Marillac was conducted at Verdun by a commission, which, being slow to find him guilty, was replaced by another, hostile to the Marshal, and presided over by the Keeper of the Seals, Châteauneuf, his personal enemy. Châteauneuf was a sub-deacon, and, as such, incapable of sitting as a judge; but he obtained a dispensation from Rome. Marillac was transported to Ruel, to the Cardinal's own house, where he was tried, and condemned to death, as having been guilty of peculation, extortion, and tyranny, in the exercise of his office. His real crime was his having attempted to destroy Richelieu, his benefactor, by making the last war in Piedmont a failure. He was beheaded, and his brother, the Keeper of the Seals, died in prison. The Cardinal's vengeance was still further signalized by numerous proscriptions. The Count de Moret, the Marquis de la Vieuville, the Dukes of Elbeuf, and of Bellegarde, were condemned to lose their estates and their heads, for having joined the Duke of Orleans and Marie de Medici in foreign countries; the possessions of the Queen-mother were also seized, and an inventory was made of them as though she had been dead.

Sentence and execution of Marshal de Marillac, 1632.

Whilst Richelieu thus executed his vengeance, the Queen-mother and her emigrant son continued their intrigues, both within and without the kingdom, but Gaston, heir to the Crown, and in that respect formidable, seemed only bent upon compromising his friends and leaving them to their fate. He only distinguished himself in Lorraine by his frivolous gallantry; and having become a widower, secretly married Princess Marguerite, sister of Duke Charles IV. Finally, after having wandered about all the frontiers of the kingdom, he entered France at the head of a band of deserters and adventurers, and joined Marshal Duke de Montmorency, in Languedoc. The latter, a descendant of the Constables Montmorency, a gallant soldier, and a brother-in-law of Condé, allowed himself to be seduced by the prince, and, whether he considered it his duty to deliver France from Richelieu's domination, or whether he wished by making himself feared, to be able to sell his submission at the price of a constable's sword, he resolved to raise Languedoc, of which he was governor, in favour of Gaston. But Richelieu anticipated his enemies, and the Marshals de la Force and Schomberg entered Languedoc at the head of two Royal armies, at the moment when Gaston was effecting his junction with Montmorency.

Revolt of Gaston of Orleans and of De Montmorency.

The hostile troops met near Castelnaudary. Montmorency, very inferior in the number of his troops to the enemy, threw himself upon the latter with a feeble detachment; was surrounded, captured, and carried away a prisoner under the very eyes of Gaston, who made no effort to rescue him, and whose whole army immediately disbanded itself. Those of the friends and partisans of the Prince who were seized with arms in their hands, were treated without mercy, but terms were made with those who remained with him, and amongst others with Puy-Laurens. Richelieu never failed to regard Gaston as the heir-presumptive to the crown, and he permitted him to retire to Tours, where the Prince arrived more disgraced by his cowardice than by his rebellion. Montmorency was taken before the Parliament of Toulouse, condemned to death and executed, and died as a repentant and sincere Christian. A crowd of others lost their heads on the scaffold, and Gaston, terrified at the Cardinal's rigour, once more quitted France.

Battle of Castelnaudary, 1632.

Execution of Montmorency, 1632.

The King, who had hitherto been ignorant of his brother's second marriage with the Princess Marguerite in Lorraine, on being informed

of it, refused to sanction it, and invaded the duchy with a demand that Charles IV. should give his sister into his hands. The latter, however, escaped, and joined her husband at Brussels, where Marie de Medici received her as a daughter. The whole of Lorraine was overrun, and Nancy fell into the hands of the French. The unfortunate Duke Charles* abdicated in favour of Cardinal Nicolas Francis, his brother, who hastened, without consulting Rome, to lay aside the hat, and to marry his cousin Claude. Soon afterwards he retired from Lorraine with his wife, abandoning his states to the French King, who everywhere established garrisons, pending the surrender of the Princess Marguerite.

Invasion of Lorraine by the French, 1632.

Whilst Louis XIII. thus endeavoured to annul this alliance by force, the Parliament of Paris, to whom he had referred the matter, declared Gaston's marriage void, decreed the duke guilty of violence to the person of the Duke of Orleans, and confiscated his inheritance. A year later the Assembly of the Clergy confirmed the judgment in opposition to the Court of Rome, which recognised the marriage as valid.

The Parliament of Paris annuls the marriage of the Duke of Orleans.

The King's brother had now returned to France, having abandoned his mother as readily as he had abandoned his friends, and visited the Court, when Richelieu, in the midst of brilliant fêtes, endeavoured, but in vain, to obtain from him an avowal that his marriage was illegal. Monsieur in this matter displayed, for the first time, some firmness, and retired to Blois with Puy-Laurens, his favourite, on whom Richelieu had lavished favours and honours. He had married him to one of his relatives, on whom he bestowed a magnificent dowry, and had made him a duke and peer, in the hope that he would induce the Prince to yield to the King's wishes; but as Puy-Laurens would not serve the Cardinal's views, he enticed him to Paris, and had him seized and cast into the Bastille, where he died.

His master did not remain the less obstinate on this account, but an event occurred three years afterwards, which reduced him to a secondary position. Anne of Austria lived apart from Louis XIII., and had no children. It is said that a young girl, Mdlle. de la Fayette, who was beloved by the monarch, and sought in the Convent of the Visitation an

* Charles IV. was the twenty-fourth duke of the house of Lorraine, issue of Gérard d'Alsace. Besides the reigning branch, there were many other branches of this illustrious house, as those of Vaudemont, De Guise, De Mercœur, De Mayenne, D'Aumale, &c.

asylum from his solicitations, endeavoured to remove the King's spirit of hostility towards his Queen, and in time brought about a good understanding between them. However this may be, Anne of Austria after twenty-two years' sterility, presented to the world on the 5th September, 1638, a son, who became Louis XIV.

Birth of a Dauphin, 1638.

At the period when the reins of Government passed thus under a king in a perpetual state of pupillage, from the hands of Concini to the hands of De Luynes, and from those of the latter to those of Richelieu, in which they remained, great events, in which France had not as yet interfered, were taking place in Germany.

The Emperor Mathias, having no children, had chosen as his successor his cousin-german, Ferdinand, of Styria, grandson of Ferdinand I., brother of Charles V., and had had him elected King of Bohemia, in his own life-time. This Prince, educated by the Jesuits, and an admirer of Philip II., wished to deprive the Protestant Bohemians of liberty of conscience. The latter, greatly irritated, complained to the Council of Prague, and threw four officers of the Government out of the windows.

In the meantime, Mathias died, and Ferdinand, besieged in Vienna by the victorious Bohemians, could not dispute the possession of the Imperial Crown. The Diet was divided between the Protestants and the Catholics, but the defection of the Elector of Saxony made the balance incline in favour of the latter, and Ferdinand was proclaimed Emperor at Frankfort, on the 28th August, 1619. The Bohemian States replied to this election by offering their Crown to the Elector Palatine* Frederick V., son-in-law of the King of England, and nephew of the Stadtholder of Holland. The whole Evangelical Union or Confederation of the Protestant states of Germany recognised him as their head, and set him up in opposition to the Emperor, who supported the Catholic League.

Origin of the Thirty Years' War, 1618.

Election to the Empire of Ferdinand III., 1619.

Frederick V. receives the crown of Bohemia.

Frederick, a prince without talents or energy, lost, in a bloody battle fought on the White Mountain, near Prague, not only his new crown, but also his hereditary estates. Emboldened by this success, the Emperor, closely allied with Spain, carried war into the Palatinate, and threatened to extirpate Protestantism throughout the whole of Germany.

* The Palatinate, one of the Electorates of Germany in the circle of the Upper Rhine, extended along the two shores of the river, and had Manheim for its capital.

To save its liberties, the Evangelical Union, which had been without a leader since the fall of the Palatine, chose in that capacity Christian IV., King of Denmark, and Duke of Holstein (1625); and then commenced the second period of the Thirty Years' War, called the Danish Period. It was no less fatal than the first to the Protestant cause; for Christian, vanquished by the celebrated imperial generals Tilly and Wallenstein, was driven back into his islands; saw the whole of Jutland, Schleswig, and Holstein invaded by the conquerors; and to save the remnant of his dominions, was compelled to sign the humiliating peace of Lubeck, in 1629. The whole of Protestant Germany was under the yoke, and the cause of liberty of conscience seemed desperate.

Diet of Ratisbon, 1630.

Then assembled the imperial Diet of Ratisbon (1630), to discuss the great questions which for twenty years had agitated the German empire; and now there came a check to the fortunes of the House of Austria. In the place of allies Ferdinand only found adversaries amongst the Catholic Electors, who were alarmed at his ambition and his despotism. They demanded of him the disbandment of his army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, which was now useless, and the dismissal of the invincible General Wallenstein. It was at Ratisbon, also, that was regulated the succession of Mantua, which the Emperor had pretended to dispose of as an imperial fief. This was the second step which France took in its interference with the affairs of the empire; the first being the occupation of the Valteline.

Continuation of the Thirty Years' War, 1630–1635.

Richelieu saw with disquiet the progress of the House of Austria; but the time was not yet come for France openly to interfere. Richelieu contented himself with promising as a subsidy 1,200,000 livres a year to the young King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, already famous by reason of his victories over the Muscovites and the Poles, and towards whom the eyes of all Protestant Europe were now turned. This *Snow King*—as Ferdinand called him, in his profound blindness—hurled himself upon Germany. Victorious at Leipsic, in 1631, and again at the passage of the Leck, where Tilly lost his life, he retaliated upon the Catholic League all the evils they had inflicted on the Evangelical Alliance, and prepared to strike a final blow by attacking Ferdinand in his capital. The Emperor, in terror, then recalled the illustrious Wallenstein, whom he had disgraced; and the two rivals in glory encountered each other at Lutzen in 1632. Gustavus was the

victor, but died on the field of battle, leaving the command to another hero, Duke Bernard de Saxe-Weimar. The latter, however, after great successes, lost in 1634 the decisive battle of Nordlingen against the Archduke Ferdinard, the Emperor's eldest son. The conquests of Gustavus Adolphus were nullified, and the House of Austria became once more all-powerful. Here ends the Swedish period of the Thirty Years' War, and commences the fourth and last epoch, to which has been given the name of the French period.

At the moment when Richelieu was engaging France in this sanguinary struggle, which terminated only with the Treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, it will be as well to cast a glance at the state of Europe in 1635.

Italy—occupied in the north and south by the Spaniards, who were masters of the Milanese territory and the kingdom of Naples—was destitute of strength or will. England, on the eve of a revolution, took no part in the affairs of the Continent. Holland, at the expiration of the truce of twelve years, had renewed against Spain her glorious war of independence. Queen Christina pursued with the Swedes the work of her father, Gustavus Adolphus; whilst Denmark, exhausted by the war of 1625, held aloof. As for Germany, she was more than ever divided. The Elector of Saxony had, by the Peace of Prague, abandoned the Protestant cause; but the four circles of Upper Germany, Franconia, Swabia, the Palatinate, the Upper Rhine, and the Elector of Brandenburg, still defended it. Bohemia was crushed, and all the rest of the empire was in the interest of the Catholic League, of which the nominal chief was the Duke of Bavaria, recently invested with the Palatinate, but who was but an instrument in the powerful hands of the Emperor Ferdinand. This Prince, in whom an indomitable ambition was united with a furious fanaticism, was always, in spite of the Swedish invasion, the master of Germany, and pursued the ruin of the Evangelical Alliance in common with his cousin,* Philip IV., King of Spain, or rather with his minister, Olivarez.

Spain, at this period, had already lost much of the power it had possessed under Charles V., but, on the other hand, she possessed a new

* We have seen that Charles V. divided his dominions between his brother Ferdinand, his successor to the empire, and his son, Philip II. This was the origin of the two branches of the House of Austria, the one reigning at Vienna, the other at Madrid. Ferdinand was the grandson of Ferdinand I., and Philip IV. the great-grandson of Charles V.

kingdom, Portugal; and Philip IV. still reigned beyond the Peninsula, over Naples, Sicily, and the Milanese territory in Italy; over the whole of Belgium; over Roussillon, Franche Comté, Flanders, and Artois, French frontiers; over a portion of the northern coast of Africa; and over the whole of the New World. Heir, in accordance with a strict alliance with the Emperor, of the remainder of the states of Charles V., the ancient monarchy of the House of Austria found itself re-established, and possessed too great a weight in the destinies of Europe, when Richelieu threw into the balance the sword of France. Though a Catholic, and the vanquisher of the Protestants in France, he took them under his protection in Germany, and made the Evangelical Alliance in that country his weapon by which to break the power of the House of Austria. Continuer as he was of the policy of Henry IV., Richelieu, as was the case with that great King, did not live long enough to reap all its fruits; but before his death he at least had the glory of adding a new province to his country. We find this recorded in the history of the Thirty Years' War, from 1635 to 1642.

Commencement of the French period of the Thirty Years' War. Military dispositions of Richelieu, 1635-1648.

Richelieu made the greatest efforts to secure the success of his military plans. He formed an offensive and defensive alliance with Holland and Sweden, by which he secured the assistance of the army of the Prince of Orange in the Low Countries, and of that which Duke Bernard de Saxe Weimar commanded on the Rhine. He signed, at the same time, fresh treaties with the Dukes of Savoy, Mantua, and Parma, amongst whom he promised to divide the Milanese territory. His plans for war embraced at once Flanders, the Rhine, the Valteline, and Italy; and he formed four armies, intended to act simultaneously on all those points. He thus at one stroke raised the military force of the kingdom to a point greatly superior to that which it had hitherto obtained. Believing himself to be as great a general as he was a statesman, the Cardinal resolved to direct from his cabinet all the movements of the armies in the field. In his eyes the chief quality of a general was obedience, and he divided the command of each army, that the generals might be a mutual check upon each other, and that neither of them should consider himself sufficiently powerful to act upon his own responsibility.

The army of the north, under Marshals de Chatillon and de Brézé, was to join in Luxembourg that of the States-General of Holland, for the purpose of driving out of Belgium the Spaniards, commanded by Prince Thomas of Carignan, who had enlisted in the cause of the House of Austria; whilst the Duke of Savoy, Victor-Amadeus, his brother, was compelled, in his own despite, to serve France. The Prince of Carignan advanced boldly with fifteen thousand men between the two divisions of the army of the north, in order to crush them separately. But his temerity was punished, for they fell upon him simultaneously in the plain of Avaine, took from him fifty flags, and effected their junction with the Dutch, commanded by the Prince of Orange, before Maëstricht. The united army presented a force of fifty thousand combatants, and might have effected great things, but it gave itself up to the most frightful excesses. The sack of Tirlemont roused the Belgians, undecided until then whether to join the French or the Spaniards; they ran to arms, and thus gave time for the arrival of the Imperial army, under Piccolomini. This army forced the French to raise the siege of Louvain, and compelled them to remain in a state of inaction till the end of the campaign.

Campaign of 1635.

Operations of the armies in Belgium.

The French-Swedish army of Germany divided into several corps, under the command of Marshal de la Force and the Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, had in front of it, on the one side, the Duke Charles of Lorraine, whose States, since the marriage of the Princess Marguerite, continued to be occupied by French garrisons; and on the other, the celebrated Gallas, who blockaded a portion of Bernard's army in Mayence, and held that general himself in check at Sarrebrück. Richelieu confided a second army of fifteen thousand men to the Cardinal la Valette, who succeeded in effecting a junction with Bernard, and relieving him from his position. The blockade of Mayence was raised, but famine and disease had afflicted this army with direful force; and when, after its disastrous retreat, it re-entered Metz it was reduced to one half. The Duke of Lorraine, although beaten at Montbelliard by La Force, recovered a portion of his duchy, from which he was immediately afterwards expelled by a third army, which Louis XIII. commanded in person. The King attempted to effect no great movement on the Rhine; he never crossed the river; and what remained of

Operations in Germany.

the three armies acting upon this frontier covered Champagne and Lorraine, now threatened by the Imperialists.

Operations in Italy.

Italy was the third theatre of Richelieu's strategical operations. The princes allied with France, the Dukes of Savoy, of Parma, and of Mantua, were to take possession of the Milanese territory, and Marshal de Crequi, at the head of fifteen thousand men, was to assist them. Frequent altercations, however, with the Duke of Savoy paralysed every movement; and after the army, having failed in its attack on Frascorolo, had been compelled to raise the siege of Valanza, Crequi retreated towards France, abandoning the allied princes, whose States were immediately invaded.

Operations in the Valteline.

The French arms were only successful in the Valteline, where the command was in the hand of the Duke de Rohan, who had acquired a great military reputation in the civil wars, and who succeeded in cutting off all communication between the imperial troops of Lombardy and Austria. He made head with five thousand men, in an insurgent country, against the generals Serbelloni and Fernamont, who attacked him with superior numbers. Victorious at Morbegno, he repulsed Fernamont in the Tyrol, and then drove Serbelloni and the Spaniards from the Valteline, after the glorious battle of the Val de Presle. At this point only was the campaign of 1635 honourable for France; and it was at this point that the command had not been divided, and that the intelligence which had conceived a plan was always united with that by which it was to be carried out.

Campaign of 1636.

Richelieu entered upon the following campaign with as many armies as he had in the preceding, and he suffered great reverses. He hoped to gain possession of Franche-Comté, a Spanish province against which he had directed his best troops, under Prince Condé, but this army was promptly recalled to make head against the Imperialists, who had invaded France. The Cardinal-Infant, brother of the King of Spain, Piccolomini, and John der Werth, a Bavarian general, had entered France at the head of forty thousand men.

Invasion of France by the Imperial armies, 1636.

The line of the Somme was forced; Corbie, the last strong place on this frontier, fell into the hands of the Imperialists, whose Croat cavalry appeared on the banks of the Oise, whilst a second army, under Gallas and the Duke of Lorraine, entered Burgundy. Terror reigned in Paris, and the popular fury was

directed against the Cardinal, who was accused of all the ills of France But the latter, superior to fear, traversed the masses of irritated people unguarded, and proceeded to the Hôtel-de-Ville, from whence he called to arms the noblesse and the various trading bodies for the defence of the kingdom.

A universal enthusiasm, such as was witnessed in darker days, now seized upon the nation. Money, provisions, and arms poured in from all directions; nobles, citizens, and artisans enrolled themselves as volunteers, and at the end of a month an army of forty thousand men marched to drive the enemy from the kingdom.

The imperial generals did not await the onslaught. Their army, burdened with plunder, was weakened by indiscipline and desertion, and they hastened to recross the frontier; upon which all the fortresses of Picardy were retaken by the French; the valiant defence made by Saint-Jean de Losne having already checked the progress of the invasion in Burgundy. A third attempt made by the Spaniards on the side of the Pyrenees was not more fortunate, and French soil was delivered from foreign invaders. It was there, however, merely a defensive war. In Italy, a bloody victory obtained by Marshal de Crequi and the Duke of Savoy over the Imperialists near Lake Maggiore had no result.

The following year (1637) was distinguished by the death of several of the sovereigns engaged in the war. The Emperor Ferdinand II. died after having had the King of Hungary, his son, elected as his successor, and France lost its two Italian allies, the Dukes of Mantua and Savoy. The war had continued on all the frontiers without success as without any formidable reverses, and the only important military fact of this campaign was the evacuation by the Duke de Rohan of the Valteline, from whence he was driven by the old allies of France, the Grisons, who had now turned against her.

Death of Ferdinand II. and of the Dukes of Savoy and Mantua, 1637.

The war was continued in 1638 with results unfavourable to France. In the north it was found necessary to raise the siege of Saint-Omer, and on the Spanish frontier, despite the maritime successes of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Sourdis, the French were beaten by the Admiral of Castille and forced to abandon the siege of Fontarabia. The victory obtained by their ally, Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, alone compensated them on the Rhine for so many disasters. Duke Bernard besieged Rhine-

Campaign of 1638.

Victory of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar at Rhinefeld, 1638.

feld. John der Werth hurried to the relief of this town, vanquished the Weimarians, and forced them to raise the siege, when suddenly Bernard, who was looked upon as vanquished, reappeared under the walls of Rhinefeld, surprised the Imperialists in the intoxication of triumph, cut them in pieces, and made prisoners of their four generals, amongst whom was the celebrated John der Werth. It was in this engagement that perished the Duke de Rohan, the hero who had been the leader of the French Calvinists, the general of the army of the Valteline, and then a simple volunteer in the army of Duke Bernard.

The victory of Rhinefeld was the last achievement of Duke Weimar, who died in the following year (1639) of typhus, at the age of thirty-six years, leaving unaccomplished all the vast projects which he had conceived for the aggrandizement of his house. France purchased his conquests in Germany, and his army—the command of which was given to the Duke de Longueville—crossed the Rhine, in concert with the Count de Guébriant, and carried on the campaign during two years beyond the river, without any decided success, and at the same time without any disgrace.

Operations in Flanders, 1639.

In 1639 the King desired to be present in person at the operations of the army in Flanders; but the success on the side of the French was confined to the capture of Hesdin, which La Meilleraye, the King's grand-master of artillery, carried under the Monarch's own eyes (for which he received the marshal's baton on the breach); whilst Piccolomini vanquished near Thionville another French army under Feuquières. Thus ended in the north the campaign of 1639. It was somewhat more brilliant in Piedmont. This country was at that time a very nest of intrigues. Cardinal Maurice and Thomas, Prince of Carignan, brother of the late duke, disputed the regency with his widow, Christine, daughter of Henry IV. The brothers-in-law of Christine obtained the support of the King of Spain, and promised to deliver the strong places of Piedmont into his hands. The regent implored the assistance of the King of France her brother; and Richelieu placed an army under the command of Cardinal Valette, who, under pretence of protecting the son of Victor-Amadeus, invaded the half of his States, and then died of a contagious fever. Richelieu appointed an able successor to him in the person of Henry de Lorraine, Count of Harcourt, who revictualled Casal, then besieged by the Spaniards, and effected in admirable

order a difficult retreat from Chiari to Carignan, in the presence of the much larger armies of Prince Thomas and De Léganez, the Spanish governor of the Milanese territory, whom he vanquished at the glorious battle of La Rotta.

The principal belligerent powers, France, the Empire, and Spain, in spite of some partial successes, reaped no fruits from this disastrous war, in which the ministers of Philip IV. and Louis XIII., Olivarez and Richelieu, so desperately contended. The two kingdoms were exhausted, and in each there occurred simultaneously a popular outbreak which led to very different results.

Misery in France during the war.

During the last years the taxes in France had been raised to a hundred millions, which was double the amount levied in the time of Henry IV. The inflexible Cardinal made himself equally formidable to all classes of the nation, to the poor and the rich, to the weak and the powerful. He seized the rents of the Hôtel-de-Ville, shut up in the Bastille the renters who dared to complain, and prohibited the Parliament from affording them protection. But it was the people above all who were ruined by the war, and the taxes—of which the heaviest burden fell upon the peasants—had become intolerable. The poll-tax, especially, was levied upon them with frightful rigour. They were held to be bound for each other in their villages, and frequently, when the unhappy wretches had exhausted their resources in paying their own share, they found their crops, their goods, and even their persons seized, in order to satisfy what was due from others even poorer than themselves. Many of these unfortunate persons, thus cruelly thrown into prison, were protected and set at liberty by the Court of Aids of Rouen, whose judgments were cancelled by the King's Council. These rigorous measures were pursued with increased severity, and at length, driven to despair, many of the inhabitants of Lower Normandy, who were contemptuously denominated *Va-nu-pieds* (Go naked-feet), at length took up arms and entrenched themselves on the slopes of Avranches.

Foreign troops, under Colonel Gassion, drowned this insurrection in the blood of the insurgents. After the soldiers came the judges and executioners. Richelieu selected the Chancellor, Séguier, to avenge the Royal authority. The parliament of Normandy was suspended, all franchises suppressed, and an enormous sum levied on the city of Rouen. Séguier declared that the whole province should be governed by the absolute will

of the King, without limit and without control; and presided over a tribunal chosen by himself, which delivered a multitude of judgments of confiscation, exile, and death. Such was the insurrection of Normandy, which found no echo in the other parts of the kingdom, and was promptly stifled by the iron hand which then weighed so heavily on France.

Insurrection in Catalonia, 1644.

The revolts in Spain were more serious, and exercised a great influence on the results of the war. Catalonia, with its annexed districts of Roussillon and Cerdagne, by reason of its many franchises, formed a province almost independent of the Spanish monarchy. Treated harshly by Olivarez, the Catalans rose in insurrection, and gave themselves to the Crown of France.

Portugal recovers her independence, 1641.

Another insurrection burst forth at the same time at the other extremity of the Peninsula. The Portuguese, enslaved by Spain for sixty years, threw off the detested yoke; John of Braganza, descendant of their ancient monarchs, was elected king, and he hastened to ally himself with France and Holland against Spain.

Campaign of 1640.

The war continued to rage in Germany, where Guébriant maintained his position with honour; but the two principal scenes of military operations were Artois and Piedmont. A numerous army, which was assembled in Picardy under the three marshals, La Meilleraye, Châtillon, and Chaulnes, entered Artois and invested Arras, when Louis XIII. and Richelieu arrived in person, to encourage the besiegers. It was there that, by a noble action, the illustrious Fabert, a soldier of fortune, who raised himself solely by his own merits to be a marshal of France, first made himself known. Richelieu having asked him if he knew of any one who would venture, for a hundred thousand crowns, to enter and reconnoitre the besieged place, Fabert replied—"I will do it for honour!" and he kept his word. After the Cardinal-Infant had made fruitless attempts to force the French lines and to drive back the besieging army, Arras capitulated. A young hero, the Duke d'Enghien, who became the great Condé, made his first essay in warfare in this campaign, under the orders of Marshal Meilleraye.

Success in Piedmont, 1640.

The campaign of Piedmont was still more glorious to our arms. Count d'Harcourt, with ten thousand men against twenty thousand, forced the Marquis de Léganez to raise the siege of Casal; and then, advancing rapidly and boldly upon Turin, which was

defended by Prince Thomas, he invested it. Léganez made an attempt to relieve it; and the French besieging army found itself in its turn besieged in its own lines by an army very superior in numbers, and closely pressed between it and the garrison. D'Harcourt, however, by the rapidity of his movements deceived the two generals, vanquished them in turn, and forced Prince Thomas to capitulate. He had been worthily seconded by the younger brother of the Duke de Bouillon, the Viscount de Turenne, who was one day to be reckoned amongst the greatest captains of Europe.

A new insurrection broke forth in France at the commencement of 1641, the enemies of Richelieu joining the national enemies against him. From the heights of his ramparts at Sedan the Duke de Bouillon awaited a favourable moment to arouse again in France the flame of civil war; the Count of Soissons, a prince of the blood, and the Duke of Guise, a grandson of Balafré, joined him in his retreat; and all three, allying themselves with the Imperialists, marched upon Paris at the head of a small army. Lamboi, the Emperor's general, commanded their troops, which encountered at Marfée, on the Meuse, the army of Marshal de Châtillon, which Richelieu had directed towards Sedan, in anticipation of the rebel movements. The Royal army dispersed without fighting, and the road to Paris lay open to the rebels. But they had no longer any flag under which to fight, for the Count of Soissons had been killed in action, in the midst of his officers, by a pistol-shot, by some hand which was never discovered. This circumstance rendered the power of the Cardinal and the peace of the kingdom secure. The campaign of 1641 had not been interrupted by this event, and France retained the advantages acquired during the preceding one in Artois and in Piedmont. Guébriant covered himself with glory in Germany, and succeeded in effecting a junction, after a long and difficult march, at Zwickau, on the Mulda, with the illustrious Swedish general, Bonner, who, already grievously sick, died almost immediately after this junction, which saved his army.

Conspiracy of Sedan, 1641.

Death of the Count of Soissons, 1641.

The active Tarsterson, who, being affected by paralysis, was borne in a litter in the midst of his army, succeeded Bonner in the command and in the career of victory. The two armies separated, and each flew to new triumphs. Guébriant vanquished Piccolomini at Wolfenbüttel and

Lamboi at Kempen. Their armies once more effected a junction, and all Saxony was reduced to subjection.

Conquest of Roussillon, 1642.

In spite of the revolutions of Lisbon and Barcelona, the house of Austria still resolutely maintained the struggle; and Richelieu resolved to strike at the very heart of its power. The invasion of Spain was decided on, and the Royal army poured towards the Pyrenees. Before crossing the mountains, however, it was important to complete the conquest of Roussillon, a dependency of Catalonia, where Philip had still retained some important strongholds.

King Louis XIII. went in person to conduct the siege of Perpignan.

Victory of Lérida, 1642.

Spain exhausted herself in her endeavours to save this place; but she was vanquished both by land and sea, and after an heroic resistance of four months, the governor capitulated on the 9th September, 1642; and the battle of Lérida, in which the Spanish general Léganez was beaten by Lamothe-Houdancourt, completed the conquest of Roussillon, which henceforth formed a portion of the kingdom of France. Louis XIII. and his Minister survived the victory but a short time.

Richelieu's politics respecting internal affairs.

After having thus rapidly described the various phases of the struggle maintained by Richelieu during seven years against the house of Austria, it is time that we should throw a retrospective glance on the interior affairs of the kingdom. When the French period of the Thirty Years' War began, the Queen-mother, the Duke of Orleans, and the other princes of the blood, were exiled or submissive; but the reverses of 1636 reanimated the hopes of the discontented, and fresh plots were formed against the life or authority of the terrible Cardinal, who responded to them by measures of increased rigour. The most formidable of these conspiracies was that of Sedan.

The prison, the scaffold, exile—and even, it has been said, poison—were employed to deliver him from his enemies. He had England and Holland closed against the Queen-mother, now poor and humble. He drove from the kingdom the Duke of Vendôme, the natural son of Henry IV., and the Duke of Guise; had condemned to death for contumacy the Duke de la Valette, accused of having been guilty of treason during the siege of Fontarabia; and extended the punishment even to his father, the old Epernon, whom he deprived of his government of Guienne.

Whilst Richelieu thus inflicted heavy blows on the high aristocracy, he multiplied for the classes beneath them offices of honour and public employments; and one of the most noticeable of his acts is the creation of Intendants of Finance, whom he invested with very extensive administrative and judicial powers, and thereby almost completely annihilated the remains of feudal power possessed by the provincial governors. These Intendants were chosen from amongst men of no personal importance, and were the mere creatures and docile instruments of the King's Council, which incessantly endeavoured, either by violating or misinterpreting a mass of privileges and acquired rights, to extend its authority in every direction, and to subject all the forces of the State to its sole and central control. After having thus abased the aristocracy, Richelieu urged the King to deprive the Parliaments of all political power, and Louis XIII. ordered them forthwith to register his edicts without any preliminary examination, and barely permitted them to make a few observations on questions of finance. Many magistrates, having exclaimed against such a despotism as this, their offices were suppressed, in order that the whole body of the magistracy might understand that it merely existed by the King's gracious permission.

Creation of Intendants, 1635.

The Cardinal, according to his own expression, detested the shams and delays of those bodies which raised difficulties about everything. He opposed also the pretensions and privileges of the clergy, who up to this period had never paid taxes; and, at the same time that he was prohibiting, in the name of the liberties of the French Church, the sending of Peter's-pence to Rome, he laid an enormous impost upon it, and enforced payment in spite of the anathemas of the Holy See. The clergy, the nobility, the parliaments, however, dared to utter no murmur, for France and its King had been enslaved by Richelieu. The description given by this Minister of his own policy has a terrible significance. "I never venture to undertake anything," he said, "without having well considered it; but, when once I have formed a resolution I advance straight to my end; I overthrow, I mow down everything in my path, and then I cover all with my red robe."

The clergy taxed.

His pride would allow no rival either in power, in magnificence, or in talents. A friend, as is every truly great man, to literature, and desiring to fix and polish the language, he had the glory of founding with this view the French Academy, of which

Foundation of the French Academy, 1635.

Balzac, Voiture, Vaugelas, and the most eminent writers of the period were members. He embellished the Sorbonne, and encouraged artists by honours and pensions; but, having himself composed a bad tragedy named "Miramme," out of jealousy he compelled the French Academy to criticise the "Cid," the masterpiece of the great Corneille.

He had an instinctive dislike for every independent and proud spirit, and on this account took umbrage at the celebrated Duvergier de Hauranne, Abbé of St. Cyran, whom he honoured for the austerity of his character and his morals. St. Cyran had been the fellow-pupil and remained the friend of Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, author of a famous work on the doctrine of St. Augustine. Some of the propositions contained in this book were attacked by the Jesuits at the instigation of the Cardinal. St. Cyran had approved of the work, and was firmly resolved to support it. He ventured to defend it against Richelieu himself, and the latter avenged himself by shutting him up in 1638 in the Bastille. In this same year the Cardinal lost his most confidential agent, Father Joseph, a simple Capuchin monk, who had been surnamed "His Grey Eminence," and who knew, better than any one, how to influence kings and discover their secrets. "I have lost my right arm," said Richelieu, when he was informed of his death. From henceforth, without a confidant, the Cardinal carried out his plans alone.

Father Joseph.

During the campaign of Roussillon a final and bloody catastrophe raised Richelieu's power, and the terror inspired by his name, to their height. The King's favourites were such as he selected; and the Cardinal selected such as would inform him of the monarch's secret wishes, and crushed them as soon as they ceased to be useful to him, or manifested any desire to aggrandize themselves without his support. He had thus placed near the King the young Effiat, Marquis de Cinq-Mars, twenty-one years of age. This young man, appointed master of the horse, made rapid progress in the good graces of the Sovereign, and, discovering the King's antipathy for the Cardinal, conceived the hope of overthrowing him. With this object he allied himself with the Queen, with Gaston d'Orleans, and the Duke of Bouillon, who always flattered himself that he should one day replace Richelieu. The Cardinal, whom the King had for some time treated with coolness, prudently withdrew for a time from the Court, and, whilst he resided at Tarascon, allowed the imprudent Cinq-Mars and his accomplices to implicate themselves with Olivarez. He

Conspiracy of Cinq-Mars, 1642.

became possessed at length of the copy of a treaty of alliance between the Spaniards and the conspirators, and sent it to Louis.

Cinq-Mars was immediately seized, together with the young De Thou, a son of the celebrated historian of that name, his friend and confidant, but not his accomplice. The Duke de Bouillon was made prisoner in the midst of the army of Italy, to the command of which he had been appointed. The King quitted the Perpignan camp, and had himself transported to Tarascon, where lay the Cardinal, as afflicted with sickness and infirmities as himself. Richelieu broke forth in a torrent of reproaches; and Louis, after excusing and justifying himself, ordered his subjects to obey his Minister as himself. The Cardinal proceeded to Lyons by the Rhone, in a bark which towed one containing his two young prisoners. A commission was opened to try them. The crime of Cinq-Mars was not proved; but the cowardly confessions of the Duke d'Orleans destroyed him. Cinq-Mars was condemned to death and executed with the young De Thou, who was guilty of not having denounced his friend. The Duke of Bouillon lost his principality, but obtained his pardon in exchange. Gaston of Orleans obtained permission to live at Blois in private.

Execution of Cinq-Mars and De Thou, 1642.

Richelieu, satisfied and avenged, set out for Paris, and journeyed in triumph. His guards carried him on their shoulders in a species of furnished chamber, and on his entrance into cities he had the gates which were too narrow to receive him pulled down. It was thus that he traversed France from Lyons to his own palace, where he displayed luxury very superior to that of the monarch.

The Queen-mother died in indigence at Cologne, and Richelieu followed her shortly afterwards to the tomb. The King was seen to smile during the Cardinal's agony, and after his Minister's death coldly observed—"See, how politic is death!" Richelieu's eyes had scarcely been closed, when the King at once abandoned the course pursued by the Cardinal. The prisons were thrown open, and banishments ceased. Vendôme, Elbœuf, Bassompierre, and Guise reappeared at Court, and preluded by empty quarrels the storms which were to disturb the reign about to commence. Louis XIII., in fact, only survived his terrible minister six months, and died at Chateau-Neuf, Saint Germain, at forty-two years of age. A few days before expiring he had nominated Anne

Death of Marie de Medici and of Richelieu, 1642.

Death of Louis XIII., 1643.

of Austria regent, and Gaston, his brother, lieutenant-general of the kingdom; joining with them a Council of Regency, under the presidency of Condé. On the following day he had the Dauphin, then five years of age, baptized, and having had him brought into his chamber, asked him how he would be named. "I call myself Louis XIV.," replied the child. "Not yet, my son—not yet!" said the expiring monarch. This word alone announced a king. "People were so weary," says a contemporary, "of his government, that all the world, even including those who were under obligations to him, were anxious for his death."

The characters of Louis XIII. and Richelieu.

This king, although braver than his brother, was as destitute as he of moral strength and firmness. He loved no one, and, gloomy, suspicious, jealous, and inconstant as he was, his favour exposed its object to as many dangers as his hatred. Too feeble to reign by himself, he was conscious of the fact, and this was the secret of the long ascendancy over him possessed by Cardinal Richelieu, who was even accused of having excited troubles at home and abroad in order to render himself still more indispensable to the feeble monarch, the accomplice of his tyranny. Among the acts which emanated from the actual will of the Prince, whom flatterers have surnamed "The Just," history cites the vow by which, on recovering from an illness, he placed his kingdom under the protection of the Virgin. Louis XIII., in the eyes of posterity, is but a shadow by the side of Richelieu; and we have an instructive picture in this feeble monarch voluntarily bowing even until his death before the genius of a haughty Minister whom he hated, and without whose assistance he felt that he was incapable of governing.

In the character and acts of Cardinal Richelieu we see good and bad intimately blended; light and shade strikingly contrasted. To support his undertakings and his luxury he pitilessly ground down the people; and the expenses of his household alone amounted to more than four millions. On the other hand, he increased the power of the kingdom by organizing its military forces on a formidable scale, by creating a Royal navy, and by crushing the French Protestants as a political party without interfering with their religious belief. He was the first to render France the most influential power in Europe; and it owed to him, amongst other conquests, that of Roussillon in the south, and in the north that of the prin-

cipality of Sedan, which had been a perpetual focus of intrigues, and the establishment of flourishing colonies in Canada and the Antilles. It was he also who, by supporting the Protestants of Germany against Austria, consolidated the famous system of the balance of power in Europe; but if, in many respects, his foreign policy was able and firm, he is justly reproached with having neglected the opportunities which occurred to him of lightening the intolerable burden borne by the people for so many wars. Richelieu not only desired that the balance of power should be maintained, but that all the nations except his own should be humiliated; and he was really the author of that violent and aggressive policy which was but too well followed by his successor, Mazarin, by Louis XIV., and, in our own days, by a conqueror destined for ever to be famous, and which made the glory of a nation consist in the abasement and humiliation of all those around it—a policy always fatal in the long run, and a source of terrible reactions and perpetual wars; for the love of country, independence, and national honour is implanted in the hearts of all peoples. For them, as for individuals, liberty and honour are the most precious possessions; and when a nation, humiliated or enslaved, signs a peace or accepts a truce, it does but adjourn the day of its vengeance.

Richelieu, by the enlightened protection which he afforded to literature the arts, industry, and commerce, contributed much to the emancipation of the Third Estate, and to the progress made by the bulk of the citizens in importance and consideration. Whilst with one hand he humiliated the proud, with the other he elevated personal merit, even when it existed in the most humble ranks. It is on this account that his memory is justly honoured, and that it is especially dear to a school which has too often confounded liberty with equality. This school has given him unbounded praise for having established the Royal power on the ruins of feudalism; but, in fact, Louis XI., before Richelieu, had humbled the haughty aristocracy, and amongst the successors of that monarch all those who knew how to reign were absolute kings. Henry IV. himself, from the day that he was recognised as king, acknowledged no limits to his authority; and if Louis XIII. had possessed a soul of any firmness, he might have reigned as absolutely; but it was seen that he was king only in name, and that Richelieu reigned for him. It was against the Minister that the greater number of the conspirators directed their machinations,

with the intention of hurling him from power and succeeding him. They did not attack the throne, but disputed, so to speak, with Richelieu the possession of the regency under a king whom they knew to be too feeble and incapable to be ever able to escape from a state of pupilage. Richelieu, there can be no doubt, inflicted upon the factions terrible blows, and deprived them for a time of the means of succeeding in their projects; but by taking away from them also all chance of pardon, he drove them into extreme and desperate enterprises. He had to struggle against revolts all his life, and his death was followed by troubles as great as those which had preceded his ministry.

It was not Richelieu, therefore, who fortified the Royal authority in a durable manner; and it was not he who forced the princes and haughty nobles to bow before the majesty of the throne, whoever might be its occupant. This end could not be attained but by the combined influence of a great renown and long habit, and to attain it nothing less was required than the imposing character of Louis XIV. and the long duration of his reign. Carried away by his passion for power, for the unity of France, and for magnificence, Richelieu overstepped all those limits within which the action of a Government should be restrained. If it is of importance, on the one hand, that the central power should be strong and factions repressed, it is not the less necessary, on the other hand, for the preservation of vigour in the social body, that the life should circulate freely and abundantly through all its members. Richelieu neglected this principle, and contributed more than any one to introduce in France that terrible centralization, which, when in excess, has been a great peril for many peoples on the Continent. His political testament is the code of despotism. By crushing beneath a despotic power the municipal franchises of the cities, and violating the rights of the provinces annexed to the Crown, Richelieu overthrew those salutary boundaries which, wisely maintained, would have prevented the Royal authority from abusing its prerogative. He in like manner trampled under foot the authority of the Parliaments, and, to secure the peace of the kingdom, had recourse only to arms and punishments. He thus laboured much more for the present than the future; and the troubles which ensanguined France during almost the whole of his Ministry, and more especially those which burst forth so violently after his death, prove that to keep a nation within

the bounds of discipline, terror is not alone sufficient; that no force can be a substitute for wise institutions, the protection of actual rights, and legitimate interests. That, in short, kings, as the rulers of empires, can scarcely ever found, by the aid of soldiers and executioners, an order of things which will remain in existence after them, when they have neglected to lead all to respect the laws by respecting them themselves.

Reason and the spirit of fitness had not, so early as the reign of Louis XIII., regulated the distinct attributes of each profession. The parliament, deprived of its natural functions, decided on matters of science and war. In 1621, it passed a decree of death against those who should teach anything contrary to the doctrines of Aristotle; and at a later period it decided on the means which should be taken for the defence of the capital against the enemy. At the same time, cardinals were seen in the command of armies, and ambassadors were found serving in the field under the friendly powers to whose courts they had been sent.

Social state of France.

The nation still gave itself up at this period to the most deplorable superstitions. Richelieu had condemnation of death passed upon Urbain Grandier, Curé of Loudun, as a magician; and the wife of Marshal d'Ancre had, but a short time previously, suffered the same fate. Great importance was always ascribed to astrological predictions; and at the moment of the birth of Louis XIV., an astrologer was posted in the chamber of Anne of Austria to watch the heavens. On the other hand, in every part of Europe, modern genius was making vigorous flights in the sciences, literature, and the arts. Shakespeare and Bacon had rendered England illustrious in this respect; and they had as contemporaries in Spain, Michel Cervantes, Lope de Véga, the historians Mariana and Herrera; in Italy, the poets Marini, Tassoni, and the immortal Tasso, the historian Davila, and the learned physicists Galileo and Torricelli; in Holland, the great philosopher Grotius; in Denmark, the astronomer Tycho Brahé, whose pupil was Kepler. The great painters Rubens, Vandyke, and Teniers were at this time the glory of the Flemish school; whilst Guido, Albano, Lanfranc, and Domenichino added lustre to the Italian. French manners, as yet half barbarous, had especial need of the softening influence of art and literature. The country had already produced

Literature, science, and the arts.

Descartes, who brought about a revolution in philosophy and science by following the experimental method introduced by Bacon and Galileo. Malherbe and Rotrou, also, had acquired a well-deserved glory, the one as the precursor of the great Corneille in tragedy, and the other as the veritable creator of our poetical language. At length Corneille appeared, and with him commenced the great literary age of France.

## CHAPTER III.

### MINORITY OF LOUIS XIV.—MAZARIN'S MINISTRY—WAR OF THE FRONDE.

### 1643–1661.

THE reign of Louis XIV. may be divided into three principal periods: the first comprising the time which elapsed between the accession of the King and the death of Cardinal Mazarin, during which the young King took no direct part in the Government; the second, embracing the most glorious years of his reign, from 1661 to 1685; the third, commencing when great faults threatened danger to the prosperity of the kingdom and the glory of its sovereign, and extending from the death of Colbert to that of Louis XIV.

Anne of Austria, the regent, appointed the Duke of Beaufort, second son of the Duke of Vendôme, and grandson of Henry IV., governor of her two children,* and selected as her Minister Augustin Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, a man of small talents, and totally unacquainted with public affairs. She then applied to the Parliament to dissolve the Council of Regency. Glittering promises gained over the followers of Richelieu, as well as their adversaries; and at a Bed of Justice, held on the 18th May by the young King, who was then five years of age, the Queen was recognised as Regent, and acknowledged to be at liberty to compose her council as she chose. This was the second time that the Parliament had been called

**Bed of Justice. The Parliament recognises Anne of Austria as Regent, 1643.**

* The early education of the young Prince was much neglected. He himself related that, when a child, he fell into a basin in the Palais Royal without any one having noticed it. He was often without common necessaries, and the pages of his chamber were dismissed because there were no means of supporting them. During the troubles of the Fronde, the Regent deprived the Duke of Vendôme of his place as Governor, and gave it to Marshal Villeroi. The latter made the clever Abbé Péréfixe de Beaumont the young King's preceptor; but civil wars are not conducive to the progress of education, and the royal pupil learned little more than gymnastic exercises, in which he excelled. "He was delighted, however," says Voltaire, "with verses and romances treating of gallantry and glory, which, without his knowing it, portrayed his character."

upon during a minority to decide whose hand should exercise the supreme power. The States-General, however, had alone inherited the political rights of the old Parliament, or general assemblies of the freemen of the nation, held under the kings of the two first races. The Parliament of Paris, although the peers sat in it, was but a simple court of justice, and possessed no functions superior to those of the provincial parliament. Marie de Medici and Anne of Austria, by voluntarily inviting its decision, had given it an exaggerated opinion of its political importance; and from this resulted great troubles and serious perils to the State.

Cardinal Mazarin, who was a member of the Council of Regency, was of opinion that it ought to be dissolved. The Queen rewarded his devotion by making him her First Minister; and the favour with which she regarded him was made the pretext for fresh intrigues. The persons whom Richelieu had proscribed returned in crowds to the Court, when they complained that the Regent, who had been persecuted along with themselves, treated them with but scant favour. Augustin Potier, jealous of Mazarin, joined this discontented party, which was called the Cabal of the Importants, and the leaders of which were the Guises, the Vendômes, the Epernons, the famous Duchess of Chevreuse, and her mother-in-law, the Duchess of Montbazon. The latter having offended the Duchess of Longueville, sister of the Duke d'Enghien, already celebrated, was disgraced by Anne of Austria, and made the Duke of Beaufort sympathize in her desires for vengeance. The Regent was furious against them and their partisans; exiled many from the Court; imprisoned Beaufort at Vincennes; and sent the Bishop of Beauvais to his diocese. She destroyed the Cabal of the Importants by these rigorous measures, and bestowed all her confidence on Cardinal Mazarin. France now enjoyed some peace, as far as domestic affairs were concerned, for three years.

The war with the Empire and Spain continued to the glory of France on all her frontiers. Louis of Bourbon, Duke d'Enghien, so celebrated under the name of the Great Condé, had gained in Flanders, five days after the death of Louis XIII., the battle of Rocroi over the Spaniards, who were commanded by Don Francisco de Melos. In this engagement the famous Count de Fuentes was slain, and the brilliant Spanish infantry, which had been invincible since the days of Charles V., was destroyed. The victor only owed his success to his own genius, and he was but twenty-two years of age. The im-

Military operations, 1643—1648.

Battle of Rocroi. 1644.

portant capture of Thionville was the first fruit of this victory, and was quickly followed by the death of Marshal de Guébriant and the defeat of the Count de Rantzau, his successor, who was vanquished at Duttlingen by the Duke of Lorraine and the two illustrious generals, John de Werth and Mercy. There now remained but five or six thousand men of an army which had long made the Empire tremble, and Marshal Turenne was sent to rally what remained of it.

Brilliant successes atoned for this reverse; and in the first place D'Enghien, with Turenne under his orders, vanquished Mercy at Fribourg. The Prince, to excite the courage of his soldiers in this great battle, threw his baton of command into the enemy's entrenchments, and recovered it sword in hand. In the following year he marched to the assistance of Turenne, who had been surprised and beaten at Mariendal, and gained the battle of Nordlingen, the death of Mercy deciding the victory. The great talent of Condé consisted in forming on the instant the boldest resolutions, and executing them with prudence and rapidity. The Duke of Orleans, the King's uncle, and the Count d'Harcourt, had also carried on the war with fair success, the one in Flanders, the other in Catalonia. The first, aided by Marshal de Gassion, had seized Gravelines and Courtray, and taken Mardick in the presence of an enemy's army. On the sea, also, the French arms had been successful. Twenty of their galleys had vanquished in 1646 the Spanish fleet on the coast of Italy, and in the same year the Duke d'Enghien, assisted by the celebrated Van Tromp, the Dutch admiral, gave Dunkirk to France. He then set sail for Spain, where he met with a repulse before Lerida, the siege of which he was forced to raise. Naples rose in insurrection at the voice of the fisherman Masaniello; and the Duke of Guise, surrounded by the Neapolitans, threw himself into it. But France failed to support him; he was made prisoner by Don John of Austria, the natural son of Philip IV., and Naples fell again beneath the Spanish yoke.

Battles of Fribourg and Nordlingen, 1644.

Rising at Naples under Masaniello.

The years 1647 and 1648 were fatal to the House of Austria. Turenne, with the assistance of the Swedes, gained the battle of Sommerhausen; General Wrangel took Little Prague; and the battle of Lens terminated the war. This battle was fought by the Duke d'Enghien, now Prince of Condé, in 1648, against the Archduke Leopold, the Emperor's brother. As he advanced towards the enemy he uttered only

Battle of Lens, 1648.

these words—"Soldiers! remember Rocroi, Fribourg, and Nordlingen." He routed the Imperialists and the Spaniards, took a hundred flags and thirty-eight pieces of cannon; and gained so complete a victory that Leopold was left without an army. Broken down by so many reverses, Ferdinand III. consented to negotiate, and peace was at length signed at Munster in Westphalia. By this peace it was agreed that France should retain a great part of Alsace, the three bishoprics and the two fortresses of Philisbourg and Pignerol, the keys of Germany and Piedmont. The principal articles of the treaty, relative to the allies of France, declared the sovereignty of the various States of Germany throughout the extent of their territory, defined their rights at the general diets of the Empire, and bestowed upon the Calvinists the same privileges that were possessed by the Lutherans. Sweden obtained a portion of Pomerania, many strong places, and five millions of crowns. The Swiss cantons were declared free of the Germanic Empire, and the independence of the United Provinces in respect to this Empire and to Spain was formally recognised. The Peace of Westphalia put an end to the Thirty Years' War in Germany; but Spain refused to accede to it, and the war continued between that country and France.

Peace of Munster or Westphalia, 1648.

At the time when the celebrated peace was signed, the interior of the kingdom was much disturbed. Mazarin, having become all powerful, had roused against himself an almost universal hatred and indignation. In the character of this Minister much indolence and frivolity were joined with distinguished talents. Ridiculous by his accent and his manners, and odious as a stranger, he was the object of numerous cabals. He wished, in common with Richelieu, that the Royal power should be absolute, and his despotism excited as much hatred as did that of his predecessor. But whilst Richelieu by his cruelties filled all with terror and frightened many into obedience, Mazarin, on the contrary, by his perpetual falsehoods, and his tortuous policy, added contempt to the hatred which already filled the hearts of his enemies, and emboldened them to attack him. The regent was openly accused of having given all her confidence to an Italian who was acquainted neither with the genius nor the laws of the country, and had composed her council less in accordance with the necessities of the State than with the wishes of her Minister. A Siennois, Particelli Emeri, a contemptible fellow, to whom Mazarin had confided the management of the finances,

Administration of Mazarin.

disgusted the French by his luxury, his debaucheries, and his hateful resources. He created ridiculous offices, which he put up to auction; he raised the tariff of the rights of entrance, and exhumed an edict of 1548 which prohibited the extension of Paris, and which punished its infractors with the destruction of the buildings erected within the defined limits, and the confiscation of the materials. Many persons who had disobeyed this edict, long since forgotten, had now to pay heavy sums to save their property. The operation ordered in respect to this matter by the Government was called the *toise* (French measure of a fathom), and excited great indignation. The Parliament was informed of it, and the edict was withdrawn.

In addition to all this Mazarin desired to keep back four years' salaries from the members of all the sovereign courts, with the exception of the Parliament of Paris, and he threatened to suppress the law known by the name of the *Paulette*, which secured to the families of magistrates the possession of their offices in perpetuity. This arbitrary proceeding aroused a universal clamour; and the Grand Council, the Court of Accounts, and the Court of Aids, pointed out to the Parliament, that the decision which excepted it from the operation of this measure had been only taken for the purpose of disuniting them. The Parliament assembled and passed the celebrated Edict of Union, in accordance with which two councillors chosen from each of its chambers were to confer with deputies from the other bodies in the common interest of all. Mazarin declared that such a decree was an attack on the rights of the Crown, and Anne of Austria wished to inflict immediate punishment on all those who had signed it. This Queen, said Mazarin, was as brave as a soldier, who knows not the reality of the danger, and he with difficulty restrained her wrath. The Parliament, whose zeal was stimulated by the young magistrates of *enquêtes*, devoted all its time to the affairs of the State, and conciliated public favour by calling for the due execution of the laws and adopting many popular resolutions. The Chamber of St. Louis voted twenty-seven articles, which were to be submitted for the approbation of the Parliament and the sanction of the regent. In many of the articles the magistrates showed their jealousy of the financiers, and their ignorance of public affairs and all the principles of credit; but the principal ones were devoted to useful reforms or wise measures. Some secured to private persons the

Edict of Union, and important votes of the Chamber of St. Louis.

payment of their bonds on the Hôtel-de-Ville, relieved commerce of odious monopolies, and reduced by one-fourth the odious tax of the *taille*, which only fell on the humbler classes. Other articles prohibited, on pain of death, the levying of any tax save by verified edicts sanctioned by the sovereign courts; and declared that none of the King's subjects should be in custody more than twenty-four hours without being interrogated and taken before his proper judge. The propositions of the Chamber of Saint Louis were practically the bases of a national constitution, and the citizen classes received them with enthusiasm. The people saw its own cause in that of the magistrates who had adopted them, and the Parliament deliberated upon them, in spite of the prohibition of the regent, who called these articles so many attempts at assassination of the Royal authority. The Court, the army, and the multitude were now divided into two factions, that of the Mazarins and that of the Frondeurs,* or partisans of the Parliament. The first president, Mathieu Molé, a man of high character, interposed in vain between the two parties; his moderation and love of peace only brought upon him the insults of all. Amongst those who were the most eager in urging forward the magistrates, were the members of the ancient Cabal of the Importants, the ex-Keeper of the Seal, Châteauneuf, with Montrésor and Saint-Ibal, who had both formerly offered to assassinate Richelieu; Chavigny, who was the author of the favour Mazarin now enjoyed, and who had been disgraced by him; Fontrailles, and, above all, the famous Paul de Gondi, coadjutor of the Archbishop of Paris, and at a later period known by the name of Cardinal de Retz, an able man, possessed of a just and profound intellect, and who was especially ambitious of being at the head of a party. His magnificent charities had long before gained him the heart of the people; at the commencement of the political disturbances he had offered his support to the Regent, who had the imprudence to despise it, and he immediately passed over to the Parliamentary side.

The Mazarins and the Frondeurs, 1648.

Anne of Austria, determined though she was to repel every attack on the absolute power of the Crown, restrained herself at present, awaiting with concentrated wrath for a favourable opportunity; and the Parliament

* The magistrates opposed to the Court were, at the commencement of the troubles, compared to the schoolboys who fought each other with slings in the moats of Paris, and dispersed as soon as they saw the Watch coming. The word took the public fancy, and remained in use, although its application soon ceased to be just.

proceeded boldly to discuss the articles drawn up by the Chamber of Saint Louis, when news arrived of the celebrated victory of Condé at Lens. The Queen thought she had found in the midst of the enthusiasm excited by the success of the Royal arms, a favourable moment for striking the meditated blow, and whilst the *Te Deum* was being sung for this victory, she gave a verbal order to the lieutenant of her guards to seize the three most factious members of the Parliament, the presidents Charton and Blancménil, and the councillor Broussel. The first escaped, but the two others were arrested. The fact soon became widely known, and the people rose. Chains were thrown across the streets, barricades were erected, the carriage of the Cardinal was pursued, and soldiers were massacred, amidst cries of *Broussel and liberty!* The Parliament proceeded in a body to the Palais-Royal, energetically represented to the Queen the danger which she incurred, and, supported by Mazarin, obtained the freedom of the two magistrates. The Treaty of Westphalia was not yet signed, the treasury was empty, and the Court found itself without resources to support at once a war abroad and a conflict within. Mazarin saw very clearly that moderation was necessary, and, guided by his advice, Anne of Austria dissimulated, and sanctioned on the 24th October, 1648, in a celebrated declaration, the greater number of the articles of the Chamber of Saint Louis. On the same day peace was signed with the Empire at Munster. Spain alone remained at war with France. A certain number of regiments were immediately recalled from Flanders to the environs of the capital.

Arrest of Blancménil and De Broussel. Popular tumult, 1648.

In consequence of a quarrel with the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Condé had joined the party of Mazarin, whom he detested, and promised him his support; and Anne of Austria now believed herself to be able to crush her enemies. Accompanied by the Cardinal, she suddenly quitted Paris for Saint Germains; where she denounced the magistrates of the Parliament as guilty of a conspiracy against the Royal authority, and of being in league with the enemies of the State, and moved troops upon the capital. The Parliament, on its side, raised money and soldiers, and published a decree, which declared Mazarin to be a disturber of the public peace, and ordered him to quit the kingdom within eight days. This was the commencement of the civil war.

Commencement of civil war, 1648.

Condé commanded the Royal army. The greater number of the princes

and great lords of the kingdom, as Conti, Longueville, Nemours, Beaufort, d'Elbœuf, and Bouillon, embraced the cause of the magistracy and liberty, but neither from regard for the laws, nor from respect for the rights of the citizens; being influenced rather by ambition, or the caprices of mad love for some woman or another of high rank, brilliant beauty, and loose morals. The greater number affected the most profound contempt for the lower orders, and had no concern for the public liberties. But the remembrance of the independence which the grandees had enjoyed in the feudal times was always present to their thoughts, and they detested a despotism which pressed upon themselves. They devoted their wealth to the maintenance of a multitude of gentlemen, who thus became their clients, and who considered it their duty to serve them even against the King himself. The enthusiasm for royalty, the loyal devotion to the Crown, which Louis XIV. at a later period made a sort of religion for the nobility, were then almost unknown, and the best proof of this fact may be drawn from the example of a man who then did the most honour to France. Turenne declared himself for the Parliament against the Court, forgetting everything for the sake of pleasing the beautiful Duchess de Longueville, Condé's sister, and after having endeavoured, without success, to raise an army against Anne of Austria, he fled from France and joined the Spaniards.

France now presented a deplorable spectacle; anarchy was everywhere rampant, and there was a confusion in men's minds, equal to that which prevailed in actual events. On the one side were invoked the prerogatives of the Crown, which were never attempted to be legally and clearly defined, whilst, on the other side, appeal was made to the rights of the citizens and magistrates, which were absolutely established by no positive incontestable law. The course pursued by the most famous of the magistrates who then raised their voices in defence of their privileges and the public liberties, testifies to their uncertainty with respect to the justice of their cause. The first president, Mathieu Molé, the Advocate-General, Omer Talon, noble and eloquent interpreters of the national will, and ardent defenders of their order, believed that laws were in existence which the Crown could not infringe; but at the same time they carried their respect for the Prince, in whose name they administered justice, to a much higher point than did the noblesse. They saw with regret the people arming itself for the Parliamentary cause, and only joined with extreme reluctance in a struggle

against the Crown. The Parliament of Paris, moreover, did not represent the nation, as was the case in England; the self-love of the members and their *esprit de corps* did not prevent them from perceiving that the States-General alone possessed a legal right to regulate in concert with the regent the important affairs of the State, and that to substitute themselves for them, would be a very bold proceeding. Thus, they desired that which was impossible; for they desired that the Royal authority should be confined within certain limits without being themselves firmly resolved to have recourse to those extreme measures which alone could secure their triumph. They were destined, therefore, to succumb; and their weakness finally deprived the people of any guarantee or any security for their property or liberty, and contributed much to the long continuance of an arbitrary régime in France, it being natural to power continually to swell and to overstep every limit after each fruitless effort to restrain or suppress it.

War of the Fronde.

The almost total absence of any deep conviction in men's hearts during the troubles of the Fronde, gradually influenced the conduct of the two parties; the frivolity of the motives which induced the greater number of the leaders to take up arms, frequently betrayed itself in a strange lightness of language, which the multitude imitated. This war desolated the kingdom, and made oceans of blood to flow, and yet the most serious events were the subject of songs, and turned into ridicule. The Duke of Beaufort, whose familiar manners delighted the populace, was surnamed the King of the *Halles;* the coadjutor of Paris, Bishop of Corinth, *in partibus*, raised a regiment, which the people called the regiment of Corinth, and when it was routed by the Queen's troops, the defeat was called the "first of the Corinthians." The coadjutor carried a dagger at his waist, and this was spoken of as "our Archbishop's breviary." The Parisians sallied gaily from their walls, decorated with scarfs from the hands of the Duchesses of Longueville and Bouillon, and a few Royalist troops were sufficient to put them to flight.

Blockade of Paris.

A first compromise took place, without any decisive result to the advantage of the Parliament. The Queen and the Cardinal having re-entered Paris, found themselves insulted by frightful libels. They left it once more, with the young King, and determined to blockade it and to reduce it by famine. Condé directed the military operations against Paris, and Mazarin sent to the Parliament a

*lettre de cachet* which banished it to Montargis. The Parliament replied by a decree which declared Mazarin an enemy to the King and the State, and a disturber of the public repose, and ordered him to quit the kingdom within eight days. Already, however, the Parisians were weary of war and hunger; the civil troubles proved advantageous to the Spaniards, who were in league with the Fronde, and the parties made a peace at Rueil on the 11th March, 1649, which satisfied no one. The Parliament remained at liberty to assemble, and the Queen retained her Minister.

Peace of Rueil, 1649.

Condé, presuming on his great services, became insupportable to the Queen on account of his pride and exaggerated pretensions. He imposed hateful obligations on Mazarin, demanding that the Count of Alais, his relation, Governor of Provence, and guilty of violent atrocities, should be supported against the Parliament of Aix, and that the Duke of Epernon, whom he hated, should be condemned by that of Bordeaux. The Prince kept around him a number of gentlemen adventurers, attracted to him by his high military reputation, and scarcely cared to hide his project of rendering himself independent in France, and by these proceedings alienated both the Regent and her Minister. The Frondeurs vainly sought to attach him to themselves; he despised them, and commenced a process against the coadjutor, the Duke of Beaufort, and Broussel, whom he accused of having attempted to murder him. Mazarin effected a reconciliation with the coadjutor, and chose the moment when Condé had rendered himself as hateful to the Fronde as himself to crush him. An insult from him to the Queen determined her to take the most rigorous measures against him. He himself unconsciously signed an order for his arrest; and having been enticed to the Palais Royal, on the 18th January, under the pretence of the holding of a council; he was arrested with his brother the Prince of Conti, and his brother-in-law the Duke of Longueville. A detachment of light horse conducted them to Vincennes, from whence they were transferred to Marcoussi, and thence to Havre.

Arrest of Princes, 1650.

The Duchess of Longueville fled to Normandy, hoping to arouse that province, of which the Duke, her husband, was governor. Mazarin, however, had taken precautionary measures, and having failed in this project, she proceeded to Stenay, to Turenne, whom she once more roused against the Court. This great man, allied with the Spaniards, was beaten at

Rethel by Duplessis-Praslin. The young Princess of Condé, assisted by the Dukes of Bouillon and De la Rochefoucauld, was more fortunate at Guienne. She entered Bordeaux, which she induced to revolt, and raised the whole province. Mazarin persuaded Anne of Austria to proceed thither with the young King. The rebellion was suppressed, but Bordeaux remained attached to the Princes. Necessity alone had reconciled Mazarin with the coadjutor and his friends, who detested him; and in his absence fresh plots were contrived against him. The party of the Princess, which was called the Little Fronde, was united with the Fronde of the Parliament, or Great Fronde, through the exertions of the Princess Palatine, Anne of Gonzaga, second daughter of the Duke of Mantua, a woman born for intrigues; the coadjutor, who was in high favour with Gaston of Orleans, attached him to the Parliamentary party, and when Mazarin returned to Paris, he found a formidable league armed against him. The people received him with murmurs; the Parliament, at the instigation of the coadjutor, demanded the freedom of the captive Princes, and the Duke of Orleans demanded the banishment of Mazarin. Anne of Austria was ready to fight in the Cardinal's defence; but he bowed before the storm, and quitting Paris, he proceeded to Havre, where he set free the Princes, who treated him with contempt. Banished for ever by the Parliament, he refused the asylum offered him by the Spaniards, and sought refuge with the Elector of Cologne, at Bruhl, whence he continued to govern the Queen and the State.

The two Frondes. Their union against Mazarin.

Retirement of Mazarin, 1651.

The enemies of Mazarin soon ceased to be friends with each other. Condé controlled the Parliament, and offended the Queen by his pride and suspicions. He accused her of having allowed herself to be directed by Mazarin, reproached her for retaining as her Ministers Le Tellier, Lyonne, and Fouquet, creatures of the Cardinal, and demanded their dismissal. Anne of Austria, thoroughly enraged, sent for the coadjutor, and entreated him in the most urgent manner to employ his influence in favour of Mazarin against the Prince. Gondi, a mortal enemy of the Cardinal, resisted all the Queen's appeals, and refused to aid her to recal her favourite; but he promised to remove Condé, raised the people of the capital against him, and succeeded in dividing the Great and Little Fronde. The two rivals for power presented themselves at the Parliament on the 21st August, each accompanied by a numerous troop of armed partisans; threats were exchanged; thousands of swords and daggers were drawn in

the precincts of the palace, and the coadjutor was on the point of being assassinated. The Parliament pronounced in his favour, and Condé, finding the Queen, the Fronde, and the people all against him, quitted Paris and proceeded to Guienne. Pride and ambition carried him into criminal excesses, and, in concert with Spain, he prepared for war. Almost all the provinces beyond the Loire, Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge, and Angoumois, declared in his favour. Turenne, and the Duke de Bouillon, his brother, yielded to the urgent entreaties of the Queen, and were faithful to her. Anne of Austria now once more quitted Paris, in order to reduce the revolted provinces to obedience. Having reached Bruges, she from thence despatched to the Parliament an edict, which declared Condé a rebel and traitor to the King and France; and the Parliament registered this edict, for although it was hostile to the regent, it held it a point of honour to repel any idea that they were in league with the enemies of the State.

Once at a distance from the Cardinal's adversaries, Anne of Austria felt all her old tenderness for him return; she kept his creatures constantly about her, and exhorted him to revisit France. He accordingly came back, accompanied by an army of seven or eight thousand men, whose officers wore his colours, and who were commanded by Marshal d'Hocquincourt. The coadjutor immediately perceived the fault which he had committed in permitting the Court to remove from Paris; and he raised the people against the partisans of Mazarin and the Queen. The mansion of Mathieu Molé, the First President of the Parliament, and Keeper of the Seals, was assailed by a furious mob. Molé had the gates opened to them, advanced towards them alone and unarmed, threatened to have them all hanged, and cowed them by the simple influence of his character and language. He joined the Court at Poitiers, and the Parliament put a price on Mazarin's head. The latter continued his march upon Poitiers, and the King, with his brother, advancing to meet him, received him with every distinction. Anne of Austria eagerly replaced in his hands the burden of public affairs, and he returned to be more powerful than ever. Gaston of Orleans, the most feeble of men, and the puppet by turns of every party which his age and name ought to have restrained, again declared against the Regent, effected a reconciliation with Condé, then in Guienne, and joined to the troops of that Prince, which were commanded in his absence by the Duke de Nemours, all those at his own disposal. The

Return of Mazarin, 1652.

Noble firmness of Mathieu Molé.

Parliament did not revoke its decree against Condé, and from this time this assembly, hostile to all parties, seemed not to know what to do or what it wished, and only displayed irresolution and weakness.

Nemours at the head of an army of twelve thousand French, Germans, and Spaniards, marched upon Guienne, which Condé at that time defended against D'Harcourt. His intention was to place the Court between two armies, whilst Anne of Austria, with the object of re-entering Paris, approached Orleans. Mademoiselle de Montpensier, sent by Gaston of Orleans, her father, to defend this place, entered it by a sewer, presented herself suddenly before the citizens engaged in deliberation, gained their votes, and had the gates of the city closed against the King.

The Royal army, under the command of Turenne and D'Hocquincourt, ascended the Loire, and crossed it at Gien, in the environs of Bleneau, almost in the face of the rebels, who were commanded by two disunited princes, Nemours and Beaufort. Marshal d'Hocquincourt, contrary to the advice of Turenne, divided his troops amongst several villages around Bleneau. Turenne took up his quarters and entrenched himself at Gien, where were the Court and the King. He perceived with uneasiness the faults committed by his colleague, but was somewhat reassured when he remembered the want of union and experience in the enemy's army. Suddenly, in the middle of the night, a furious attack was made upon the royal army, the villages were set on fire, and five of Marshal d'Hocquincourt's positions were carried in succession. He saw his troops beaten and dispersed, and with difficulty rallied them at Bleneau. Turenne, informed of this disaster, mounted his horse and galloped to a neighbouring eminence. By the light of the flames he was enabled to judge of the enemy's movements, and with the unfailing instinct of genius, he cried "The Prince has arrived; it is he who commands that army!" Nor did he deceive himself, for the Prince of Condé had marched with incredible rapidity from the banks of the Garonne to those of the Loire, and, when he was believed to be twenty leagues distant, was then face to face with Turenne. He carried Bleneau and marched upon Gien; but his formidable adversary awaited him there so skilfully posted, that Condé found his progress stopped. Turenne had torn from him the prize of his victory, and had saved the King and army. The Court gained Lens, and established itself in the environs of the capital.

Battle of Bleneau, 1652.

Condé followed the Royal army and drew near to Paris. Braving the

decree of the Parliament which condemned him and closed the gates of the city against his troops, he entered the city with his principal officers, Beaufort, Nemours, and La Rochefoucauld. He then transferred his head-quarters from Etampes to Saint-Cloud. After this he re-entered the capital, and, in concert with Gaston, had recourse to violence to obtain money and troops. They both kept in pay a band of ruffians, whom they ironically called the Parliament *cut-throats*, and whom they employed to insult and beat such of the magistrates as resisted their will. Paris was desolated by famine, and the Royal army was at its gates; but the Princes and their partisans gave up their hours to balls and festivities. Marshal de la Ferté, who was faithful to the King, approached the city with his troops, with the intention of effecting a junction with Turenne, who was encamped at Saint-Denis. Condé, fearing to be surrounded, wished to retreat upon Conflans by skirting the walls of Paris, unobserved by the Royal army. Turenne, however, perceived the movement, and falling with his forces on the Prince's troops, gave him battle in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine; a desperate conflict ensued, in which these two great captains displayed equal bravery and skill. Condé, whose troops were much inferior in number, was about to suffer defeat, when the populace, harangued by Mademoiselle, the daughter of Gaston, rose in favour of the Prince. Mademoiselle hastened to the Council at the Hôtel-de-Ville and induced it to grant that Paris should serve as an asylum for the vanquished. From thence she went to the Bastille and had the cannon directed against the King's troops. The gates of the city were opened, and the Prince's army was saved.

The rebel princes defend Paris against the King.

Paris now became the scene of frightful disorders. Condé's troops rendered the two Princes for a time all-powerful; and they excited the populace against the council, which was adverse to them. The people besieged the Hôtel-de-Ville, and prepared to set it on fire. Many magistrates issued forth in terror, and were slain. The accusation of *Mazarinism* was sufficient to put him against whom it was brought in peril of death. Anarchy and terror reached their height.

The Princes took advantage of the general trouble and consternation to change the Council of Aldermen; and, at the same time, they made Broussel provost of the merchants, and the Duke of Beaufort governor of Paris. The famous coadjutor, Paul de Gondi, always hostile to the Prince of Condé, put the archbishopric

Terror in Paris, 1652.

in a state of defence, and furnished the towers of the cathedral with instruments of war. The magistrates scarcely dared to proceed to the Parliament. Those whom self-interest or fear made submissive to the Princes feigned to believe that the King was a prisoner in the hands of Mazarin. They proclaimed Gaston lieutenant-general of the kingdom, until the expulsion of the Cardinal, and Condé generalissimo of the forces. The King annulled this decree, and ordered the Parliament to transfer itself to Poitiers. Many members obeyed this order and went there, where they were presided over by Molé. Each army, therefore, was now supported by a parliament, as in the time of the League.

The two parties were weary of this disastrous war; and Mazarin seemed to be the only obstacle to the conclusion of a peace. Charles de Lorraine approached with an army to the assistance of the Princes; and the Regent was already meditating a retreat beyond the Loire. The wise men who were about her dissuaded her from putting in practice this fatal project, and urged her yet once more to do violence to her affections. At length she dismissed Mazarin; and quitting the Court a second time, he retired to Sedan, leaving his creatures about the Queen, and through them still continuing to direct her counsels. The people of Paris received the news of the Cardinal's dismissal with enthusiastic delight. Condé, whom it accused of all its sufferings, was forced to quit the capital. The Spaniards made overtures to him, and setting out with the Duke of Lorraine, he threw himself into their arms. The coadjutor visited the King, received the red hat, and arranged the Royal return to Paris, which Louis XIV. re-entered on the 21st October, amidst the acclamations of the people. The King confined his vengeance to the banishment from the capital of the Duke of Orleans and the leaders of the revolt. The coadjutor, henceforth known as Cardinal de Retz, almost alone opposed the return of Cardinal Mazarin. He desired to appear formidable, and never went abroad without being surrounded by a numerous guard. Discontented with the Court, in spite of the brilliant offers which were made him, he meditated a fresh attack against it; but Anne of Austria anticipated him by having him arrested and lodged in Vincennes.

Second retirement of Mazarin, 1652.

The King enters Paris.

The Spaniards had profited by the civil troubles in France; for Casal, in Italy, Gravelines, Mardick, and Dunkirk, had fallen into their

hands; and Condé advanced at the head of an army. Turenne, at the head of a smaller number of troops, checked his march, and protected France in a campaign which the talent of the two illustrious adversaries rendered celebrated. Anne of Austria then recalled Mazarin to Paris, where she received him with transport; whilst the city gave him brilliant fêtes, and the populace received him with joyous acclamations, and thus added to the profound contempt with which he always regarded them. The Cardinal assumed an absolute authority, and subjected the revolted provinces. Bordeaux, where the Prince of Conti and the Duchess of Longueville were in command, was still, with a portion of Guienne, in open rebellion. The Count d'Harcourt had left his army before this city, and wishing to follow the example given by the Princes, and render himself independent, had seized upon Brisach and Philisbourg, in Alsace. He surrendered them; and Bordeaux, after being the theatre of most sanguinary scenes, was compelled to submit. Mazarin triumphed over all his enemies; had Condé condemned to death by the Parliament; and gave one of his nieces in marriage to the Prince of Conti. Monsieur remained at Blois in retirement. Mademoiselle de Montpensier wandered about obscurely from province to province, and after having aspired to the hand of a king, ended by marrying a simple gentleman. The Cardinal de Retz, after having been transferred from Vincennes to the castle of Nantes, succeeded in escaping, and quitted the kingdom. The Duke of Beaufort bowed to circumstances with a good grace; and the famous Duchess of Longueville, reduced to political inaction, embraced the quarrel of the Jansenists against the Jesuits, and ended by giving herself up to the austere practices of the most fervid devotion. Thus terminated the war of the Fronde, unequalled in the annals of history by the incidents which characterized it, and presenting a strange picture, in which we see amongst the combatants in the foreground, an archbishop, magistrates, and the most brilliant women, side by side with the two greatest captains of Europe. Condé alone still kept the field; and Louis XIV. made his first campaign against him in Picardy under the guidance of Turenne. The issue was successful, for Turenne attacked the enemy's lines before Arras, carried them, and obliged Condé to raise the siege of that place.

Mazarin again recalled, 1653.

End of the War of the Fronde, 1653.

Hitherto the King's youth had not allowed him to take an active part in affairs, but they had, nevertheless, had their influence on the re-

mainder of his reign. It is to the impressions and remembrances which he preserved of the times of anarchy above described, that must be attributed that passion for order, which he pushed even to despotism, and his dislike for Paris. On his return from his first campaign, he gave some indication of what he was likely to be. The people groaned under the weight of the imposts rendered necessary by the war, and fresh edicts of finance appeared in 1655. The Parliament, which had registered them in a bed of justice before the King, wished to revise them, and to reverse their first decision. The King, informed of this, appeared in the great chamber, in a hunting costume, with a whip in his hand, and said: "Gentlemen, every one knows the misfortunes which have been caused by sittings of the Parliament. I wish to prevent their recurrence. I order, therefore, that an end should be put to those which have commenced to discuss the edicts which I have had registered in a bed of justice. I prohibit you, sir, the chief president, to permit these sittings, and any one else to demand them." These haughty words overawed the Parliament, and the murmurs which they provoked were stifled by the prudence of Turenne. That great captain soon commenced a fresh campaign in Flanders, in which he took the offensive, and was compelled by Condé to raise the siege of Valenciennes.

Louis XIV. at the Parliament, 1657.

France and Spain at this time contended with each other for the alliance of England, now become a republic, and governed by Cromwell as Lord Protector. Charles I. had perished on the scaffold in 1649, for having endeavoured to render his authority absolute, and sought to abolish the Presbyterian worship in Scotland. Cromwell had very greatly contributed to this great catastrophe, and exercised all that ascendency which, in times of revolution, is sure to fall to the lot of an intellect at once deep and crafty, enthusiastic and audacious. In a few years he succeeded in making England a flourishing state, and highly influential in the affairs of Europe. He put a price on its alliance, and Mazarin carried it off from Philip IV. by promising to deliver Dunkirk to the English, if this place should be retaken by France, and to abandon the cause of the two sons of Charles I., who were both, through their mother, grandchildren of Henry IV., and who passed from the camp of Turenne to that of Condé. On these conditions Cromwell furnished the French with a fleet and six thousand

Alliance with Cromwell, 1658.

troops. Flanders was still the theatre of war; and the battle of the Dunes, in which Turenne triumphed over his illustrious rival, caused Dunkirk to fall into the hands of the victor, who immediately transferred it to the English. This victory, followed by the capture of a great number of towns and fortresses, decided Philip IV. in favour of peace, which was equally necessary to the two kingdoms. Conferences with this purpose in view were held on the Isle of Pheasants, off Bidassoa, between Mazarin and Don Louis de Haro; and they are famous on account of the diplomatic talents displayed by the two negotiators. The peace, signed on the 7th November, 1659, and known as the Peace of the Pyrenees, was the most useful and memorable act of Mazarin's life. By it Philip IV. confirmed the cession of Pignerol, and a great portion of Artois and Alsace to France, which restored Lorraine, but retained the duchy of Bar, Roussillon, and Cerdagne, up to the foot of the Pyrenees, and many towns in Luxembourg. It was stipulated that Condé should submit to the King, with the assurance of a pardon and the government of Burgundy, and that Louis XIV. should espouse Maria-Theresa of Austria, the daughter of Philip IV. The dowry was fixed at five hundred thousand crowns, and Philip made it a condition that his daughter should renounce for herself and her descendants every right she might have to the succession.

Battle of the Dunes, 1658.

Peace of the Pyrenees, 1659.

Marriage of Louis XIV., 1660.

Cromwell died, and England was once more plunged into a state of anarchy. Charles Stuart, who on this occasion had in vain solicited the support of Mazarin, who thought his cause desperate, was recalled to England a few months afterwards, and proclaimed King by the title of Charles II. Leopold, at seventeen years of age, had obtained the Imperial dignity in 1657, on the death of Ferdinand III., his father; and Charles Gustavus had reigned in Sweden since 1654; Christina, his relation, and daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, having abdicated in his favour, in order to devote herself exclusively to literature and science. Europe was at peace, and France had arrived at the moment when Louis XIV. was to take the reins of government into his own hands. Mazarin, absolute ruler of the kingdom, and possessed of a colossal fortune, was drawing near the close of his life. Full of anxiety on account of his ill acquired riches, which some authors declare to have amounted to fifty millions—equivalent to more than a hundred at the

present day, he offered them to the King, declaring that he no longer wished to possess them. What he foresaw took place: Louis XIV. returned him his fortune; and Mazarin died 1661, after having secured the most brilliant positions for his five nieces, of whom one, Marie de Mancini, had been beloved by the young monarch.

Death of Mazarin, 1661.

France was partly indebted to Mazarin for the advantages she derived from the peace of Westphalia and that of the Pyrenees; and it is impossible to deny the possession of great talents to him who signed these treaties, who twice governed France from the depths of his exile, and preserved the supreme authority to the close of his life under such a prince as Louis XIV., and with such men as Cardinal de Retz and the Great Condé for his opponents. He deserves, however, great reproach for having frequently made the interests of France subordinate to his own. A better diplomatist than administrator, and full of contempt for the people, Mazarin enriched himself without scruple at its expense, did nothing for the internal prosperity of the State, and left France without credit, and almost ruined. He was skilful in reading men's characters, and this was in great part the secret of his power. He gave Colbert to Louis XIV., and divined the proud and domineering spirit of that monarch. The negligent manner in which he had been educated was a crime against him as against the State; and he purposely kept his Sovereign in ignorance, that he might himself be so much the longer necessary to him. He taught him how to look and act the king; but to be one in reality was, for Louis XIV., the work of Nature alone. "There is stuff in him," said the Cardinal, one day, "sufficient for four kings;" and the monarch of twenty years of age announced on the day following the death of his Minister, in whose hands was henceforth to be the chief authority.

Harlay de Chanvallon, President of the Council of the Clergy, having asked him to whom he was now to apply with reference to affairs of State, Louis XIV. replied, "*To me.*" From this moment he became the sole ruler of France, and continued to be so till his death.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV., FROM THE DEATH OF MAZARIN TO THAT OF COLBERT.

### 1661–1683.

LOUIS XIV. was endowed by nature with an instinctive love of glory, order, and power. His character possessed the national characteristic of an insatiable need of admiration, and at the moment when he took the government into his own hands, there was a fortunate and remarkable coincidence between his own inclinations and the wishes of his people. After having endured the scourges of intestine and foreign war, France—without interior administration, finances, or credit—was especially in need of some centralizing power which should subdue all factions, and make the immense resources of the kingdom promote, not the interests of a few, but the glory and prosperity of the nation at large. Louis XIV. founded this power on fear and admiration. He re-established order in the State, and as long as the demands of his pride were in accordance with the interests of his kingdom, his reign offered an uninterrupted series of marvels and triumphs. He raised France to a hitherto unheard-of degree of power and splendour.

The first acts of his Government revealed the jealousy entertained by the Prince with respect to his authority, and his determination to retain it exclusively in his own hands. In accordance with the advice given him by Mazarin, he declared, in the first place, that he would have no Prime Minister. His council, formed by the Cardinal, consisted of the Chancellor Seguier, Keeper of the Seals; de Le Tellier, Minister of War; De Lyonne, Minister of Foreign Affairs; and De Fouquet, Minister of Finance. The King, convinced by Colbert of the criminal exactions of the latter, and perhaps more indignant at his luxury and magnificence than at his want of honesty, formed the resolution to have him seized in the midst of a sumptuous fête which he gave at his country seat at Vaux, on the day of the marriage of Henrietta of England, sister of Charles II., with the Duke of Orleans, the King's brother. He refrained from this, however

and Fouquet was shortly afterwards arrested, by his orders, at Nantes, and tried before a tribunal appointed for the purpose. The punishment to which he was condemned by his judges was banishment, but Louis XVI. changed it to one of perpetual detention. His friend Pélisson distinguished himself by the courage with which he defended him, but failed to save him. The finances were entrusted to Colbert, with the title of Comptroller-general; and from this moment order took the place of chaos in all the branches of the public administration.

Colbert Comptroller-general of Finance, 1661

Louis XIV. displayed an excessive jealousy with respect to the honour of his crown, and a great impatience to give to France the rank which she ought properly to occupy amongst European nations. The ambassador of Spain having, at a public ceremony in London, made use of cunning and violence for the purpose of taking precedence of the Count d'Estrades, the French ambassador, Louis, greatly irritated, threatened Philip IV. with war, and forced him to make a public reparation, and to acknowledge that his was the inferior power. He carried his vengeance still further with respect to the Court of Rome. In consequence of an affront given to his ambassador by the Pontiff's body guard, he demanded and obtained that this guard should be cashiered, that the Pope's nuncio should go to France to ask his pardon, and that a pyramid should be erected at Rome in remembrance of the affront, and the atonement for it. Certain military expeditions abroad at the same time added fresh force to the monarch's words. Brought up by Mazarin in the principles of the Italian school, imbued with that prejudice which is so fatal to the happiness of humanity, that power is the only law in politics, Louis successfully supported Portugal against Spain in defiance of the Treaty of the Pyrenees. He afforded a more honourable assistance to the Emperor Leopold against the Turks. A French corps, under the command of the Counts Coligni and La Feuillade, covered itself with glory at the battle of Saint-Gothard, where Montecuculli completely defeated the Grand-Vizier, and by this victory procured a truce of twenty years' duration between Turkey and Austria.

Political pride of Louis XIV.

The King, by the advice of Colbert, concluded a useful commercial alliance with Holland, and supported this republic against England until the peace of Breda, in 1667. He entrusted, at the same period, to the Duke of Beaufort a fleet which freed the Mediterranean of pirates, and

carried the terror of the French arms even to Algiers. These expeditions to a certain extent employed and removed the old undisciplined bands of the time of the Fronde. Louis created a new army, and, with the assistance of his minister, Louvois, son and successor of Le Tellier, gave to this army an organization which was the admiration and envy of Europe. The governors of provinces were deprived of the power of levying troops, and of disposing of them at their will; the great military offices were suppressed, as well as rank as distinct from employment. The bestowal of commissions and all promotions were made the special attributes of the monarchy; the troops received a uniform; all the branches of the service, and especially the artillery and engineers, the commissariat, and the equipment of the infantry, received a regular organization. The army ceased to be an instrument in the hands of the factious. With the King for its sole head, it contributed powerfully to fortify his authority at a time when it was necessary that the Royal authority should be strong, in order that the nation might be great.

Administration of Colbert.

France thus began to taste the fruits of Colbert's vigilant supervision of every branch of the administration. Brought up at a counter, and the son of a wool merchant of Rheims, he succeeded in effecting the most difficult reforms and the execution of all his plans by the aid of a strong will and indefatigable industry. He established a Chamber of Justice, whose duty it was to inquire into the conduct of the old farmers of the revenues, who had amassed enormous fortunes, and to reduce annuities acquired at an exceedingly low price—a measure frequently unjust, but always popular. He suppressed a multitude of useless offices, which took away so many contributions to the *taille*, and reduced, in the course of his ministry, the burdensome amount of taxes from fifty-three millions to thirty-two millions. He drew up the first statistical tables which had been seen in Europe, reduced the legal interest to five per cent., and subjected the accountants to a rigid supervision. By these means he effected an immense financial amelioration. At the time of Mazarin's death, the revenue amounted to eighty-four millions and the salaries to fifty-two, leaving only a surplus of thirty-two millions for the Royal treasury; but at Colbert's death the revenue amounted to a hundred and sixteen millions, whilst the government offices absorbed but twenty-three, and the Royal treasury received ninety-three. Colbert opened to France new sources of wealth, and laid the foundations of its prosperity in commerce and industry.

He established manufactories for the production of the French *points*, the looking-glasses of Cherbourg, the fine cloths of Louviers, Abbeville, and Sedan, the Gobelins tapestries, the carpets of Savonnerie, and the silks of Tours and Lyons. France owes to his care the perfection it has attained in watch-making, the improvement of its breed of horses, and the cultivation of madder. He took pains to secure outlets for the products of the various manufactories; founded colonies; and established chambers of commerce and insurance, storehouses, means of transit, and a new system of customs favourable to commercial transactions. On the other hand, he has been justly reproached with having too greatly sacrificed the agricultural interests to those of commerce, not only by prohibiting the exportation of grain, but also by prohibiting its free circulation in the interior.

A navy was necessary for the protection of commerce; and Colbert in a short time displayed, before the eyes of astonished Europe, a hundred vessels of war, and an army of sailors. He had the port of Rochefort, on the Charente, dug out, and those of Brest and Toulon, which were fortified by Vauban, deepened. It was he who devised for the recruiting of the navy, the Maritime Inscription, or system of classes, which is still in force, and which subjected the maritime population of the coasts, in return for the many advantages afforded them by the State, to the service of the Royal navy during a certain number of years.* Finally, his mode of administration furnished the King with the means of covering our frontiers on the north and east with a line of fortresses, and of regaining Dunkirk, that city so necessary to the defence of the kingdom, which was shamefully sold to Louis XIV. by Charles II., in defiance of all the interests of England.

The King lost Anne of Austria, his mother, in 1669. Philippe IV., his father-in-law, had died in the preceding year, and Louis, without paying attention to the formal renunciation made by Maria-Theresa, immediately set up claims in her name to Flanders, to the exclusion of the rights of Charles II., the younger son of Philippe IV. His pretext was that the dowry of the Queen not having been paid, her renunciation was null and void, and he set up with respect to this country a right of *devolution*, which resulted from a custom in force in parts of the Low Countries, which gave the paternal heritage to children of the first marriage in preference to those

* This population is divided, according to each man's age and the position of his family, into various classes, which are gradually called into active service, as they may be required.

of the second. Maria-Theresa, his wife, was a child of her father's first marriage, whilst Charles II. was a child of the second. He claimed for her that portion of the Low Countries in which this custom prevailed, and failing to obtain it, had recourse to arms. He gained over the Emperor Leopold to his side by making him hope that he would obtain a share of the spoils wrung from Charles II., and took the field at the head of his army. Turenne commanded under him; and he was accompanied by Vauban and Louvois. Spain, then in a great state of weakness, was governed by a Jesuit, Father Nithard, the Queen's confessor, and opposed but a feeble resistance to the arms of Louis XIV., who, in the space of three weeks, had rendered himself master of French Flanders. The conquest of the Franche-Comté, a province ruled by Spain under a Republican form of government, was immediately resolved on, and achieved within a month. Europe became alarmed at these rapid successes, and a triple alliance was formed against Louis between Holland, England, and Sweden. The Grand-Pensioner of Holland, John de Witt, became the soul of this league, and it forced the King to sign the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668), in accordance with which he retained Flanders, but was compelled to restore the Franche-Comté.

War for the possession of Flanders, 1667-1668.

Conquest of Flanders and of Franche-Comté.

First Coalition.

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

During the continuance of the peace, Louis XIV. devoted his attention to the internal administration of the kingdom, and to the affairs of the Church of France, which was then disturbed by the quarrels respecting Jansenism.* He then considered how to avenge himself upon Holland, and punish her for having taken part in the Triple Alliance. He cherished a profound disdain for every other government except his own, and whilst he ought to have treated with every consideration a number of industrious citizens, who traded with us annually to the extent of sixty millions, he could only regard them with hatred and contempt. This was one of the great faults of his reign. Everywhere and always he found in his path this population of merchants, heretics and republicans whose very existence filled him with indignation, and whose wealth raised up against him enemies in the two hemi-

* Five propositions on *grace*, attributed to Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, and condemned by Innocent X. in 1653, lighted up a war in the Church of France. The subject of dispute is a mystery beyond the reach of human reason. The Jesuits attacked these propositions; and their most famous adversaries were Arnauld, and Pascal, author of the "Provincial Letters."

spheres. Offended by some medals which represented the United Provinces as the arbiters of Europe, and irritated at the impertinence of certain gazetteers, the King seized upon these frivolous pretexts and declared war upon the Dutch: at the same time detaching from their alliance Charles XI., King of Sweden, and Charles II., King of England, always ready to sell his support, and to sacrifice the interests of his people to his pleasures.*

War against Holland, the Empire, and Spain, 1672-1678.

The Dutch fleets covered the seas and secured the commercial prosperity of Holland by protecting its magnificent establishments in the East Indies. Louis XIV. reinforced his own by fifty English vessels, and entered Holland at the head of

Formidable preparations of Louis XIV.

* Charles II., a Catholic in his heart, aspiring to absolute power, was hostile to the United-Provinces for the very reasons which rendered their alliance precious to Cromwell. He hated them as forming a Republican and Protestant State; and he was irritated against the States-General, which had deprived the young Prince of Orange, his nephew, of the dignity of Stadtholder, borne so proudly by his family. These various motives, and especially the hope of finding in the interested munificence of Louis XIV. resources which would enable him to dispense with the necessity of asking aid from his Parliament, drew him towards France; and he had scarcely ratified the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle when the Duke of Buckingham and the Princess Henrietta of England, Duchess of Orleans, began to discuss the means of bringing the two Courts into a strict alliance. A more secret negotiation, however, and one unknown to Buckingham himself, was being carried on in London. The King had already confided his sentiments respecting religion to certain Catholic gentlemen of high position in his kingdom: to Sir Thomas Clifford, and the Lords Arundel and Arlington, who were his intimate companions. Charles II. informed them, in the presence of his brother, of his intention of entering into negotiations with Louis XIV., with a view to the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in England, and soon afterwards, at the commencement of the year 1670, the two kings concluded a famous treaty, which remained secret during half a century. By this treaty Charles II. bound himself: 1st, to establish the Catholic religion in his States; 2ndly, to unite his forces with those of France for the destruction of the Republic of the United-Provinces, immediately after the work of conversion should have been effected in Great Britain. The conquests to be made were divided in anticipation between the two powers, with the exception of a principality reserved for the Prince of Orange. Louis XIV. on his side undertook to give to the King of England 200,000*l.*, payable quarterly, to enable him to effect the conversion of his subjects. But when Charles II. thus entered into an engagement to convert his people, he had taken counsel of his zeal for his new religion rather than of his prudence. He was soon forced to recognise the extreme difficulty of commencing, by the accomplishment of this enterprise, the execution of his agreement, whilst Louis XIV., on the other hand, was eager to gain possession of Holland. An important change was made in the secret convention between the two kings, through the intervention of the Princess Henrietta of England, who went to Dover to confer with the King Charles II., her brother. It was agreed that the conversion of England should be adjourned to a more favourable opportunity, when the conquest of Holland should have placed the King in a position in which he might undertake it with success.

a hundred thousand men, accompanied by Turenne, Vauban, Luxembourg, and Louvois. The latter provided with admirable forethought for the equipment and subsistence of the troops by the establishment, till then unheard of, of magazines of clothing and provisions. Condé was in command of the army. Never had such formidable preparations been made for the conquest of a little State, and nothing is more to the honour and glory of Holland than the immensity of the preparations made to crush it.

Situation of Holland.

To a hundred thousand troops, supported by a formidable artillery, and commanded by the most celebrated generals, the United-Provinces had but to oppose a young Prince of a feeble constitution, who had seen neither sieges nor battles, and about twenty-five thousand troops ill accustomed to war. Prince William of Orange at twenty-two years of age was elected by the voice of the nation Captain-General of the land forces, and the Grand-Pensioner, John de Witt, who viewed the influence of the House of Orange with suspicion, had found it necessary to consent to this choice. William nursed beneath an apparently phlegmatic temperament an ardent ambition, and a great thirst for glory. His intellect was active and penetrating; his courage intrepid and undaunted by reverse. He could not check the torrent which flowed down upon his country; and all the places on the Rhine and the Yssel fell into the hands of the French.

Passage of the Rhine: Conquest of Holland, 1672.

The Prince of Orange, in default of sufficient troops to support the campaign in the open field, hastily formed lines beyond the Rhine, which he soon saw it would be impossible to defend. The passage of this river, more boasted of than really glorious, was achieved without peril under the eyes of the King, in the presence of the Dutch, who were too inferior in numbers to make any resistance. An imprudent charge cost the life of the Duke of Longueville. Condé received a wound and resigned the command to Turenne. Within a few months three provinces and forty strong places had been taken, and Amsterdam itself was threatened. In addition to the evils of war, internal dissensions racked the interior of Holland; for whilst the party of the Grand-Pensioner John de Witt wished for peace, William, who was a candidate for the Stadtholderate, and could only raise himself in the field, declared for war. John de Witt prevailed, and advances were made to Louis XIV. by a deputation which reckoned amongst its members the sons of the illustrious Grotius. Advantageous propositions were made to

the King, but Louis demanded yet more; demanding the re-establishment in Holland of the Catholic religion, the devotion of a portion of the churches to the Romish worship, twenty millions to defray the expenses of the war, the cession of all that, the United Provinces possessed on the Wahal and the Rhine, and finally, the presentation to him every year of expiatory medals as an acknowledgment that the seven Provinces retained their existence and liberties through his clemency alone. These demands, for the most part exorbitant, excited the Dutch to the greatest fury. They turned their wrath against John de Witt and Admiral Cornelius de Witt, his brother; accused them of being in league with Louis XIV.; massacred them, tore them in pieces, and heaped upon their remains a thousand insults. Despair lent strength to the vanquished. They opened their dykes and laid the country under water, for the purpose of compelling the French to evacuate it. The Dutch Admiral Ruyter struggled gloriously against the combined squadrons of France and England, and the battle of Saultsbay secured the coasts of the Republic from any chance of attack.

Naval fight at Saultsbay.

Europe rose in favour of Holland. The Emperor Leopold, the Kings of Spain and Denmark, the greater number of the Princes of the Empire, the Elector of Brandenbourg, Frederic William, the founder of the high fortunes of his House—all, alarmed at the ambition of Louis XIV., leagued themselves against him, whilst Charles II. himself was compelled by his Parliament to break off his French alliance. Louis XIV., in accordance with the advice of his Minister Louvois, had committed the fault of distributing his troops amongst a number of the places taken, the fortifications of which Turenne and Condé very prudently wished to destroy. Threatened by so many enemies, he could not collect together sufficient troops to carry on the campaign, and in a short time the whole of Holland was evacuated with the exception of Grave and Maestricht.*

* The plan of the campaign of 1672 had been drawn up with profound skill, and yet the issue was not fortunate. Faults of execution caused the loss of the fruits of the success which had been at first obtained. An irresistible inclination to make sieges caused the King to lose the opportunity of entering Amsterdam. Garrisons were posted in a crowd of places which should have been destroyed as soon as taken. The army, like the Rhine and the Meuse, which divide and spread themselves in all directions on their entrance into Holland, covered a portion of the enemy's territory, and could not make a step further towards the conquest of the rest. Germany, alarmed, interfered in favour of the Provinces, and France was compelled to abandon her conquests.

The Franche-Comté, however, indemnified him for so many losses. Louis marched to the conquest of this Austrian-Spanish province, Noailles commanding under him. Besançon withstood the genius of Vauban no more than nine days, and the whole province was conquered in six weeks, and a second time wrested from Spain, never to return.

Evacuation of Holland by the French. Restoration of Franche-Comté to France, 1674.

The Great Condé, having the Prince of Orange in front of him, now fought his last battle near Senef in Flanders. The French gained the victory, but William rallied his troops and held the victors in check. Three times Condé attacked him without being able to drive him from his last and impenetrable position. The loss on each side was frightful; twenty-seven thousand dead were left on the field of battle; Condé had three horses killed under him; the contest lasted fourteen hours, and was a drawn battle.

Turenne had then to defend the frontiers on the side of the Rhine, and he displayed in this campaign all the resources of art and genius. After a rapid and skilful march he crossed the Rhine at Philisbourg, fell upon Sintzheim, forced that city, and at the same time encountered and put to flight Caprara, the Emperor's general, and the old Duke of Lorraine Charles IV. After having vanquished him, Turenne pursued him and cut up his cavalry at Ludenburg; from thence he prevented, by a rapid manœuvre, the junction of the two bodies of Imperial troops. He attacked near the city of Ensheim the Prince of Bournonville, who commanded one of these corps, and forced him to retreat. He then retreated himself before superior forces commanded by the Elector of Brandenbourg, and took up his winter-quarters in Lorraine. The enemy believed the campaign to be at an end; but for Turenne it had only commenced. He resisted Louvois and Louis XIV., who, alarmed at his perilous position, urged his retreat. Brisach and Philisbourg were blockaded, and seventy thousand Germans occupied Alsace; but Turenne had formed his plans, and knew how to surprise and vanquish them. With twenty thousand men and a few cavalry sent him by Condé, he traversed by Thanus and Belfort the mountains covered with snow, and suddenly appeared in Upper Alsace in the midst of the enemy, who believed him to be still in Lorraine. He vanquished successively at Mulhausen and at Colmar the corps which offered resistance. A formidable body of German infantry remained intact. Turenne awaited it

Skilful campaigns of Turenne in Alsace. His victories, 1674.

at Turkheim in a favourable position and routed it. In this way a formidable army was destroyed in a few months with little effort. Alsace remained in the King's possession, and the generals of the Empire recrossed the Rhine. This campaign extorted a burst of admiration from Europe; but Turenne stained his glory by permitting the burning of the Palatinate. Two cities and a multitude of villages became a prey to the flames, and no attempt was made to check the barbarities of the soldiers.

First burning of the Palatinate, 1674.

At length the Emperor sent against Turenne Montecuculli, the first of his generals and the vanquisher of the Turks at Saint-Gothard. The two great opponents at first made proof of each other's skill by a multitude of skilful manœuvres which are still the admiration of military tacticians. They were on the point, at length, of giving battle to each other near the village of Salzbach, in Baden, and Turenne was confident of victory, when, on visiting a battery, he fell dead, struck by a cannon ball. The same ball carried away the arm of M. de St. Hilaire, lieutenant-general of infantry, who said to his son, weeping by his side, "It is not for me, my son, but for that great man you should weep." Turenne died at the age of sixty-four. Born a Protestant, he had adopted the Catholic faith, and was buried in the tomb of the kings at Saint-Denis. Montecuculli, informed of his death, compelled his two successors, Generals de Lorges and Vaubrun, to repass the Rhine. Vaubrun was killed whilst crossing the stream, and Lorges conducted the retreat. The free city of Strasbourg immediately offered the use of its bridge to Montecuculli, who penetrated into Alsace. Condé alone could encounter this great captain with success, and was sent to oppose him. He displayed as much skill as Turenne, and by two encampments was able to check the progress of the Imperial army, and to force Montecuculli to raise the sieges of Haguenau and Saverne. Alsace was evacuated, and this brilliant campaign was the last conducted by the two illustrious rivals. The Great Condé henceforth lived in glorious retirement at Chantilly, where he died in 1688; whilst Montecuculli withdrew from the Emperor's service.

Death of Turenne, 1685.

Last campaigns of Condé, 1675.

The Duke de Créqui allowed himself to be beaten in this same year at Consarbruck, near Trèves, by the Duke of Lorraine; but excellent successes followed this reverse. Messina had shaken off the yoke of Spain, and had placed itself under the protection of France. Assisted by the

Dutch fleet, the Spaniards endeavoured to retake it; but Duquesne, in command of the French fleet, defeated their project, and gained the naval victories of Stromboli as well as Agosta, which cost the life of Admiral Ruyter. Marshal de Vivonne completed the destruction of the enemy's fleet as it issued from Palermo. These glorious operations were followed by two brilliant campaigns, conducted by the King in Flanders. The heroic capture of Valenciennes, made in the open day by the Musqueteers—those of Cambrai and St. Omer—and the victory of Cassel, gained by the King's brother over the Prince of Orange, terminated this war, which was unjustly commenced, but was gloriously concluded. Louis now found himself the arbiter of Europe. The States-General of Holland were weary of a struggle which had been maintained but by their subsidies; and a Congress assembled at Nimeguen, at which peace was signed on the 10th August, 1678. Holland recovered all that had been taken from her during the war; Spain abandoned the Franche-Comté, and many places in the Low Countries; the Emperor gave up two Imperial cities which had been taken by Marshal La Feuillade, and gave Fribourg in exchange for Philisbourg; the right of France to the possession of Alsace was confirmed. The young Duke of Lorraine, nephew to Charles IV., refused to be subject to Louis XIV., and rejected the conditions on which he might have been re-established in his States, which remained in the occupation of the French. Sicily was evacuated.

Victories of Duquesne at Stromboli and Agosta, 1676.

Campaign in Flanders, 1677.

Peace of Nimeguen, 1678.

To the advantages secured by the Peace of Nimeguen Louis added others, not less important, and which he had obtained by fraud and violence. It was said in the Treaty that the countries ceded should be accompanied by all their dependencies. The negotiators had supposed that these cessions would be settled by mutual agreement; but Louis XIV. assumed that he had a right to settle them in his own way, and accordingly he established a Sovereign Chamber at Besançon, and two equally Sovereign Councils, the one at Brisach, the other at Metz, which were empowered to decide without appeal respecting all cessions to his Crown. By this arbitrary measure the King of Sweden, the Duke of Wurtemburg, of De Deux-Ponts, the Elector Palatine, the Elector of Trèves, and a number of other princes, were deprived of a portion of their domains and summoned to render homage for their other possessions. Louis seized

upon the free city of Strasbourg in a manner no less violent. Louvois and the Marquis de Montclar suddenly appeared before it at the head of twenty thousand men. Induced to capitulate by mingled threats and intrigue, it was united to France, and Vauban fortified it so as to make it the rampart of the kingdom against Germany.

Surprise of Strasbourg. Restoration of that place to France, 1681.

Justly irritated at these usurpations, the powers of Europe formed a fresh league on the day of the capture of Strasbourg. But three hundred thousand Turks at the same time poured down upon the Empire; and Vienna, reduced by them to the last extremity, would have been forced to succumb had not the king of Poland, John Sobieski, and Prince Charles of Lorraine come to its assistance. Leopold, therefore, and the greater number of the powers, being too feeble to recommence the war, protested, without taking any active measures. Spain alone dared to enter the field, and lost Courtray, Dixmude, and Luxembourg. A truce of twenty years, to which the Emperor and Holland acceded, was concluded at Ratisbon, according to which the King was to retain, during his life, Luxembourg, Strasbourg, and all the annexations pronounced legitimate by the Sovereign Courts. It was thus that Louis XIV., extending his conquests by illegitimate means, accumulated the enduring resentment which was destined to burst upon him in the day of adversity.

Truce of Ratisbon, 1684.

Everywhere the terror of his arms prevailed. The ships of Spain lowered their flags before his; and Duquesne freed the Mediterranean of the pirates which infested it, and twice destroyed the city of Algiers with the then newly-invented bombs. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli made their submission. Genoa was accused, falsely perhaps, of having assisted the pirates. Fourteen thousand bomb-shells crushed its marble palaces, and its Doge was forced to go to Versailles to implore the compassion of Louis XIV. That monarch had now reached the giddiest height of his power and glory, and his name excited throughout Europe mingled sentiments of hatred, terror, and admiration. The Roman Court, already deeply humiliated by him, was beaten a second time on the subject of the *Droit de régale.** This law, up

Bombardment of Algiers and Genoa, 1683–1684.

* This was the name given to the privilege enjoyed by the Kings of France, and by no other monarchs, of possessing during the vacancy of episcopal sees, and until the registration of the oaths of new bishops, the revenues attached to them, and also of conferring certain benefices as belonging to these sees.

to the time of Louis XIV., did not affect the churches of certain provinces which had been long separate from the kingdom, such as Guienne, Provence, and Dauphiné; but by a Royal edict, issued in 1673, they were now all rendered equally subject to it. The Pope, Innocent XI., vigorously opposed this innovation, and a long-continued struggle ensued; but at length, in 1682, an assembly of the French clergy drew up, at the instigation of Bossuet, the four famous Articles, in which is set forth the doctrine of the Gallican Church. They are to the effect—1st, That the ecclesiastical power has no authority over the temporal power of princes; 2nd, That the General Council is superior to the Pope, as was determined by the Council of Constance; 3rd, That the exercise of the Apostolic power should be regulated by the canons and the usages in vogue in particular churches; 4thly, That the judgment of the Sovereign Pontiff in matters of faith is not infallible until sanctioned by the Church. The King immediately had these four articles registered in all the Parliaments, and the professors in the schools of philosophy were bound to subscribe to them. The Pope condemned them, and refused bulls to all those who had been members of the Assembly of 1682. The bishops nominated by the King continued, however, to administer their dioceses, by virtue of the powers conferred on them by the chapters. This expedient, suggested by Bossuet, prevented perhaps a complete schism between the Church of France and the Church of Rome.

Drawing-up of the Four Articles of Clergy, 1682.

Louis XIV., feared by Europe, was an absolute king in his own dominions, and could say with truth, "The State—it is I!" He had destroyed the few national franchises which had hitherto been preserved rather by custom than by law. Every body and everybody in the State rivalled each other in testifying their devotion and obedience to him. The high clergy, to whom Louis closed his Council and refused any part in the command of his armies, had lost all political influence; and this body considered it fortunate, in fact, that they had preserved a shadow of independence in being allowed to pay, under the title of "gratuitous gifts," the sums which they would have considered it beneath their dignity to have paid as taxes. The high nobility, considerably diminished by so many wars, and naturally attracted to the Court, was kept under by the habit of a brilliant servitude to the monarch, and the enticements of Court pleasures and fêtes. The nume-

Power and grandeur of Louis XIV., 1661–1683.

rous provincial nobility, almost wholly employed in the army, learned that it could only preserve any authority in the State by means of its commissions, and that its hereditary privileges would no longer afford it any real influence. The Parliament found its functions limited to the administration of justice; all political power was taken from it, and the King only allowed to it the illusory power of addressing to him remonstrances on his edicts eight days after they had been registered. The Third Estate lost its municipal liberties by the definitive establishment of intendants and the sale of the perpetual mayorships. The three orders were finally reduced to a political nullity by the King's prejudice against the States-General, and his invincible resolution never to convoke them. The chains of a central administration, the occult power of the police, newly established,* and the maintenance of a numerous standing army, completed the reduction of the kingdom to a state of passive obedience—a state in which the King kept it by the dazzling glory of his victories, and the marvellous works effected during his reign. Aspiring himself to every species of renown, he had in the midst of his reign obtained that of a conqueror, and the superior glory of being a protector of literature, science, and commerce. With Colbert's assistance he had issued celebrated decrees with respect to waters and forests, naval affairs, and all branches of industry, as well as to civil and criminal proceedings in the courts of law. The various Regulations were distorted by the errors and barbarous prejudices of the time, but they grouped under their proper heads matters which had hitherto been confounded together; and it is especially in this respect that they were admired, and, in great part, adopted by Europe.

Abasement of the Nobles and of the Parliaments.

Creation of the police, 1667.

Legislative works.

The King seconded Colbert's efforts by giving an impulse to industry, and giving the first place of honour at his Court to French fabrics. At his voice manufactories arose, our vessels covered the ocean, and France

* The King appointed, in 1667, a magistrate, who, under the name of Lieutenant of Police, was entrusted with the duty of watching over the safety of Paris. Nicolas de la Reynie was the first Lieutenant of Police, and he was succeeded by the Marquis d'Argenson. The watch and the fire-brigade were also established. The police scrutinized all writings, and multiplied the employment of *lettres de cachet*, which, by suppressing the forms of justice, deprived the citizens of every guarantee for their liberty. A *lettre de cachet* was a letter written by order of the King, and countersigned by a secretary of State, by virtue of which the police seized any person and conveyed him to prison, where he was confined as long as the Government pleased.

took the first rank amongst the maritime powers. She had not as yet any colonies; for though the French had, it is true, a century since, founded many colonies in the New World, at the Floridas, in Canada, at the Antilles, in Guiana, at Senegal, and in Africa, they had remained independent of France. Colbert purchased the establishments at the Autilles in the name of Louis XIV., and placed under the protection of the French Government a portion of the great isle of St. Domingo, which had been taken by French filibusters from the Spaniards. A West Indian company, established by his efforts in 1664, purchased the French possessions in America, from Canada to the Amazons, and in Africa, from Cape Verde to the Cape of Good Hope. Another company, called the East Indian, also arose at this period. Founded at first at Madagascar, it soon quitted that isle and planted itself in the Indies. It established a factory at Surat and founded Pondicherry, which became the centre of our operations in India.

The genius of Louis XIV. associated itself with every grand and useful creation. He devoted equal care to our fortresses, our roads, our ports, and our canals. At the instigation of Colbert and Vauban, he defended our frontiers on the east and the north by a triple line of fortresses. He ordered the construction of important works at Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort. He adopted the plans of Riquet, and dug the Languedoc Canal, which unites two seas. He completed the pavement of the capital, and provided it with a police, and with light during the night. He enlarged and enriched the Jardin des Plantes, traced out the Boulevards, built the Hôtel des Invalides and the Observatory, the Gates of St. Denis, and St. Martin, and the admirable façade of the Louvre, erected after the plans of Claude Perrault. He surrounded himself with the élite of the great men of his day, borrowed from them a part of their glory, and did honour to himself by covering them with favours. His benefactions sought out foreign artists and men of learning, many of whom he induced to take up their abode in France. He founded at Rome a school for painters, and in Paris academies of sculpture, painting, and architecture. At the suggestion of Colbert he founded the Academy of Sciences, and that of Inscriptions, placed the Royal library in an ample building, and raised the number of its volumes from sixteen thousand to forty thousand. Finally, he commanded the voyages of Tournefort, and caused the meridian of Paris to be measured. His renown extended to the extremities of Asia, and the

King of Siam sent a solemn embassy to offer his congratulations to the French Monarch, and to enter into an alliance with him.

The works executed by Colbert, Louvois, and Vauban; the conquests of Turenne and Condé; the halo of a brilliant literature; the eloquence of Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Fléchier, and Fénélon; the writings of Corneille, Molière, Racine, Boileau, La Fontaine, and so many other celebrated men; the profound works of the great thinkers and moralists, such as Pascal, Descartes, Malebranche, La Bruyère, and La Rochefoucauld; the marvellous artistic productions of the sculptors Girardon, Puget, Coysevox, and Coustou; the artists Lesueur, Nicolas Poussin, Claude Lorraine, and Le Brun, and the architects Perrault, the two Mansards,* and Le Nostre;† the scientific discoveries of the great mathematicians of this period,‡ in the first rank of whom may be placed Pierre Fermat; and finally, the labours undertaken by the astronomers Picard and Cassini for the purpose of measuring the globe—throw an incomparable lustre upon that portion of the reign of Louis XIV. which we have rapidly sketched, and contributed to lead posterity to apply to the Monarch the epithet of *Great*,§ and to speak of the age in which he reigned as *the age of Louis XIV.* Great men of the period.

Beneath so much grandeur, however, there were concealed many vices and numerous perils. Louis XIV. believed that he possessed an absolute right over the lives and fortunes of his subjects, and called himself God's lieutenant upon earth. Dazzled by the prodigies effected in his reign, intoxicated by incessant praise, victorious over all opposition, he almost

* François Mansard, the author of the Val-de-Grace, must not be confounded with his nephew, Jules Hardouin Mansard, who constructed Versailles, Marly, the Place Vendôme, &c.

† Le Nostre was the creator of French landscape-gardening, and laid out the gardens of Versailles.

‡ Amongst the great geometricians who have rendered themselves illustrious by the importance of their discoveries in the mathematical and physical sciences are Descartes and Pascal. A mechanician, whose name has since become famous, also lived at this period. It was he who first devised the plan of employing steam as a motive power, and he made experiments on a river in Germany—the Fulda—with a real steamboat, which ascended the current. The importance of this discovery, and of the machine called "Papin's," have only been appreciated in our own day, when the results are incalculable.

§ At the Hôtel-de-Ville of Paris, in 1680, it was solemnly decreed that the surname of "Great" should be applied to the Monarch, and that this should be the only title to be in future inscribed upon any public monument.

reached the point of believing that he was of a nature superior to that of the rest of humanity, and of persuading himself that his glory rendered lawful on his part, what, in the case of other men, was most criminal in the sight of God. He was to be seen, in the midst of the splendour of his fêtes, in the sight of the people and the army, driving about with his wife —Maria-Theresa and two of his mistresses, and the prestige which covered his adulterous amours with Mademoiselles la Vallière and Fontanges, and Madame Montespan, inflicted almost as fatal a blow on the national manners as the shameful dissoluteness of his successor.

He prided in triumphing over difficulties, and in undertaking what seemed impossible things; and Colbert, who encouraged his taste for building, saw with terror the public treasure engulfed at Versailles in gigantic and useless works. It was easy to foresee all the miseries with which France was threatened, if the will of the Prince, without counterpoise, should cease to be guided by the councils of genius, and should yield to those of ignorance and fanaticism; if his indomitable pride should listen some day to the suggestion of a narrow and blind devotion; and if, finally, his prejudices, and the interests of his power and those of his family, should ever be in antagonism with the interests and requirements of France. These gloomy forebodings of superior minds were too soon justified. Colbert died in 1683, in the same year as Maria-Theresa; and from that time the rising prosperity of the reign received a check. The prodigalities of the King, and the expenses of the late war, which had been undertaken against the advice of Colbert, had already obliged the latter to have recourse to loans, to the sale of a multitude of offices, and to vexatious taxes, which excited the murmurs of the people. After his death, the finances fell into a frightful state of confusion, and it almost seemed as though this great Minister had carried with him into the tomb the fairest portion of his Master's glory and good fortune.

Death of Maria-Theresa and of Colbert, 1683.

## CHAPTER V.

### CONTINUATION AND END OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.

### 1683-1715.

The health of Louis XIV. had suffered since 1682 an alteration which, whilst it soured his temper, inclined him to abandon himself without reserve to the fatal suggestions of Louvois and Madame de Maintenon. The former, an egotistical, proud, and cold-hearted man, had been the personal enemy of Colbert, and the latter, by her ambition and a certain stiffness, made the French almost forget the rare qualities of her mind. A Catholic granddaughter of the Protestant leader Agrippa d'Aubigné, widow of the poet Scarron, and instructress of the children of Louis XIV. and Madame de Montespan, she speedily raised herself from that obscure post to the most elevated rank. There is no doubt that the King, yielding to personal scruples as much as to the voice of public morality, thought that he might satisfy at once his passion and the claims of duty by secretly marrying her; and the year 1685 is that in which this clandestine marriage is said to have taken place. From that moment Louis XIV. appeared to have survived himself. Great talents still shone around him, and produced brilliant works; glorious victories checked the current of his adversities; but his resolutions were ever subject to pride or superstition; most of them hurried on the ruin of the monarchy, and none of them really tended either to his greatness or prosperity.

Preponderating influence of Louvois and of Madame de Maintenon.

One of the first and most disastrous acts of the Third Period of his reign was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Protestants, since the capture of La Rochelle, lived peaceably and submissive to the Government, and were as distinguished for the purity of their morals as their active industry. Louis XIV., however, had always regarded them with anger and dislike. Far from being well informed as to the differences between the two systems of worship, he was nevertheless offended that opinions should

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685.

be publicly professed in his kingdom which were not his own; and he assumed over the consciences of his subjects the same absolute authority which he believed he possessed over their lives and fortunes. His cruel persecutions of the reformed party were instigated by his pride rather than by his devotion. He had long meditated the ruin of their churches, and numerous conversions had been obtained by threats, violence, or bribery. The unhappy Protestants found themselves successively deprived of all their rights and all their privileges. Their ministers were prohibited from wearing the ecclesiastical habit, from attending the sick, or visiting the prisons. Their professors were allowed to teach neither languages, philosophy, nor theology; their schools were broken up; and the gifts bestowed on the consistories were transferred to Catholic hospitals; cunning and force were employed to prevent them from having the bringing up of their own children.

Refused admission to any public offices, they had devoted themselves to industry, which owed to their zeal its most rapid development. Colbert protected them; but at his death, Louvois, his envious rival, in concert with Michel Le Tellier, his father, Chancellor of France, and with Madame de Maintenon, urged Louis XIV. to destroy them. The numerous blows already inflicted upon them by the King had deprived them of the means of making any effort in their own defence; when, on the 22nd October, 1685, appeared the decree which suppressed the Edict of Nantes. It interdicted throughout the whole kingdom the exercise of the Reformed religion, ordered all its ministers to leave the kingdom within a fortnight, and enjoined parents and tutors to bring up the children in their care in the Catholic religion. Emigration on the part of the Protestants was prohibited under pain of the galleys and confiscation of property; Catholic preachers traversed the towns peopled by Protestants, and in the places where these missionaries were unable to effect conversions, the secular arm was called in to effect them by force. Frequently, even before the issue of this decree, dragoons had been sent to obstinate Protestants with permission to act towards them with every imaginable licence until they had become converted. Innumerable and atrocious acts of violence were committed against them, those who resisted being condemned to the gibbet or the gallows; whilst their ministers were broken alive. A hundred thousand industrious families escaped from France; and the foreign nations which received them with

open arms became enriched by their industry at the expense of their native country. This odious decree intensified the hatred of the Protestants for their King, and increased their resources and their strength, whilst it enfeebled those of the kingdom; for there were formed many regiments of French refugees who inflicted more than one severe blow on the persecuting Monarch.

The conduct of this Prince in respect to strangers was neither more just nor more prudent. He had found in medals which he thought insulting a sufficient motive for urging war against Holland; and yet he permitted Marshal la Feuillade to erect on the Place des Victoires, in Paris, a monument, on which a light burnt before his statue, at the foot of which all the nations of Europe were represented as vanquished and enchained. He maintained at Rome, in spite of the Pope, a right of asylum for all the vagabonds or malefactors who sought protection at the French Embassy; although the other powers possessed of the same privilege had renounced so scandalous a right. Pressed by the nuncio to follow the example of the latter on this point, Louis XIV. haughtily replied, that "He never followed any one's example, God having, on the contrary, appointed him to be an example to others." His ambassador was excommunicated by Pope Innocent XI., who, at the same time, refused to nominate to the Electorate of Cologne, Cardinal Furstemberg, the candidate protected by the French Monarch; upon which Avignon, an ancient possession of the Popes, was at once seized. Louis XIV. believed that he atoned for his offences against the Court of Rome by the rigour with which he treated the Calvinists; but his recent usurpations, maintained with so much arrogance, disgusted all Europe. The Prince of Orange, against whose consent the peace of Nimeguen had been concluded, had become the soul of a new league, which took the name of the League of Augsbourg, from the name of the city in which it was agreed upon. The Emperor, the Empire, Spain, Holland, and Savoy, formed a coalition against France; and Louis sent a large army into Germany under the orders of the Dauphin. "My son," said the King to him, on his departure, "in sending you to command my armies, I afford you an opportunity of making your merits known. Go, and so act in the face of Europe that when I am no more it shall not perceive that the King is dead."

Second Coalition League of Augsbourg. War against Europe, 1688–1698.

This campaign commenced at the period of the second revolution in England. James II., brother and successor of the immoral Charles II., had made an ostentatious display of his attachment for the Catholic faith, and had raised his subjects in revolt against him by endeavouring to re-establish it in his kingdom. The Prince of Orange, his son-in-law, summoned by the general voice of the English people, crossed the sea at the head of a fleet, and accompanied by a French army. James II. abandoned the throne, which was declared vacant by the Peers and Commons of the kingdom. The two Chambers then drew up an act, which is famous in history, under the name of the Declaration of Rights, by which the ancient political rights and liberties of England were defined, and solemnly sanctioned. They then proclaimed William of Orange and Mary, the daughter of James II., King and Queen of England. Thus was accomplished the revolution which maintained in England the union between the State and the Protestant Church, which consecrated anew, in a pacific manner, the free institutions which had existed in the kingdom for ages, and which prevented in that country any fresh contests between the Royal authority and the Parliamentary power, by establishing in a formal and incontestible manner that the first derived all its rights and all its prerogatives from the Parliament and the nation.

Second English Revolution, 1688.

After he had quitted a throne which he could no longer defend, James II. sought an asylum in France. Louis XIV. received him with royal magnificence, and immediately took up his cause, in spite of all the enemies who on the north, the east, and the south, threatened his frontiers. The Dauphin, assisted by Henri de Durfort, Marshal Duras, and Catinat and Vauban, had already taken Philisbourg, and before the end of the campaign had become possessed of Mayence, Trèves, Spire, Worms, and a multitude of other places, which Cardinal Furstemberg gave up to him in the Electorate of Cologne. Thus, at the commencement of the war, Louis XIV. found himself master of the three ecclesiastical electorates, and a portion of the Palatinate. This unhappy province, by an order of Louis XIV., signed by Louvois, was a second time inhumanly ravaged, 1689, with the intention of keeping back the enemy. Forty cities and a multitude of boroughs and villages were given to the flames, the cemeteries

Second burning of the Palatinate, 1689.

themselves were profaned, and the ashes of the dead given to the winds. Germany burst into a cry of horror, and at once sent into the field three large armies, the command of which was entrusted to the Duke of Lorraine, Charles V., a sovereign without a kingdom, but endowed with great talents, the Prince of Waldeck, and the Elector of Brandenbourg. Charles V. retook Bonn and Mayence, drove Marshal Duras back into France, and died in the midst of his successes. Waldeck vanquished Marshal d'Humières in Flanders. Luxembourg was then appointed to the command of the grand army of the north; and this great general, who, by his fiery genius and keen and rapid judgment, recalled the memory of the Great Condé, whose pupil he was, justified the King's choice in the most brilliant manner.

Campaign of Luxembourg, in Flanders.

Two French armies protected the northern frontier. Luxembourg with one occupied a portion of the valley of Sambre; whilst the other, under Marshal d'Humières, protected that of the Moselle. The Prince of Waldeck, at the head of superior forces on the Sambre, near Fleurus, held Luxembourg in check, and awaited the arrival of the Elector of Brandenbourg to attack and destroy both armies. Luxembourg divined his plan, and prevented it. Strengthened by a reinforcement, secretly drawn from the army of the Moselle, he suddenly offered battle to the Prince, and then marching openly with a front of equal extent to that of the Germans, he transferred the whole of his cavalry to one of his wings, on the flank of the enemy, from whom this manœuvre was concealed by a slight eminence. Waldeck, attacked in front and in flank, was astonished at finding himself outflanked by an army which he supposed to be inferior in number to his own; and the disorder occasioned by the suddenness of the attack became a rout. Six thousand slain, and eleven thousand prisoners, were the result of this victory, which seemed to be a decisive one, but which, nevertheless, had no decisive result. The remains of the vanquished army joined at Brussels the army of the Elector; whilst Louvois, jealous of the victor, deprived him of a portion of his troops. The enemy was thus enabled to regain his supremacy; and Luxembourg was reduced to acting on the defensive.

Catinat now gained in Piedmont the battle of Staffarde against Victor Amédée, Duke of Savoy, whose States were lost for France as soon as

won. The Duke of Bavaria and Prince Eugene,* a general in the service of the Emperor, compelled Catinat to recross the Alps.

James II. had gone in the preceding year to Ireland, where the Catholic population remained faithful to him, and still hoped, with the aid of Louis XIV., to recover his Crown. Château-Renaud went to his aid with twelve ships of the line and eight thousand soldiers, whom the Duke of Schomberg, a Protestant refugee, held in check till the arrival of the Prince of Orange, who had already been recognised and proclaimed as King of England by the title of William III. It was in vain that Admiral Tourville, with eighty ships of war, vanquished at Beachy-head the English and Dutch fleets; for on the following day, the decisive battle of the Boyne ruined the hopes of James II.; and in the following year, the result of the battle of Aghrim planted the crown firmly on the head of William III.

Battle of the Boyne, 1691.

Louis XIV., with Luxembourg and La Feuillade, made a campaign in Flanders in 1691, the only important results of which were the capture of Mons by the King, and the glorious battle of Leuze, in which Luxembourg, at the head of twenty-eight squadrons, put to flight fifty-five squadrons of the enemy, under the command of the Prince of Waldeck. This success, however, was of no permanent advantage to France.

Campaign of Louis XIV. in Flanders, 1691.

The distress which prevailed throughout the kingdom was now extreme. Claude le Pelletier, then Phelipeux de Ponchartrain, who succeeded Colbert in the general management of the finances, endeavoured in vain to fill up the frightful void in the Treasury occasioned by the King's prodigalities, and the maintenance of four hundred and fifty thousand men in the field. A loan was opened for six millions of funds; a multitude of offices were created, which financiers were compelled to purchase; considerable donations were demanded of the cities; by the King's order the silver articles at Versailles were coined into money; he redoubled his efforts, and made immense preparations for carrying on the war. He marched into Flanders himself at the head of eighty thousand men, with Luxembourg and the Marquis de Boufflers under his orders, whilst Catinat carried on the war in Piedmont. Louis XIV. now had before

* Prince Eugene was the son of the Count de Soissons, of the House of Savoy, and of a niece of Mazarin. Upon being refused, by Louis XIV., first an abbacy, and next a regiment, he entered the service of the Emperor.

him his illustrious rival, King William, who had returned to command his army in Flanders after having securely fixed the crown of England on his head.

The King in person took the important fortress of Namur, whilst Luxembourg, on the banks of the Méhaigne, covered the siege, and held the forces of William in check. After this exploit Louis XIV. quitted the army, and resigned the command to Luxembourg, who covered himself with glory at the battle of Steinkerque. A spy having been discovered in William's camp, he was forced to write a false despatch to Marshal Luxembourg, and the latter immediately took measures which placed him in peril. His army, almost buried in slumber, was attacked at the break of day, and one brigade was put to flight. Luxembourg was ill, but danger revived his strength; and, rapidly changing his ground, he three times rallied his forces and charged at their head. Many princes of the blood distinguished themselves on this occasion. Philippe, Duke of Orleans, then the Duke de Chartres, and afterwards Regent of the kingdom, was foremost amongst the foremost. Scarcely fifteen years of age, he charged at the head of the Household Brigade, was wounded, and returned to the charge in spite of his wound. At length King William's English Guards gave way; and Boufflers, coming up with his cavalry, completed the victory. William, however, retired in good order, and continued the campaign; his genius, full of resources, enabling him to derive greater advantages from a defeat than the French frequently obtained from a victory. In the following year (1693), at Nerwinde, Luxembourg again obtained a signal victory over this prince, but again failed to derive any particular advantage from it. William once more made an admirable retreat, and Louis XIV., who had formerly made so many conquests almost without fighting, could now scarcely achieve the conquest of Flanders after so many bloody victories. Catinat, no less successful than Luxembourg, was victorious in Piedmont. But all these glorious successes were counterbalanced by the disastrous invasion made by Victor-Amédée into Provence and the fatal battle of La Hogue, in which Tourville, in obedience to the King's distinct orders, attacked Admiral Russell with a force inferior by one-half to that of the English. After making the most heroic efforts his ships were dispersed or sunk, and Russell burnt thirteen of them in the defenceless ports of La Hogue and Cherbourg.

Victories of Luxembourg and of Catinat, 1692–1693.

Naval battle of La Hogue.

This ruinous war was still prolonged during three years, during which Europe hurled back on Louis XIV. the evils he had made her suffer. The Dutch seized Pondicherry, a colony founded at a great expense by Colbert, and ruined French commerce in the Indies. The English destroyed our plantations at Saint Domingo, and bombarded Havre, Saint Malo, Calais, and Dunkirk, and reduced Dieppe to ashes.

Duguay-Trouin and Jean Bart avenged these disasters at the expense of the enemy's maritime commerce, and Commodore Pointis surprised the city of Carthagena, the depôt of the treasures which Spain obtained from Mexico. These successes, however, but ill repaired the great losses suffered by France. Louis XIV. ordered the re-melting of all the coin in circulation, and raised the value of the silver mark from twenty-six livres fifteen sous to twenty-nine livres four sous—an operation which only resulted in a gain of forty millions to the Treasury in four years. He imposed a capitation tax on all the heads of families, who were divided into twenty-four classes, according to the amount of their fortunes, and inscribed his own name amongst those liable to contribute. At length, after the ineffectual campaigns of Boufflers on the Rhine and of Vendôme in Catalonia, Louis entered into negotiations for peace. He first of all succeeded, in 1696, in detaching from the League the Duke of Savoy, Victor-Amédée, who gave his daughter in marriage to the Duke of Burgundy, grandson of Louis XIV. Secure on the side of Italy, the King marched considerable bodies of troops into Flanders, under Marshals Catinat, Boufflers, and Villeroi, and carried on the war actively in Catalonia, where Vendôme, after many successes, achieved the important conquest of Barcelona. These last events, and especially the defection of the Duke of Savoy, hastened the progress of the negotiations for peace, and at length it was signed at Ryswick on the 20th September, 1697. By this treaty the King of Spain resumed possession of many places in the Low Countries; the Prince of Orange was acknowledged as King of England, and Louis promised to disturb him no more in the possession of his kingdom. The possession of Strasbourg was confirmed to France, but she gave up Kehl, Philisbourg, Fribourg, and Brisach, agreed to raze the fortifications of Huninguen and Neuf-Brisach, and to restore all the annexations with the exception of Alsace. The Elector Palatine resumed possession of his domains, and the Duke of Lorraine that of his duchy, now diminished by Longwy and Sarrelouis,

Peace of Ryswick, 1697.

which remained in the hands of France. Finally, the Dutch restored Pondicherry, and signed an advantageous treaty with France, which kept her colonies and preserved her possessions at Saint Domingo.

The power of Louis XIV. was so shaken by this long and bloody war that he could no longer support in Poland his relation, Prince de Conti, who had been elected King of that kingdom in opposition to Augustus, the Elector of Saxony. Europe now at length enjoyed a period of repose. The battle of Zenta, gained by Prince Eugene at the head of the Imperial troops over the Turks and the Grand Vizier in person, was followed by the peace of Carlowitz, which was humiliating for Turkey. Then there followed two years of general tranquillity for Europe. The King of Sweden, Charles XII., and Peter I., Czar of Russia, were the first to break it in the North; and the South soon showed signs of coming troubles.

Charles II., King of Spain, languished in expectation of approaching death. He had no children, and the Kings of France, England, and the Emperor Leopold, coveting his vast domains, had entered into a secret agreement to divide them; when Charles, by a will made in 1698, appointed as his heir the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, then six years of age, who died in the following year. The dying Monarch, after long consulting the Pope, the Universities of Spain, and his own Council, then nominated as his successor Philip, Duke of Anjou, grandson of his eldest sister, Maria-Theresa, and second son of the Dauphin of France. If Philip should decline to renounce his eventual rights to the throne of France, then the Duke de Berry, his younger brother, was substituted for him, and, in the next place, the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's second son. In no case did the testator permit the dismemberment ot the Spanish monarchy. He died in 1700.

Will of Charles II., 1698.

Louis XIV. knew that to accept this testament was to break the agreement which he had previously signed, and to expose France to a new war with Europe, which was always ready to reproach him with aspiring after universal monarchy. He could not resist, however, his desire to place so brilliant a crown on the head of his grandson; and therefore, after some hesitation, he accepted the will, recognised the Duke of Anjou as a King under the title of Philip V., and sent him to Spain with the memorable words—*There are no longer any Pyrenees.*

The Emperor immediately protested; and a year had scarcely elapsed before Holland, England, and the Empire had made common cause with him against Louis XIV. This Monarch had committed two enormous faults: the one being that he had sent to Philip V. letters patent, by which his rights to the throne of France were preserved to him, contrary to the express will of the testator; and the other, that, on the death of James II., he had recognised as King of England the Prince of Wales, his son, in spite of a formal clause in the treaty of Ryswick. The tears of the widow of James II., and the instigation of Madame de Maintenon, prevailed in this matter with the King, against the unanimous advice of his Council. The Confederate powers immediately made preparations for the terrible war, known in history as the War of Succession, in which the North of Europe, then divided between Peter the Great and Charles XII., took no part. Louis XIV. and Philip V. had as their allies against this formidable league only the King of Portugal, the Duke of Savoy, the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, and the Dukes of Parma, Modena, and Mantua.

Third Coalition.

War of the Succession of Spain, 1701–1713.

Within the kingdom numerous signs of decadence were already visible. The King, now a sexagenarian, and living somewhat in retirement, saw things at too great a distance with eyes which were not only enfeebled by prolonged prosperity, but which time had somewhat dulled. Madame de Maintenon possessed neither the strength nor greatness of mind necessary to sustain the glory of the State. The great Ministers and many illustrious generals were dead; and Luxembourg, the pupil of Condé, and whom his soldiers believed to be invincible, had followed his master to the tomb. Barbezieux, the son and successor of Louvois, had sunk beneath the weight of his duties during the last war, and had died in his turn; whereupon Madame de Maintenon had united, in 1701, the Ministry of Finance with that of War in the hands of Chamillart, her creature, a man of very moderate ability, who owed his fortune to the most frivolous talents. The King, too confident in his own intelligence and strength, pretended to direct his Ministers, and to keep the reins of Government strictly in his own hands. Together with Chamillart he directed the military operations from Madame de Maintenon's cabinet, and thus made his generals miss fortunate opportunities more than ever.

Chamillart, Minister of War and of Finance, 1701.

Chamillart, unknown to the armies, which he had never seen, enfeebled the military discipline, so rigidly maintained by Louvois, by blindly and prodigally scattering dignities and rewards. A great number of young gentlemen purchased regiments when they were still mere boys; and the cross of St. Louis, a reward devised by the King in 1693, was sold at a very low price at the War Office. The number of officers and soldiers in the various corps ceased to be up to the standard; the provisions, carelessly inspected, ceased to be of good quality; and these faults, committed as they were in the face of the greatest generals which Europe had yet opposed to the fortunes of Louis XIV., afforded grounds for the most gloomy anticipations. The King, however, made prodigious efforts: he promptly recruited his armies, and repaired the losses suffered by his navy; whilst many illustrious commanders, such as Catinat, Villars, Berwick, and Vendôme, showed themselves to be worthy successors of Turenne, Condé, and Luxembourg. This disastrous war, commenced in Italy, speedily extended itself to the two Continents, to the isles, and to every point, in fact, at which the French and Spaniards had establishments. It lasted eleven years, with continual alternations of successes and reverses.

Unfortunate campaign in Piedmont, 1701.

Hostilities first commenced in Lombardy, where Prince Eugene commanded the Imperial army of forty thousand men. The Duke of Savoy, generalissimo of the French troops, was opposed to him, and had as his seconds in command the illustrious Catinat and Villeroi, the latter of whom was a courtier rather than a general, and a favourite of Louis XIV. The defeat of the French at Chiari, on the Oglio, was the first event of this war, and was caused by the imprudence of Villeroi, who rashly gave orders for the attack of impregnable intrenchments, when success itself could have had no decidedly advantageous results. Catinat paused until the order for the attack had been three times repeated; and then he said to the officers under his command: "Let us go, gentlemen! we must obey." The troops rushed to the intrenchments, and a multitude of men perished uselessly in this rash attack. Catinat was wounded; but seeing that the soldiers were disheartened, and Villeroi thoroughly discouraged, he directed a retreat, and led the French across the Adda. Winter separated the two armies.

In the following year, Eugene surprised Cremona, where Villeroi, commander-in-chief, was made prisoner. The French speedily retook this city; and the King appointed Vendôme, who was adored by the soldiers, to the command of the army. Vendôme reanimated the courage of his troops, and signalized his arrival amongst them by the victory of Luzara.

Surprise of Cremona by Eugene.

Victory of Vendôme at Luzara.

A formidable enemy for France now arose in England in the person of Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, the favourite of Queen Anne. William III. had died at the commencement of the year; and Anne, his sister-in-law, second daughter of James II., and wife of the Prince of Denmark, had been acknowledged as Queen of England. Marlborough ruled her, but less by the superiority of his talents than by the ascendancy acquired over the Queen by his Duchess. France had no more terrible enemy. In the campaign of 1702, he vanquished in Flanders the Duke of Burgundy, heir-presumptive to the Crown, and Marshal Boufflers, and freed the course of the Meuse from the occupation of Spanish troops. In the same year, the French and Spanish fleets were defeated in the port of Vigo, in Galicia, by Admiral Rooke and the Duke of Ormond, who seized the rich galleons of Havana. Villars, however, who commanded as a lieutenant-general a corps in Alsatia, partly counterbalanced in Germany these reverses. The Prince of Baden, at the head of the Imperial army, took Landau, and made successful progress. He had the advantage of numbers, and had already penetrated the mountains of Brisgau, which are contiguous to the Black Forest. This immense forest separated the Imperial troops from the French. Catinat commanded in Strasbourg, but dared not advance to encounter the Prince of Baden, since in the midst of so many disadvantageous circumstances a failure of success might have decided the campaign, and have opened Alsatia to the enemy.

Reverses of the French Army in Flanders, 1702-1703.

Villars hazarded that which Catinat had not dared to do, and marching against the Imperialists with inferior forces, fought the battle of Friedlingen. Skilful and rapid manœuvres made the Prince of Baden abandon the defence of the Rhine; and he fell back upon the mountains in his rear. The French rapidly crossed the stream; their infantry scaled the heights, and drove the Germans into the plain. The battle was already gained, when a voice cried out, "We are cut off!"

Victories of Villars.

and the French troops, hearing it, took to flight. Villars ran through the ranks exclaiming, "The victory is ours! Vive le Roi!" and succeeded at length in rallying the victors. A gallant cavalry charge completed the victory; and Villars was saluted by his soldiers as Marshal of France on the field of battle. The King awarded him this high recompense, which Villars justified anew by the victory of Donawerth, which he gained over the Imperialists in the plains of Hochstett, in concert with the Elector of Bavaria. Tallard was almost at the same time victorious at Spirbach; and the road to Vienna appeared open to the French, but there their successes ceased.

The Duke of Savoy abandoned France, and supported against Philip V. and the Duke of Burgundy, his two sons-in-law, the cause of the Emperor. Villars seemed to be, on account of his genius, the fittest man to be at the head of the armies, but the want of concord between him and the Elector of Bavaria, whose troops were united with his own, occasioned his recall. The Count de Marsin succeeded him, and Villars was sent to put down the Protestants who had fled to the Cevennes, and who had been driven to revolt by despair. Portugal then broke its alliance with France for the purpose of forming one with England, and from this period dates the famous treaty of commerce entered into between the two nations, by which the wines of the one and the wool of the other were declared to be freely exchangeable. The many reverses France had now suffered were speedily followed by a still more terrible check. Marshal Tallard had led an army into Germany, and had effected a junction with the Elector of Bavaria and Count de Marsin. The three commanders found themselves at Hochstett, in the presence of the enemy's army, under Eugene and Marlborough, and numbering, as did their own, about eighty thousand men. The battle between them took place almost on the anniversary of that which Villars had gained at the same place in the preceding year; but this time the event was fatal to France. Tallard fell into the hands of the enemy, and remained their prisoner. The Elector and Count de Marsin immediately ordered a retreat, carelessly leaving behind them in the village of Blenheim a considerable body of infantry and four regiments of cavalry, who were compelled to lay down their arms. The retreat soon became a frightful rout. This unfortunate battle cost the French fifty thousand men and a hundred leagues of

Defeat of Tallard at Hochstett, 1704.

country. The enemy advanced into Alsatia, and took Traerbach and Landau.

War of the Camisards, 1702-1704.

The frontiers had been crossed by the enemy, and every day the war of the Cevennes became more formidable. The Calvinist mountaineers had formed themselves into regular regiments, under the name of Camisards. Louis XIV. so far bent his pride as to treat, as one power treats with another, with their leaders just escaped from the scaffold, and one of them named Cavalier, celebrated for his invincible courage, who had formerly been a butcher's boy, received from the King a pension and a colonel's commission. Villars arranged this necessary pacification.

Spain lost at this period the important fortress of Gibraltar, which the English seized, and which has ever since remained in their possession. Immediately after the capture of this place, the Anglo-Dutch fleet, now mistress of the sea, attacked, within sight of Malaga, the Count of Toulouse, a natural son of Louis XIV., and admiral of the kingdom, who was in command of fifty vessels of the line, and twenty-four galleys. This battle was a drawn one; but in the following year the French fleet sent under Marshal Tessé to retake Gibraltar was destroyed by the English and by tempests. This was the end of the naval power of Louis XIV., and in spite of the exploits of some valiant captains, amongst whom Duguay-Trouin was the most illustrious, the French navy fell back into almost as bad a state as that from which he had rescued it.

Naval battle off Malaga, 1705-1706.

In the following year, the English, led by Peterborough, one of the most remarkable men that Great Britain has ever produced, landed in Catalonia, and in concert with the Prince of Darmstadt, attacked Barcelona. The capitulation of this place was marked by an unheard-of circumstance. Whilst the Governor was negotiating at the gates with Peterborough, a cry was heard in the town, "You are betraying us, and whilst we are capitulating the English are murdering us!"—"No!" replied Peterborough, "they must be the Germans of the Prince of Darmstadt. Let me enter with my English, and I will return to treat with you." The truthful accent with which Peterborough spoke, convinced the Governor of his sincerity, and he opened the gates to the English, who drove the Germans from the town. When this had been accomplished, Peterborough, already master of the place, quietly returned to sign the capitulation.

The Archduke Charles was proclaimed King of Spain in Barcelona Vendôme, in Piedmont, victorious over Eugene at the bridge of Cassano on the Adda, alone interrupted the torrent of misfortune which now swept over Louis XIV. and Philip V.

Victory of Vendôme at Cassano, 1705.

The year 1706 was still more fatal to these two monarchs, although the campaign opened in the North and South under the most favourable auspices. Vendôme having gained, in the absence of Eugene, the victory of Calcinato over the Imperials, marched upon Turin, the only important place which remained in the hands of the Duke of Savoy. Villars drove before him the Duke of Baden as far as the German frontier, and Villeroi in Flanders, at the head of eighty thousand men, flattered himself that he would be able to wipe out the memory of his former reverses; but unfortunately these reverses had not diminished his self-confidence, and his opponent was Marlborough. Villeroi had encamped his army near the Mehaine, at Ramilies, in an unfavourable position, and was resolved to risk a battle in spite of the remonstrances of his generals. The manner in which he posted his troops was fatal, for he placed in his centre the raw and ill disciplined troops, and posted his left behind an impassable morass. Marlborough perceived this error, and immediately carried his right, which was in no danger of being attacked, to Ramilies, to overwhelm the centre of the French army with superior forces. Lieutenant-General Gassion entreated Villeroi to change his order of battle; but the latter obstinately refused, and Marlborough speedily forced his lines. The loss on the side of the French was frightful; twenty thousand were slain or taken prisoners. The whole of Spanish Flanders was lost; Marlborough entered Brussels in triumph, and Menin surrendered. "Marshal," said Louis XIV., to the vanquished Marshal, "at our age we cannot expect to be fortunate." The King now transferred Vendôme from Italy to Flanders, as the only man capable of maintaining an equal struggle with Marlborough, and this measure, by depriving the army of the South of a good general, was the cause of a new and terrible disaster. Eugene had already crossed the Po, in spite of the French army which closed against him the road to Turin, and he marched to the assistance of this place which La Feuillade was besieging with a considerable body of troops and ample artillery. Eugene effected at Asti his junction with the Duke of Savoy. Marshal

Defeat of Villeroi at Ramilies, 1706.

Marsin had succeeded Vendôme in the command of the army, with which was the Duke of Orleans, and being unable to check the progress of Eugene, had joined La Feuillade before Turin. The opinion of the generals was, that it would be advisable to march to meet the enemy; but the Marshal having shown an order to the contrary, drawn up by Chamillart, and signed by the King, it was necessary to await the attack of the Imperialists in lines which were difficult to defend. Eugene assumed the offensive, threw himself upon the French entrenchments, and carried them. The rout became general; the Duke of Orleans was wounded; Marshal Marsin was killed; sixty thousand French troops were dispersed; and the military chest, together with a hundred and forty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the enemy. The Milanese territory, Mantua, and consequently the kingdom of Naples, were lost for Philip V. Eugene marched unopposed upon France; whilst Lord Galloway took possession of Madrid, where he proclaimed the Archduke.

Rout of the French before Turin, 1706.

The Emperor Leopold had died in the preceding year; but his son and successor, Joseph I., carried on the war with vigour. Proud, ambitious, and violent, he placed of his own mere will the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne under the ban of the Empire, and deprived them of their electorates. France, without allies, lay open to the enemy; when Villars, reappointed to the command-in-chief of the army, took the lines of Stalhoffen, and advanced into Germany; but being unsupported, he was compelled to retreat and re-enter France. Marshal Berwick, a natural son of James II., and one of the first tacticians of the age, gained in Spain the battle of Almanza, which re-opened to Philip V. the road to his capital; and Marshal Tessé forced the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene to raise the siege of Toulon.

Victory of Berwick at Almanza, 1707.

A fresh effort was made in 1708 by Louis XIV. in favour of James II. He embarked six thousand men in eight vessels of war and seventy transports. The Chevalier Forbin-Janson was in command of the fleet and Matignon of the troops. The English were informed of the projected descent. The Chevalier de Forbin arrived off the Scotch coast, but failed to see the signals which had been agreed on, and very skilfully withdrew his fleet to Dunkirk. The whole expense of the expedition was thrown away.

The army of Flanders, under the orders of the Duke of Vendôme, amounting to a hundred thousand men, was the last hope of France. Louis XIV. appointed his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, to command it jointly with Vendôme. An unfortunate misunderstanding divided the two generals, and the result was the defeat of Oudenarde and the capture of Lille, in spite of the gallant defence made by Boufflers. The army, profoundly discouraged, allowed the enemy to take Ghent and Bruges, and all its military posts in succession. The road to Paris was now unprotected, and a Dutch corps, advancing as far as Versailles, took prisoner on the bridge of Sèvres the King's master of the horse, whom it mistook for the Dauphin.

Defeat at Oudenarde. Taking of Lille, 1709.

The war had exhausted all the resources of France. Credit was destroyed; the public debt amounted to two milliards; there were five hundred millions of *billets échus*, the annual expenses requiring two hundred, and the revenue only bringing in a hundred and twenty. Desmarets, the successor of Chamillart as Comptroller-General, in vain had recourse to anticipations of revenue, to loans, to tontines, and to an income-tax of ten per cent., to supply the immense deficit in the revenue. Certain merchants brought from Peru thirty millions, which they lent to the King at ten per cent., but the assistance was of no avail; and the severe winter of 1709 carried the general misery to its greatest depth. Louis XIV. and the great nobles sent their plate to the mint. Many illustrious families at Versailles eat nothing but oaten bread, the example being set them by Madame de Maintenon. The people in many provinces perished of famine; revolts broke out in every direction; payment of the taxes was refused; bands of peasants took the town of Calais by assault; and a great number of the inhabitants of Périgord and Quercy, renouncing all allegiance to the Government, which taxed even marriages and baptisms, fell back into a state of nature, marrying without formalities and baptizing their children themselves. Louis XIV. sent to propose peace to the Dutch, whom he had formerly so cruelly humiliated, but his envoy, the President Rouillé, was received in Holland with haughtiness and contempt. For some time he could not even obtain an audience, but at length it was intimated that the King must himself force his grandson to abdicate his throne. This humiliating proposition was transmitted to the King's Council, composed of the Dauphin, the Duke of Burgundy, his son, the Chancellor Pontchartrain, the Duke

Distress in France, 1709.

of Beauvilliers, the Marquis de Torcy, Chamillart, and the Comptroller-General, Desmarets. The Chancellor was in favour of peace at any price; the Ministers of War and Finance declared that they were without resources, and Beauvilliers drew tears from the eyes of the Duke of Burgundy by describing to him the miseries suffered by the people at large.

Torcy, an able negotiator, offered to share the painful task entrusted to the President Rouillé, and set out for Holland, where Heinsius was the Grand-Pensioner. Formerly Minister to William in France, Heinsius had been insulted more than once, and had been threatened with the Bastille by Louvois. He had not forgotten it. Prince Eugene and Marlborough, who were only powerful in time of war, formed, with Heinsius, a triumvirate leagued together to continue it. They rejected the propositions of Louis XIV., who offered to abandon the Monarchy of Spain, and to grant to the Dutch a barrier which should separate them from France; and demanded that Louis XIV. should give up Alsatia and a part of Flanders, and insisted that he should assist them against his grandson. The President Rouillé was ordered to convey this ultimatum to Louis XIV., and to quit Holland within four-and-twenty hours. "Since I must be at war," said the old Monarch, "I would rather that it were with my enemies than with my children." By his orders the extravagant demands of the enemy were published throughout the kingdom; whereupon indignation aroused patriotism, and France redoubled its efforts; but, on the other hand, Villars lost in Flanders, against Eugene and Marlborough united, the sanguinary battle of Malplaquet (1710), although the enemy's loss was twenty thousand men and his own only eight thousand. The result was that many strong places fell into the hands of the allies; whilst, in Spain, the defeat of Saragossa compelled Philip a second time to fly from his capital and to traverse his kingdom as a fugitive.

Defeat of Villars at Malplaquet, 1710.

Louis humbled himself yet again. He sent as his envoys into Holland, the Abbé de Polignac, one of the cleverest men of the age, and Marshal d'Uxelles, and offered through them to the Congress of Gertruydenberg, to refrain from affording any assistance to his grandson, to give up Strasbourg and Brisach, to renounce the sovereignty of Alsace, to raze all the fortresses from Basle to Philisbourg, to fill up the port of Dunkirk, and to allow Holland to possess Lille, Tournay, Ypres, and many other

places in Flanders. He even humbled himself so much as to offer a million a month to assist the allies to dethrone his grandson. But all was in vain. They made it an ultimatum that he should himself engage to drive his grandson from Spain.

At this juncture unexpected events occurred to save France. Vendôme reappeared in Spain, where his name effected prodigies. His victory of Villaviciosa destroyed the army of the Archduke Charles, and saved the crown of Philip V. It was after this battle that Vendôme said to Philip, worn out with fatigue and manifesting every desire to sleep, "Sire, I will make you the most glorious bed on which a King has ever slept;" and beneath the shade of a tree he prepared for him a couch composed of flags taken from the enemy.

Victory of Vendôme at Villaviciosa, 1711.

A revolution which took place in the English Court was even more serviceable to France. The Duchess of Marlborough offended Queen Anne, and her disgrace led to that of her husband, the leader of the Whigs,* then all-powerful. The Tories came into power, and for the purpose of completing the ruin of Marlborough, they inclined the Queen towards peace.

The death of the Emperor Joseph assisted them in their designs. The Archduke Charles, his brother, the competitor of Philip V., obtained the Imperial Crown, and incurred in his turn the reproach of aspiring to universal monarchy. From this time England was no longer interested in supporting his claims to the throne of Spain, and agreed to a truce with France. Marlborough was recalled, and the Duke of Ormond, his successor, received orders to remain neutral. At the same time, Duguay-Trouin, who was at the head of a small fleet, but who had no commission in the navy, captured Rio Janeiro, the capital of Brazil. Eugene, however, continued his career of conquest in Flanders. Although deprived of the support of the English, he was at the head of an army which exceeded that of the French by twenty thousand men, and was master of Bouchain and Quesnoy; and between him and Paris there was no strong fortress.

Taking of Rio-Janeiro by Duguay-Trouin.

* English politicians were divided into two parties—that of the Whigs and that of the Tories. The Whigs were less devoted than the Tories to the maintenance of the prerogatives of the Crown and the privileges of the Anglican Church, and took the chief part in the Revolution of 1688.

Louis saw his capital threatened, and the more completely to embarrass him, domestic troubles were added to those which afflicted his kingdom, for in the space of a year he lost the Dauphin, his son, the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, and their eldest son. The death of the Duke of Burgundy, the pupil of Fénélon, was a calamity for France. Vendôme died in Spain. The Court and the kingdom were paralysed with fear; and it was then that Louis XIV., who was advised to retire behind the Loire, spoke of putting himself at the head of his nobility, leading them against the enemy in person, in spite of his seventy-four years, and perishing in their midst. Villars was the saviour of France.

This general maintained the campaign in Flanders at the head of a hundred and forty battalions against Eugene, who commanded a hundred and sixty, and who, after having taken possession of Quesnoy, besieged Landrecies. The Scheldt, the Sambre, and the Seille covered Eugene's army, and he had, moreover, an entrenched camp at Denain, on the Scheldt. The Duke of Albemarle, the Dutch general, guarded the lines which joined the camp to the stream. Villars determined to attack them, with the object of afterwards forcing the camp of Denain. He masked this project by pretended attacks upon the Sambre, whilst the rest of his army crossed the Scheldt between Bouchain and Denain, and rapidly carried the lines of Albemarle. He then immediately advanced against the formidable entrenchments at Denain, and was hurrying up towards them when the head of Prince Eugene's columns was seen debouching on the other bank of the Scheldt. Time pressed, and Villars overhearing a voice demanding fascines with which to fill up the trenches at Denain, exclaimed, "Our fascines will be the bodies of those of us who shall first be struck down into the trenches—forward!" The French infantry advanced under a terrible fire without wavering, threw itself upon the redoubts, and carried them. Having entered Denain as a victor, Villars immediately sent the Count de Broglio to Marchiennes, whence the enemy procured his provisions and munitions of war, whilst he himself pursued the vanquished along the Scheldt. The bridges broke down under the crowds of fugitives; all were taken or slain; and Eugene himself could not cross the stream. Marchiennes, Douai, and Quesnoy successively surrendered, and the frontiers were secured against attack.

Victory of Villars at Denain, 1712.

This great success hastened the conclusion of peace, which was signed

at Utrecht in 1713. Its principal provisions were, that Philip V. should be acknowledged as King of Spain, but that his monarchy should be dismembered. Sicily was given to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of King. The English obtained Minorca and Gibraltar; France also ceding to them Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and St. Christopher. Louis XIV. guaranteed the succession to the English throne to the Protestant line, promised to demolish the port of Dunkirk, the construction of which had cost him immense sums; abandoned a portion of his conquests in the Low Countries; and recovered Lille, Aire, Béthune, and Saint-Venant. The Elector of Brandenbourg was recognised as King of Prussia, and obtained the upper Guelderland, the principality of Neufchâtel, and many other districts. The Emperor Charles VI. refused at first to join in this peace; but Villars forced him to do so by crossing the Rhine; whilst Eugene entrenched himself in the lines of Etlingen, where he waited to be attacked. A forced march of sixteen leagues in twenty hours beyond the stream delivered into the hands of the French Spire, Worms; and all the ferries of the Rhine above Mayence, Landau, and Fribourg were invested, and were also taken by our troops. Eugene, however, had already received orders to negotiate, and a preliminary treaty was signed between Villars and himself at Rastadt; peace being definitively concluded on the 7th September following at Baden, between France, the Emperor, and the Empire. By this peace the Emperor obtained the Low Countries, the Milanese, and the kingdom of Naples, dismembered from the monarchy of Spain; and also recovered Fribourg and all the forts on the right bank of the Rhine. France retained Landau and the left bank of the Rhine. The Elector of Bavaria was re-established in his rights and dignities. All the sovereign Princes of the Empire recovered their States. Holland obtained, by a third and final treaty, which was signed in 1715, the right of garrisoning many places in the Low Countries which France restored to it; but it retained the principality of Orange, with respect to which the House of Nassau had ceded its rights to that of Brandenbourg. Such were the results of this disastrous war of twelve years' duration. France preserved its frontiers by the peace of Utrecht; but its immense sacrifices had opened an abyss in which the Monarchy was finally engulfed.

Peace of Utrecht, 1713.

Peace of Baden, 1714.

The reverses he had suffered in the war, and the distress suffered by

his people, did not make Louis XIV. discontinue his religious persecutions. Many of those persons who have been termed Jansenists refused to admit that the five propositions attributed to Jansenius, and condemned by the Pope, were to be found in the works of that bishop; and of this number were the pious hermits of Port Royal, and the religious women of that celebrated house. The King, irritated at finding his own opinion on this point controverted, and yielding to the instigations of his confessor, Father La Chaise, and the influence of Madame de Maintenon, drove the peaceable inhabitants of Port Royal from their retreat, razed their dwelling from its foundations, and had the plough drawn over its site.

Ruin of Port Royal, 1709.

Fénélon, the illustrious author of "Telemachus," was looked upon by him with no favour. Bossuet reproached him with sharing the errors of Madame Guyon, whose mystical ideas had given birth to the sect of the Quietists, and had condemned at Rome his work entitled "Maxims of the Saints." Fénélon submitted himself to the decision of the Pope, and from thenceforth lived in disgrace with the King in his diocese of Cambrai. The reign of Louis died out in the midst of theological controversies. Father Quesnel having published a book of moral reflections on the New Testament, his work had excited the wrath and hatred of Father Tellier, a furious theologian, who, since the death of Father La Chaise, ruled the conscience of Louis XIV. At his instigation the King demanded of Pope Clement the condemnation of Quesnel, and one hundred and one of his propositions were condemned in 1713 by the famous bull Unigenitus. A hundred and ten bishops, in obedience to the King, accepted this bull, but others resisted it, and amongst them Cardinal Noailles. Louis in vain combated their resistance by "lettres de cachet," and other despotic acts. These wretched disputes, excited by himself, continued beyond his own reign, and disturbed that of his successor.

Whilst the King was thus displaying his intolerant zeal in behalf of religion, he was setting, for the sake of his family, his own personal will above the laws of the kingdom, and every moral consideration. He had already married several of his natural children to princes and princesses of his house, and, amongst others, Mademoiselle de Blois to the Duke of Orleans, his nephew, then Duke de Chartres. His legitimated sons, the Duke du Maine and the Count de Toulouse, both by Madame de Montespan, and the children of a double adultery, had already, by his

command, been endowed with precedence over all the first nobles of his kingdom; and he went yet further, for by an edict issued in 1714, he gave to them and their descendants a right of succession to the Crown of France, in default of legitimate princes.

The King, however, was now growing feebler day by day. His great-grandson, who was to succeed him on the throne, was only five years of age, and the Regency would devolve upon his nephew, Philip of Orleans. Anxious with respect to the future prospects of the two Princes whom she had brought up, Madame de Maintenon persuaded the King to make a will which limited the power of the Regent by the establishment of a Council, of which the Duke du Maine and the Count de Toulouse were to be members. Louis XIV. himself had little confidence that obedience would be paid to this testament, which he confided to the Parliament, with orders that it was not to be opened before his death.

Will of Louis XIV.

Blinded by pride and the habit of enjoying absolute power, Louis gradually drew near to the tomb with a brain filled with disastrous projects. Death, as it approached him, found him planning the assembly of a National Council for the purpose of enabling one portion of his clergy to proscribe the other, engulfing immense sums in useless buildings at Marly, fomenting a revolt in England, and attempting, in despite of his solemn promise, a final effort in favour of the son of James II. Towards the end of his life, however, renouncing terrestrial interests, he fell into a better frame of mind, and becoming solely occupied by a sense of his mere humanity, was often heard to cry, "When I was King!" With respect to his death, which was remarkable for the resignation and majesty he displayed in the supreme moment, and which may be regarded as a great lesson, we shall here borrow some details from an eye-witness:*—"About the beginning of August, 1715, the King complained of a sciatica in the leg, which was found to be an incurable wound. On the 14th, the malady declared itself; but he nevertheless continued to work in his bed, rising from time to time. On the 24th August, he confessed himself to Father Tellier; and on the following day, feeling very ill, he received extreme unction from Cardinal Rohan. Then, having had all the great officers of his household gathered about him, he said to them: "Gentlemen, I ask your pardon for the bad example I have given you. I have to thank you for the manner in

* "Memoirs of the Duke de St. Simon."

which you have served me, and for the attachment and fidelity you have always displayed towards me. I am sorry that I have not been able to do for you what I should have wished; but unfortunate circumstances have prevented me. I beg of you to serve my grandson with the same zeal and the same fidelity with which you have served myself. He is a child who will probably have to endure many troubles; may the kindness you will show him be an example followed by the rest of the kingdom. Obey the orders of my nephew; it is he who will have to govern the kingdom; and I trust that he will govern it well. I hope that each of you will contribute, as far as in him lies, to a general unanimity of purpose, and that if any one among you should fall away from his duty, the others will do all in their power to bring him back to it. I feel that I am yielding to my feelings, and that I am too much exciting yours. I beg your pardon. Farewell, gentlemen! I shall hope that you will sometimes think of me." He then received the Princes and Princesses of the blood, and had a private interview with Marshal Villeroi, whom he had appointed governor of the young Dauphin, with the Duke du Maine, the Count de Toulouse, and finally, the Duke of Orleans, the future Regent. He had sent for the Dauphin some time previously, and had said to him: "My child, you are going to be a great King; do not imitate me in my fondness for erecting vast palaces and for war; endeavour, on the contrary, to be at peace with your neighbours. Render to God that which is due to Him; acknowledge how much you owe to Him, and incline your subjects to honour Him. Follow good advice, and endeavour to assuage the miseries of your people—which I, unfortunately, have been unable to do. My dear child, I give you my benediction with all my heart." When the little child had been removed from the Monarch's bed, the latter asked for him again, embraced him once more, and, raising his hands to heaven, once more blessed him. The King still languished some days, and calmly contemplated his approaching end. He said to his attendants, "Why do you weep? Did you think that I was immortal?" And to Madame de Maintenon: "I should have thought that it was a more difficult thing to die. Before I depart, I have no restitution to make to any individual; but for all that I owe to the kingdom I hope for the mercy of God."

Death of Louis XIV., 1715.

He died at Versailles on the 1st September, 1715, in his seventy-seventh year, after a reign—the longest recorded

in history—of seventy-two. Madame de Maintenon, eighty-two years of age, retired to the house of St. Cyr,* which she had founded for the education of three hundred daughters of the nobility of slender fortune, and she remained there till her death.†

Reflections on this reign.

Much more anxious to inspire fear and to excite admiration than to gain the affections or to promote the happiness of his subjects, Louis XIV., in the greater number of his enterprises, had only sought his own glory. A small portion only of the edifice he had reared survived him. He himself saw during the second part of his reign, France descend from the height to which he had raised it during the first part, and his acts brought about results in the future directly contrary to those which he had so strenuously striven for. Thus, being anxious to confirm the Catholic faith in his kingdom, he really inflicted upon it a serious blow by the violence which he committed in its name, and by the favours which he too frequently heaped upon hypocrites. Again, he had endeavoured by enrolling gentlemen in the newly disciplined regiments, and in special companies, as well as by establishing the Order of St. Louis, to make the nobility the firmest rampart of the monarchy. But he really injured it in popular estimation by the brilliant servitude which he imposed on the great nobles, and the sale of ridiculous offices which gave to their possessors the rank of nobility. A declared enemy to the authority of the Parliaments, he kept them silent during

* This celebrated mansion was not turned into a military school till after the Revolution.

† The clandestine union between Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon produced no offspring. The Monarch was only once publicly married, and we have already seen that he espoused in 1660 Maria-Theresa, the daughter of Philip IV., King of Spain, and Elizabeth of France. The only child of this marriage which had lived was Louis, the Dauphin, who married a Princess of the House of Bavaria, who bore him Louis, the Duke of Burgundy (father of Louis XV.), and two other children, Philip, Duke of Anjou, who became King of Spain, and Charles, Duke of Berry. Louis XIV. had numerous bastards. By Mademoiselle la Vallière he had three children, of whom the female, known by the name of Mademoiselle de Blois, married the Prince of Conti. By Françoise de Rochechouart Mortemart, wife of the Marquis de Montespan, he had the Duke of Maine, the Count of Toulouse, Mademoiselle de Nantes, who married the Duke of Bourbon-Condé, the second Mademoiselle de Blois, who married Philip, Duke of Orleans, Regent of France. Mademoiselle de Fontanges bore him a child which died in the cradle. He had also an obscure *liaison* with a girl whose name is not known, and whom he married to a gentleman of the environs of Versailles, named Le Quëue. Finally, it was suspected with much show of reason, that a nun of the Abbey of Moret was his daughter.

the continuance of his reign; and yet, by depositing his will with that of Paris, he opened to them the road by which they regained their political importance. He expected that by introducing Spanish etiquette into his Court, he would fortify the Royal authority and aggrandize it in the eyes of the multitude; but the contrary was the result, for by isolating it he enfeebled it. Finally, contemptuous as he was of the Third Estate, he very greatly contributed to its political emancipation by the encouragements which he gave to industry and to literature. It was by these means that he partly displaced the source of the wealth and power of the State, by assisting to create moveable property, and to awake public opinion; a twofold power which rapidly raised the Third Estate to a level with the privileged orders, and which has at the present day so important an influence over the destinies of the people.

In spite of the egotism which inspired Louis XIV. with so many disastrous resolutions, and notwithstanding the numerous errors of his reign, it nevertheless shines with a lustre which no other surpasses. This monarch, a celebrated writer has said, had at the head of his armies, Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, Catinat, Créqui, Boufflers, Montesquion, Vendôme, and Villars; Château-Renaud, Duquesne, Tourville, and Duguay-Trouin commanded his fleets; Colbert, Louvois, and Torcy were his ministers; Bossuet, Bourdaloue and Massillon were his preachers; his first Parliament was presided over by Molé and Lamoignon, and had Talon and Aguesseau for its orators; Vauban planned the defences of his fortresses; Riquet dug his canals; Perrault and Mansard reared his palaces; Puget, Girardon, Poussin, Lesueur, and Le Brun adorned them; Le Nostre laid out his gardens; Corneille, Racine, Molière, Quinault, La Fontaine, La Bruyère, and Boileau enlightened and amused him; Montausier, Bossuet, Beauvilliers, Fénélon, Huet, Fléchier, and the Abbé de Fleury educated his children. It is in the midst of this brilliant array of immortal genius that Louis XIV. presents himself to the notice of posterity.* So many advantages were doubtless the result of a marvellous concurrence of circumstance and of an unheard-of piece of good fortune which rendered this Prince the contemporary of so many eminent men. But the King who knew how to distinguish them, who opened his palace and his treasury to genius under whatever form it presented itself, and whose strong will

* Abbé Maury, *Discours de Réception à l'Académie Française.*

inspired so many great things during sixty years, has an incontestable right, if not to the love of France, at least to its respect and its admiration.*

Amongst the works of Louis XIV., those which produced the results he expected of them, which survived him the longest, and were the most useful for France, almost wholly date from that glorious period of his reign in which Colbert was still alive. His best achievements consisted in his vigorous central administration; his legislation, although in many respects stained by barbarisms; the new organization he gave to his army; his academical foundations; his canals; and his maritime constructions. This Monarch established by himself a Government which he alone knew how to maintain. Surrounded by great men, whom he knew how to interest in his glory; the protector of literature and the sciences; of the fine arts and industry; long a fortunate warrior, and magnificent in his fêtes, the imposing Louis XIV. seemed to have been born to be obeyed. But he left to his successors a burden difficult to be borne, of which he himself felt the weight, and the end of his reign was deplorable. His genius became feeble, success abandoned his arms, his treasury became exhausted. The widow of Scarron ruled him, a vexatious and cruel bigotry prevailed in his councils and rendered him a persecutor; a huge wave of misery inundated France, and bore masses of poverty-stricken wretches to the very gates of Versailles. His long reign resembles a day which during some hours is brilliant with dazzling light, but which is at length lost in darkness.†

The direction given to the national morals by the Court of Louis XIV. has been wrongly attributed to him as a merit. It is true that he did much towards the civilization of his country by polishing its language and its manners; but the improvement was distinguished rather by the elegance of exterior forms than by delicacy of sentiment. The writings of Bruyère and Rochefoucauld, of Saint-Simon, and the poets of the period,

* A work of great interest, entitled "The Works of Louis XIV.," was published for the first time in 1806. It consisted of a portion of his correspondence and historical and political pieces, some extracted from his words and his writings, and the others either dictated by him or drawn up by his own hand, either for his personal use, or for the instruction of the Dauphin and the King of Spain, Philip V. This collection has been appreciated with much talent and intelligence by M. Dreyss, who has recently issued a new edition of it.

† Joseph Droz.

are sufficient proofs of this. A general contempt for marriage; an eagerness to acquire gold at a time when almost all distinctions were to be purchased; an indifference as to the source of fortune, however shameful; a rage for gambling; indulgence with respect to vices; and finally, a religious hypocrisy, characterized the courtiers at the close of this reign. These deplorable examples, rendered still more dangerous by the brilliant hues with which they were coloured, exercised over the nation a most disastrous influence. These times were rendered illustrious, however, by the brilliancy of high virtues, especially in those directions in which the influence of the Court had not penetrated. The provincial nobility, the magistracy, and a portion of the clergy, offered an example of purity of morals, integrity, and contempt for money. But it was in vain that many respectable men resisted the general torrent. The following reign aggravated the wounds which had been opened during that of the Great King, and the corruption of the Court contributed as much as the confusion in the finances to shake the monarchy to its foundation.

The reign of Louis XIV. was one of the great periods of the system of the balance of power in Europe. Two States, Prussia and Savoy, attained in the course of it a double portion of power. The first, raised to the rank of a kingdom, was fitted to counterbalance in the north of Germany the influence exercised by Austria in the south of that country; and the second, augmented by Sicily, was destined to close Italy against Austria and France. The latter took possession, under Louis XIV., of the part which during the previous period had been played by Spain, and was long the dominant power in Europe, by reason of its extent, the strength of its government, the influence of its civilization, and the marvellous concourse of superior intellects which rendered it illustrious.

It is from the accession of William III. in 1688, that the era of English liberty really dates. Since that time England has not ceased to increase in population and in power. Queen Anne, who owed all her glory to the celebrated men of her reign, preceded Louis XIV. by a few days to the tomb, and the Elector of Hanover succeeded her by the name of George I.* Russia, which had been raised by the genius of Peter the Great into a

* This Prince was descended from the daughter of James I., wife of the Elector Palatine. The son of James II. being excluded from the throne as a Catholic, and his sisters, Mary and Anne, having left no children, George of Hanover was the next heir.

new Empire, was firmly rooted in the north at the expense of Sweden, now deprived, by the rash wars undertaken by Charles XII., of the high rank to which it had been raised by Gustavus Adolphus. Austria languished under the rule of Charles VI., and Germany peaceably obeyed its numerous sovereigns. The Spanish monarchy, which had been deprived by the Peace of Utrecht of many of its possessions, continued to decline, whilst Holland, rendered illustrious by its wars against Louis XIV., and sharing with England the empire of the ocean, attained the highest point of its wealth and power. Such was the state of Europe in 1715, at the death of Louis XIV.

# BOOK IV.

## FROM THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS XV. TO THE THRONE TO THE CONVOCATION OF THE STATES-GENERAL UNDER LOUIS XVI.

ENFEEBLEMENT OF ALL THE POWERS—GAMBLING IN GOVERNMENT SECURITIES—GENERAL CORRUPTION OF MORALS—RUINOUS WARS—DESTRUCTION AND RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PARLIAMENTS—DISSOLUTION OF THE MONARCHY—INFLUENCE EXERCISED BY THE PHILOSOPHERS.

1715–1789.

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### CHAPTER I.

REGENCY OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND MINISTRY OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON.

1715–1726.

WHILST Louis XIV. was still living, all eyes were turned towards the Duke of Orleans, his nephew, who, by his birth and the customs of the kingdom, would be naturally summoned to the regency during the minority of the Duke of Anjou. Philip of Orleans, endowed with military talents, which the jealousy of Louis XIV. rarely allowed to be exercised, distinguished for his wit, his agreeable and facile manners, and his varied acquaintance with languages and the sciences, affected a cynicism with respect to religion and morality which had already more than once exposed him to odious suspicions. Heir as he was to the throne, in case of failure of the issue of Louis XIV., public opinion held him responsible for the mortality which struck down the Royal family during the last years of the preceding reign, and saw an additional motive for accusing him in the then unusual

chemical studies to which he devoted himself. His conduct in respect to the young King eventually gave the most decided refutation to these calumnies. Louis XIV. refused to believe them, but being, nevertheless, entirely absorbed by anxiety for the interests of his legitimate children, he only bestowed upon his nephew, by his will, a title, without any real power. He separated the Regency from the tutorship of the young King, which, together with the command of the Royal household troops, was confided to the Duke du Maine. A Council of Regency, formed of courtiers and former Ministers, and in which the Duke of Orleans was only to have a deliberative voice, was to exercise the real sovereign authority.

Whatever egotism there might be in the motives of the King's fina resolutions, men of serious minds and austere morals could not but have seen with anxiety the supreme power pass without control into the hands of a man who was regarded with so much suspicion by public opinion. But this Prince cherished lofty pretensions, and with good reason reckoned that he would be enabled to sustain them by the assistance of the courtiers, who were weary of the mask of devotion imposed on them by the old King, and full of hope in the regency of a man of pleasure; of the Parliaments, which were impatient to throw off the state of political nullity in which they had remained for fifty years; and finally, of that crowd of the sycophants of fortune, who, without principles or settled opinions, are always ready to veer round with it, and are particularly acute in perceiving which side is the stronger.

On the day following the death of Louis XIV., after a night passed in intrigues and making lavish promises on every side, the Duke of Orleans presented himself before the Parliament, accompanied by the Princes, the peers of the kingdom, and a numerous following of courtiers and officials, whom he had gained over to his interests. In a very skilful harangue the Duke displayed his anxiety to receive from the Parliament the title to which, by his birth, he had a right; and then, after having given this assembly to understand that he would attend to their suggestions, he read the will. The greater number of the magistrates, and, amongst others, the advocates-general William de Lamoignon, Peter Gilbert des Voisins, Henry-Francis d'Aguesseau, who afterwards became Chancellor, and Joly de Fleury, procureur-general, were devoted to the Duke; and in

spite of the efforts of the First President Mesme, who defended the interests of the legitimate Princes, the testament was unanimously set aside. The Parliament acknowledged the Duke as Regent of the kingdom, with full power and liberty to compose the Council of Regency as he might think proper. Orleans summoned to it those whom Louis XIV. had selected, and constituted it of the Princes; the Chancellor Voisins; the Marshals Villeroi, D'Harcourt, Tallard, and Besons; the Duke de Saint-Simon, and de Cheverny, formerly Bishop of Troyes; the last alone being the new selections made by the Regent. The Duke du Maine retained the superintendence of the education of Louis XV., who was being brought up at Vincennes; but he was deprived of the command of the household troops.

Will of Louis XIV., 1715.

Council of Regency.

The various Ministries were suppressed, the Regent substituting for them six distinct Councils; that of conscience, and those of war, finance, marine, foreign, and home affairs, which were presided over by Cardinal de Noailles, Marshal Villars, the Duke de Noailles, Marshal d'Estrées, Marshal Uxelles, and the Duke d'Antin. It was soon perceived that the commercial interest had been overlooked in the formation of those six Councils; and a seventh was created, entitled the Council of Commerce. It was remarked that these Councils were composed of men who varied much from one another in birth, intelligence, and character. In the first place, there were the great nobles, skilled in intrigues, but unused to the conduct of affairs; then the friends of the Regent, the highest among the dissipated courtiers, who were at once ignorant, witty, and perverse; and finally, beneath them, the State Councillors and Members of Parliament, who were experienced and laborious, and upon whom devolved the duty of repairing the errors committed by their colleagues. The Regent reserved to himself personally the superintendence of the Academy of Sciences. His first measures were generally approved of: he restored to the Parliament the right of remonstrating, of which he subsequently, however, deprived it. He had the whole amount of the pay due to the soldiers given to them; ordered judicial inquiries into the conduct of the financiers; fixed the value, which had hitherto been vacillating, of the various gold and silver coins; inspected the Royal prisons; exiled Father Tellier and some other Jesuits, and revoked the arbitrary judgments passed by the late King against their

First acts of the Regency.

numerous victims. Many bishops, and a crowd of priests and laymen, who had been proscribed on account of the wretched theological disputes were recalled; and finally, the Regent ordered the publication of the "Telemachus." It was under these happy auspices that his government commenced.

The influential men were divided into two parties: the one, having at its head Marshal Villeroi, the young Monarch's governor, faithful to the policy of Louis XIV., wished to maintain a strict alliance with Spain, then governed by the famous Cardinal Alberoni, who from being a simple country curé had risen to be the First Minister of Philip V.; whilst the other inclined to an alliance with England. Dubois, in the pay of this power, a cynic, and a skilled intriguer, who, after being the Regent's tutor, had become the minister of his debaucheries, and ruled him through the triple agency of an energetic will, vice, and habit, was the soul of the latter party, which he represented as being, in case of a vacancy of the throne, the strongest barrier against the pretensions of Philip V. to the throne of France; although that Prince had formally renounced them when he accepted that of Spain. Lord Stair, the English ambassador, a companion of the Regent's pleasures, drew him into this alliance, and made him purchase it by the expulsion of the Pretender, the son of James II., and the demolition of the port of Mardick, which Louis XIV. had intended to be a substitute for that of Dunkirk. A triple alliance was formed between France, England, and Holland. In the following year, these three powers signed conjointly with the Emperor a new treaty, known by the name of the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance; and Spain was summoned to accede to it within three months.

Alliance between England and Holland, 1717.

Quadruple Alliance, 1719.

The Regent, always anxious on the subject of the pretensions of Philip V. and the intrigues of Alberoni, had in the heart of his kingdom many enemies, some of whom had been roused against him by the force of circumstances, and others by the errors of his Government and his personal misconduct. His debaucheries and the scandal of his orgies, which were presided over by his daughter, the Duchess de Berri, as well as the shameful rank and influence acquired by Dubois, had disgusted every honest heart, and excited against the Regent the general public indignation. His partiality for England, and the rigorous measures

taken by him against the legitimated Princes, whom he had deprived of the rank of Princes of the Blood at the request of the dukes and peers, had alienated from him their numerous partisans, as well as those who adhered to the policy of Louis XIV. But nothing caused so wide-spread a feeling of anger against the Regent as his financial operations.

Disorder of finances, 1716. Deplorable expedients, 1718.

The public debt left by Louis XIV. amounted to nearly five milliards of our present money; the revenues were consumed three years in advance, and all credit was destroyed. The Regent had, therefore, at the very commencement of his government, to struggle against immense difficulties. The only means known to, and habitually followed by governments, for the purpose of releasing themselves from their liabilities, were bankruptcy, alterations in the value of coin, and prosecutions against farmers-general. The Regent made use at first of the latter means, through the agency of a Chamber of Justice appointed to search out and prosecute this species of delinquents. This Chamber, at first regarded with favour, speedily made itself odious by the atrocity of the measures which it took in the course of its inquiries. Denunciations were encouraged by the offer of a portion of the confiscated properties, and the punishment of death for all the crimes of the *justiciables*. Domestics were allowed to accuse their masters under feigned names, and the utmost punishments were inflicted upon those who ventured to decry such denouncers. The inquiry extended over twenty-seven years. To be rich was to render a man liable to accusation; and four thousand four hundred and seventy heads of families were inscribed on twenty lists, which appeared successively as so many tables of proscription. A multitude of applications flowed in from all directions; petitioners of every condition of life and every rank assailed the Regent; and, as has been observed by a judicious and witty writer*—"Indulgence had its tariff, just as vengeance had its part to play; and the Court of France became the scandalous market of the spoils of a kingdom." Every one concealed his fortune, and industry disappeared at the same time as luxury. At length an universal disgust was felt that the liberty of robbing should have been merely transferred from one set of hands to another, and the Chamber of Justice fell into universal contempt.

Recourse was also had to other means equally arbitrary and violent. The contracts concluded with the former Government were annulled;

* Lemontey, "History of the Regency."

the rents, as well as all pensions amounting to more than six hundred livres, were reduced to one-half; and a multitude of offices and privileges created and sold by the late Government were pitilessly suppressed without any return of the price which had been paid for them. This reform restored to the communes the choice of their administrators. The reminting of the coin appeared to offer to the Government immense advantages, and it was ordered; but this proceeding, which only deceived the multitude for a moment, had results which were long a source of the greatest troubles. Confidence was destroyed, the circulation of specie checked, and the foreigner derived immense profit from his own reminting of the decried coinage. Such was the result of the reminting undertaken by the Duke de Noailles. He had calculated on the recoinage of a thousand millions, but only three hundred and sixty-eight thousand were brought in; the consequence being that instead of the two hundred millions of profit which he had hoped for, he only obtained seventy-two, whilst the gold coin of the kingdom became rapidly depreciated abroad.

A third financial operation had for its object a general review of the public funded property, of which the amount was unknown. It was resolved to turn it all into a single species of State bonds; and this work was entrusted to the four brothers Pâris, who in such matters were remarkably sagacious. Six hundred millions were examined, which were reduced by law to two hundred and fifty millions, bearing interest at four per cent., of which only one hundred and ninety-five were delivered to the owners of the examined public funds. After these violent measures, the Duke de Noailles had recourse to others likely to corrupt the public mind, and resorted to lotteries. The crisis, however, was by no means less imminent; equitable impost of a tenth upon all goods was suppressed; the cash-boxes of the collectors were empty; and the pay of the troops could no longer be liquidated. In the midst of this general confusion of affairs the Scotchman Law began to rise into notice. This adventurer, who eventually became so famous, and who united to high financial conceptions errors which were the result of practical inexperience, enticed the Regent by the novelty of his theories, detailed as they were with so much clearness. At first, however, (in 1716,) his genius was limited to operations with a bank of which the funds, divided into twelve hundred shares, amounted only to six millions. Law obtained the monopoly of it for twenty years. It managed the financial business of private persons, dis-

counted bills of exchange, received deposits, and issued notes payable at sight, and in coin of a fixed amount. It had a prodigious success, and in spite of the reasonable distrust of sensible persons, the fixed value of this new species of money caused the current of commerce once more to flow. The Regent, anxious to make the Government share in the profits of this bank, ordered that its notes should be received in payment of taxes, and wished to be himself one of its directors. A fictitious species of money issued by private persons, as well as the State revenues, was then seen confided to the good faith of an independent Company; and Law from thenceforth was entitled to be regarded as the founder of the science of public credit in France.

Law, however, encountered a lively opposition, and especially from the Parliament. His most formidable adversaries, the Chancellor d'Aguesseau and the Duke de Noailles, had been dismissed, and the former Lieutenant of Police, D'Argenson, and Dubois, were at the head of affairs, when the Regent resolved to strike a decisive blow at once against the enemies of Law, and the legitimated Princes. Orders were given for the sitting of a Bed of Justice on the 26th August, 1718, and the magistrates accordingly proceeded to the Tuileries to the number of a hundred and seventy. The Regent desired the Duke du Maine and his brother the Count de Toulouse to retire; and then read letters patent which annulled the last decrees of the Parliament, and deprived it of the right of remonstrating with respect to matters of finance and policy. An edict was then read which reduced the legitimated Princes to the simple rank of their peerage; and the Duke du Maine was finally deprived by a decree of the superintendence of the education of the King, which was given to his nephew and enemy the Duke de Bourbon, a prince of depraved manners, singularly avaricious, and of the most limited intellect. The First President having requested that the Parliament should be permitted to consider the edict which concerned itself, the Keeper of the Seals replied, "The King desires to be obeyed, and immediately." Three days later rigorous measures signalized the Regent's victory; three magistrates were imprisoned, whilst several Parliaments, and amongst others that of Brittany, suffered similar outrages.

**Celebrated Bed of Justice, 26th August, 1718.**

The Councils established by the Duke of Orleans at the commencement of the Regency were suppressed, and replaced by Departments, at the head of which he placed Secretaries of State, who were more directly dependent

on himself. The Duke du Maine yielded without a struggle to the storm, but the Duchess, his wife, burst forth into complaints and threats, whilst her magnificent residence of Sceaux became the rendezvous for all persons discontented with the Government and the focus of all intrigues. An intimate union had long existed between this little factious court and the Spanish Ambassador, the Prince of Cellamare. The latter, in accordance with the instructions given him by Alberoni, conspired against the Regent, and employed every means in his power to bring about a revolution against his Government. Deceived himself, he exaggerated in his reports the importance and number of the revolutionary party, and the audacious Cardinal conceived a plan, according to which Philip V. should prevail upon Louis XV. to renounce the Quadruple Alliance, deprive the Duke of Orleans of the Regency, and convoke the States-General; and at the same time proposed to himself a war against England, for the purpose of reseating the Stuarts upon the throne, which should be under the management of the warrior-king, Charles XII. By these propositions he flattered the ambition of Elizabeth Farnese, the second wife of Philip, and maintained himself in her favour by encouraging her hopes of acquiring thrones for her children. He had cast his eyes upon many States which had been dissevered from the Spanish monarchy by the Treaty of Utrecht, and an army had already invaded and subjected Sicily. In 1718, however, an English fleet of twenty sail, commanded by Admiral Byng, attacked the Spanish fleet of twenty-seven sail in the Mediterranean, and took or destroyed twenty-three. Alberoni, much disturbed by this check, and perceiving that his power was tottering, wrote to Cellamare to "set fire to the mines." But Dubois, who received information from a clerk in the Spanish embassy, held all the threads of the intrigue in his hand; and having allowed the conspirators to make considerable progress in their plans, on the 5th December he ordered the arrest of the Abbé Portocarrero, as he was on his way to Alberoni with despatches and papers from the imprudent Cellamare, relative to this absurd intrigue. The Ambassador was immediately sent to the Castle of Blois, to await the orders of his Court. The Duke and Duchess du Maine were arrested, and sent respectively to the Castle of Dourlens and to Dijon; and many of their accomplices were imprisoned. After having had the letters of the King of Spain printed, the Regent showed indulgence towards his

Conspiracy of Cellamare, 1718.

enemies. He demanded of them an acknowledgment of their fault, made the Duchess du Maine sign an elaborate confession, and then released his prisoners without taking any further vengeance. A magnanimous forgetfulness of injuries was the noblest quality of his soul.

Similar conspiracy in Spain, 1718.

An intrigue similar to that of Cellamare was at the same time being conducted in Spain by the Duke of Saint-Aignan, the Regent's ambassador in Spain, its object being the overthrow of Alberoni, and to prepare for the House of Orleans the succession to the valetudinarian Philip V. These projects, however, failed without any publicity. Saint-Aignan quitted Spain before the disgrace of Cellamare was known there, and whilst the Regent was reaping all the fruits he could expect to gain from the rash imprudence of that ambassador. The party of the Old Court remained in a state of consternation. There was but one feeling throughout France and Europe respecting the bad faith of the Spanish Ambassador, and war with Philip V. was resolved on.

Disturbances in Brittany, 1719.

Disturbances now broke out in Brittany, which was still, to a great extent, uncultivated, and where there languished a poor and ignorant population in subjection to five or six thousand gentlemen. The latter, indignant at the domineering spirit of the governor of the province, Marshal de Montesquiou, made great resistance to the payment of "the gratuitous gift," and in the following year opposed an edict of the Council relative to the *droit d'entrée*. The Parliament registered their decision, and were punished by some *lettres de cachet* for their attempt to preserve their independence. Alberoni saw in these sparks of revolt the hope of a powerful diversion in favour of Philip V., and supported the leaders in their factious projects. The latter signed an agreement of armed confederacy, and called the Spanish troops to their aid; but the lower classes, indifferent to a quarrel which in no way concerned their own interests, refused to have anything to do with it, and the Government had no difficulty in stifling the revolt. A Chamber of Justice was established at Nantes; four gentlemen, condemned to death by it, were executed at night by torchlight with great ceremony; and when the Spanish fleet, commanded by the Duke of Ormond, appeared within sight of the coasts of Brittany, it found them lined with troops, and defended by a population faithful to the Government.

In the meantime an army commanded by Marshal Berwick had entered Spain, where Alberoni was only prepared to intrigue, and not only took a great number of places, but destroyed the Spanish navy in its ports. About the same time, sixteen thousand Imperial troops, led into Sicily by General Mercy, drove the Spaniards from that island. Crushed by these numerous reverses, Alberoni saw that he was lost. The Queen turned against him, and no longer saw anything in this Minister but the obscurity of his birth. In vain he threatened the French Government with an alliance between Spain, England, and Austria. His disgrace was resolved on, and demanded, by the Regent; and in December, 1719, Philip V. signed a decree which ordered him to quit Madrid within eight days. The populace celebrated his banishment as the deliverance from a scourge; and the fall of the Cardinal was the security for peace. Philip sent in his adhesion to the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, and it was signed by his Minister in February, 1720, at the Hague. By this treaty the Emperor Charles VI. renounced the Spanish monarchy, and Philip V. abandoned all the States which, by the Peace of Rastadt, had been severed from it. The Emperor undertook to bestow the sovereignty of Tuscany on Don Carlos, the son of Philip V. and Elizabeth Farnese, after the death, which was considered imminent, of the last of the Medici. By the same treaty, Sicily was given to the House of Austria, the Duke of Savoy receiving in exchange for it Sardinia, which was raised to the rank of a kingdom. The Regent now acted as a mediator in the North. He had assisted Sweden, exhausted by the ruinous rashness of Charles XII., and over which reigned Ulrica, that monarch's sister. He hastened the conclusion of a peace between her and the Czar Peter, who offered his daughter in marriage to the Duke de Chartres, the Regent's son, with the prospect of succession to the throne of Poland, at that time occupied by King Augustus. The Duke of Orleans, however, rejected this alliance, and found himself, for a time, the arbiter of Europe. This powerful influence was partly due to the ephemeral and prodigious success of the system established by Law, which having been adopted by the Regent, enjoyed the highest degree of public favour, and placed immense pecuniary resources in the hands of the Government.

War between France and Spain. Disgrace of Alberoni, 1719.

Adhesion of Philip V. to the Quadruple Alliance, 1720.

Creation of the kingdom of Sardinia.

Law's system; financial revolution, 1719-1720.

Law's bank had been declared the Royal Bank at the close of the year 1718. It had acquired the privileges belonging to the old India Company, which, in addition to vast possessions in Louisiana, possessed the sole right of trading with Africa and Asia; and the Government also bestowed on it the monopoly in tobacco, the excise duties of Alsatia and Franche-Comté, the profit derivable from the coinage of money, and lastly, the *recettes* and the farms general. Its first care was to depreciate the current coin by subjecting it to fifty consecutive variations, whilst its own notes alone appeared to be invariable in value, and thus superior to the money value which they represented. Led away by Law's first successes, a credulous multitude purchased shares in his Company, and exchanged its gold for his bank-notes. This gold served to reimburse the creditors of the State, and they, embarrassed by their capital and full of a blind confidence, readily exchanged it in their turn for shares the value of which increased in proportion to the number of purchasers. The public credulity soon reached its height, and eighteen thousand livres were given for a share the original value of which was no more than five hundred. The street named Quincampoix now acquired a shameful celebrity by being the ignoble scene of the dealings in these bank shares. It was there that scandalous fortunes were amassed, and that those which seemed the most solid were speedily dissipated. It was there that from the very cellars to the garrets of the houses, were massed confusedly together a multitude of persons of each sex, of every age and every condition, solely occupied in trafficking in their notes and shares. From the most distant provinces, and even from foreign lands, crowds resorted thither, and the whole nation, in short, appeared to have become one vast army of speculators.

Speculation.

This excitement, however, scandalous as it was, had some favourable effects. The rehabilitation of so much decried paper-money gave an unusual impulse to commerce and industry; the amount of manufactures increased by three-fifths, agriculture and the treasury were enriched by the influx of strangers and the increased consumption of every species of produce. Everything was easy to the Government when it had the gold of the kingdom at its command. French diplomacy became dominant, and its navy, which till lately had consisted of but a few vessels, and entrusted to the Count de Maurepas, who was only eighteen years of

age, was restored to a state in which it would be able to protect our commerce. The Regency annexed colonies to the mother-country, and joined to it the Isle of France, which was coveted by the English. The foundation of New Orleans, on the banks of the Mississippi, dates from this period. Useful works were undertaken in France, such as many Royal roads of a magnificence until then unknown, and the canal of Montargis; finally, the University of Paris offered a course of gratuitous instruction. Law, at the period in which he was most in favour, received the homage of all Europe. The son of James II., known by the name of Chevalier de Saint-George, solicited his friendship, and Law paid him out of his own pocket the pension which France had ceased to bestow upon him.

At the commencement of 1720 Law found himself at the height of his fortune, and after having abjured the Protestant faith, was made Comptroller-General; but from this time dates his fall. His principal error had been, that he looked upon paper-money as a perfect equivalent for coin, and the fatal consequences of this error had been aggravated by the ignorance and cupidity of the Government. Law was not allowed to regulate the movements of his system; a frightful mass of notes, out of all proportion with the coin of France, was fabricated and launched into circulation in spite of his remonstrances. It amounted to the nominal value of many thousand millions, and it was soon perceived with terror that it would be impossible to redeem it by actual coin. The confidence which had been inspired by the declaration of the existence of gold-mines in the plains of Louisiana and on the banks of the Mississippi, was dissipated at the same time. Law then had recourse, for the purpose of bolstering up his system, to violent methods, which ended in its destruction. Private persons were prohibited to have in their possession more than five hundred livres in ready money, or to convert their gold into pearls or diamonds; and finally, on the 21st of May, there appeared an edict which reduced the shares in the Company to half their value. From this moment all illusion with respect to the Company was at an end. It was in vain that the Duke d'Antin, the Regent's brother-in-law, procured the revocation of the decree; it was impossible to reinspire confidence; and Law having been arrested, was summoned to give in his accounts, which he did with an admirable clearness which confounded his enemies. The direction of the Bank and of the Company was

Fall of the system.

restored to him, but Law refused to resume it, and proposed to th Regent, as a means of restoring public confidence, the recal of his old opponent, the Chancellor d'Aguesseau, (1720.) He went himself to Fresne, that venerable magistrate's retreat, and entreated him to return. D'Aguesseau sacrificed his repose for the public good, and the day on which he did so was the most glorious of his noble life. But this illustrious man possessed neither genius nor power sufficient to quell the storm, and misfortunes succeeded each other in rapid succession. The pestilence which broke out in France closed almost all ports to our vessels, and threw upon the Company enormous losses, the discredit into which it had fallen being at the same time even more injurious to it. At length the Parliament rejected without deliberation the last edicts which afforded any prospects of the Bank's solvency; whereupon Dubois, although hostile to Law, avenged the Government for this bold attack by exiling the Parliament in a body to Pontoise, an affront to which that body had not been subjected since its first establishment.

Recal of d'Aguesseau, 1720.

Exile of the Parliament.

Stock-jobbing was prohibited, but it was furiously carried on in spite of sabres and bayonets. There were scenes of violence and murder, and a threatening mob proceeded to the Palais-Royal, the gates of which were opened to it at its approach by the Regent's orders. The scene of this odious traffic was transferred from the Rue Quincampoix to the Place Vendôme, and from thence to the gardens of the Hôtel de Soissons. It was in this latter place that the bank-notes lost their money value, and that in September, nine shares, which a year previously had been worth sixty thousand livres, were purchased for a gold mark. Greedy and skilful calculators still speculated on old and new fortunes, and their frightful stock-jobbing came to be called the *Mississippi renversé*. Law then offered to the Regent to quit France, abandoning to him all his fortune, with the exception of five hundred thousand crowns, which he had brought with him. The Prince did not detain him, and this celebrated stranger, after having been adored as a god, disappeared from the kingdom as a fugitive, and went to finish his days in obscurity in Venice, leaving behind him nothing but a diamond ring worth some forty thousand livres, which had often been in pledge, and a few pictures.

The Government endeavoured, by means of a number of violent edicts, to restore to the notes of the Bank a value which nothing but

credit could have made them sustain; but these methods were of no avail, and in 1721 the Government had again recourse to the operation of examination, to ascertain the real amount of the State debt, and the titles of its creditors. This work was again confided to the Brothers Pâris. Two thousand two hundred millions worth of paper securities were deposited at their offices, one-third of which was declared null, whilst the remainder were reduced to a value much below that which they nominally bore. Those capitalists who obstinately retained their notes and bills in their desks without taking them to be examined, lost the whole of their debts. The professional stockjobbers, who had made enormous profits, were violently deprived of the larger portion of their gains. The debts which had to be liquidated amounted to seventeen hundred millions, and the State found itself much more indebted than it had been at the death of Louis XIV.

New "visa," 1721.

Such was the end of this famous system, the fall of which was hastened much more by the ignorance and despotism of the Government than by the errors of its inventor. Its results were to change the public manners and the distribution of wealth, to render the people eager after gain and bold in speculation, to initiate the general use of banks, and to give a new life to commerce, whilst, on the other hand, it confirmed the prejudices of the Government against every new idea and every project for the improvement of its finances.

The pestilence at this time (1720–1721) was executing frightful ravages in Provence. The number of its victims is unknown; but the four cities of Marseilles, Arles, Aix, and Toulon alone lost seventy-nine thousand five hundred of their inhabitants. Belzunce, the Bishop of Marseilles, the Chevalier Rose, and the Aldermen Estelle and Moustier, immortalized themselves by the heroism they displayed in the midst of this frightful calamity.

Pestilence in Provence, 1720-1721.

In the meantime the public misfortunes by no means diminished the bitterness of the theological disputes. Cardinal Noailles was ever the foremost of the opponents of the bull Unigenitus of Pope Clement XI., which he regarded as an attack on the liberties of the Gallican Church; and the Parliament refused to register it. But Dubois broke through this double obstacle. This cynical intriguer, who had already had himself nominated to the Bishopric of Cambrai, was ambtious of the purple, and hoped to gain

Theological disputes.

the Cardinal's hat by procuring the recognition of the Bull in France. He surrounded Cardinal Noailles with adroit theologians, and the latter, by captious reasonings, obtained his submission, which was followed by that of many of the opposing bishops. It remained to obtain the submission of the Parliament, which was then exiled to Pontoise, and Dubois frightened this body by the threat of a fresh exile to Blois, whilst Law, who at this time was still in the Ministry, spoke of reimbursing the price of the magisterial offices with his depreciated notes, and of establishing a fresh body of magistrates who should have no other functions but that of the administration of justice. The Parliament no longer resisted, but registered the Bull, without prejudice, however, to the "Maxims of the kingdom upon appeals to the future council." It was recalled to Paris in the course of the following year.

After prolonged intrigues, the Pope, Innocent XIII., made Dubois a Cardinal. The Regent, who despised this man without being able to do without him, raised him to the pinnacle of fortune by appointing him Prime Minister three months before the consecration of Louis XV., who was declared of age by the Parliament held on the 22nd January, 1723. The young Infanta of Spain, four years old, then arrived at the Court, being destined by the Regent for the King's wife, whilst his own daughter went to Spain as the future wife of the Prince of the Asturias. In appointing Dubois as First Minister at the period when Louis XV. attained his majority, the Duke of Orleans' intention was to retain in his own hands the entire direction of affairs; but death frustrated his hopes, for Dubois, after having effected some wise measures, expired in the course of the year, leaving an immense fortune. The Duke of Orleans succeeded him in his office, but died himself almost immediately afterwards, from an attack of apoplexy, (1723.) The King, although naturally cold-hearted and insensible to emotion, nevertheless regretted his tutor, and displayed much feeling at the remembrance of the tender and respectful testimonies of affection which he had never ceased to receive from him.* Fleury, Bishop of Frejus, and the young King's preceptor, possessed an absolute influence over him, and, having an understanding with the Duke of Bourbon, persuaded his pupil to make

Majority of Louis XV., 1723.

Death of the Duke of Orleans, 1723.

* See the remarkable portrait of the Regent in the "History of the Seventeenth Century," by Charles Lacretelle, Book IV.

that Prince his First Minister. Louis XV. assented with a nod of the head. Thus the Government passed from the House of Orleans to that of Condé.

Three persons only constituted the King's Council; and these were the Duke of Bourbon, the Bishop of Frejus, and Marshal Villars. A woman of scandalous manners, the Marchioness de Prie, the First Minister's mistress, ruled his narrow mind, which was stupefied by debauchery and an insatiable cupidity. Duverney, the youngest of the brothers Pâris, was selected by her to administer affairs, and the Duke of Bourbon accepted, at her instigation, this Minister, who was the author of some wise measures, but was at the same time the accomplice in, and the instrument of, odious acts of violence. The first laws made under the authority of this Ministry were both foolish and wicked. The legal value of the coin was reduced to one-half, and the rate of interest to the *denier trente*. Duverney was determined that the habits of the nation should vary as speedily as the decrees of the Council. Troops were sent to slaughter the Parisian workmen who defended their wages; and the shops of those tradesmen who would not make their prices accord with the change in the value of money were walled up. After a time the disastrous effects of this measure were perceived, and after having plunged the kingdom into confusion it was repealed. France also suffered at this period, and for the last time, under the grievous tax of *the joyous event of the King's accession*, which the Duke of Orleans had wisely declined to levy, and which was farmed out for twenty-three millions. It paid, also, besides its innumerable other burdens, two per cent. on all the productions of the soil. It was from the midst of the ruinous fêtes of Chantilly, the brilliant residence of the Condés, that were issued these edicts of spoliation; and it was from thence also that went forth barbarous laws against the Protestants. These laws assumed as true, as did the edicts of Louis XIV., the lying supposition that there were no more Protestants in France, and consequently treated as perverts all who were convicted of heresy. They branded marriages between Calvinists, authorized the seizure of their children, deprived them of the rights of succession, and with respect to them, punished with death and the galleys, flight, hospitality, and the most generous actions. These laws surpassed even, in cruelty, those of the late King; for they prohibited the intervention of the officers of

**Ministry of the Duke de Bourbon, 1724.**

**Odious acts of the new Ministry, 1721.**

justice, and delivered over the Calvinists as victims to the discretion of their enemies.

The two motives of the actions of the Duke of Bourbon were avarice and ambition. It was for the sake of his own fortune that he supported the India Company, which had been severely shaken by the fall of Law, and in which he possessed a great number of shares; and it was from a jealous hatred of the House of Orleans, and the fear that it might succeed to the Crown, if the King should die without a direct heir, that he broke off the marriage which had been projected between the King and a Princess of tender age. He sent back the Infanta to Spain, substituting for her Maria Leczinski, the daughter of Stanislaus, formerly crowned king of Poland by Charles XII., and who, stripped of his royal state, lived in obscurity at Weissemberg.

**The Infanta sent back. Louis XV. espouses Maria Leczinski, 1725.**

This affront was keenly felt in Spain. The weak Philip V., a victim to the narrowest scruples of conscience, and the mere tool of his confessors, had abdicated the throne in the preceding year, in accordance with the instigations of his confessor, the Jesuit Bermudez. His son, sixteen years of age, succeeded him by the name of Louis I., and died of the small-pox after a reign which had only lasted seven months. If Philip did not re-ascend his throne his crown would, too, now devolve upon his second son, Ferdinand, who was ten years of age, whilst a Regency, composed of grandees of Spain, would govern the kingdom. The Court of France regarded such an arrangement with no favour, and instructed its ambassador, Marshal Tessé, to use all his influence to induce the King to revoke his abdication. Theologians, who were called in to combat the arguments of Bermudez, decided that the King ought to resume the sceptre under pain of committing a mortal sin. Laura Pescatori, his nurse, gave them important assistance by the boldness of her language; and at length Philip, on the 5th of September, 1724, consented to resume his sceptre. A few months later, he learnt the rupture of the projected marriage between his daughter and Louis XV. At this news his anger was extreme; and he immediately sent away the two daughters of the Regent, one of whom was the widow of the young King Louis I., whilst the other, Mademoiselle de Beaujolais, had been intended to be the wife of the Infant Don Carlos. This was too little to satisfy his vengeance; and one of his emissaries, the adventurer Ripperda, concluded in his name a treaty with the Emperor Charles VI., who was

**Philip V. abdicates; afterwards regains his crown, 1724.**

irritated at the obstacles thrown in his way by the Powers to the establishment of the Compagnie d'Ostende, and to his pragmatic sanction, a law by which, in default of leaving male children, he appointed his daughter Maria-Theresa to succeed him. Alarmed at this treaty, France, England, and Prussia signed, in 1725, that of Hanover, the basis of which was a neutral guarantee and alliance.

Pragmatic sanction of the Emperor Charles VI.

Treaty of Hanover, 1725.

The moment was drawing near when Philip would be able to avenge the insult to his family. The Duke of Bourbon endeavoured to release himself from the importunate censures of the Bishop of Frejus, and had prevailed upon the young King to assist him in this design. In the meantime the misery of the people was extreme: in every direction outcries were heard against the Government, and Fleury was entrusted to put an end to the public misfortunes. The universal clamour was heard, and a ministerial revolution was effected. On the 11th June, the young King, as he was setting out for the chase, said to the Duke, with a gracious smile, "Cousin, do not make me wait supper," and a few minutes afterwards the Duke of Charost delivered to him, on the part of the Monarch, a formal letter, which commanded him to retire to Chantilly. The Prince immediately obeyed, and the Parisians received the news of his fall with inexpressible transports. The brothers Pâris were dismissed; Duverney was shut up in the Bastile; the Marquise de Prie was exiled. The King declared that henceforth he would have no First Minister, and would hold the reins of government in his own hands; and thus terminated the ten years during which was prolonged the pupillage of Louis XV. under the heads of the two collateral branches of his House.

Dismissal of the Duc de Bourbon, 1726.

In the midst of the violence, the scandals, and the calamities which distinguished this period, a few wise measures were adopted, and many useful works undertaken. Duverney was the real founder of the National Militia, which was established by him on an excellent footing, and raised to sixty thousand men, who were selected by lot. The people also were relieved from the burden of maintaining the troops in their own houses, nearly five hundred barracks being constructed in this short period. The Regency planned a vast and splendid system of roads, the carrying out of which it confided to a special commission; and also supported the philanthropic aims of the illustrious Father Delasalle, the founder of the Christian schools.

National Militia.

Christian schools.

On the other hand, the manners of the Regent's Court inflicted a serious blow on public morality; and the infatuated love of gaming especially, the fatal example of which was given by the Princes, rapidly spread through the kingdom, and carried ruin and despair into the bosoms of a multitude of families.

Literature.

The Regent, who was a well-educated man, did honour to himself by being the protector of literature and the sciences. The latter threw but little glory on his period of government by the discoveries of their professors; but under the head of the former may be reckoned some illustrious names and several famous works. At that time Fontenelle and La Motte were the arbiters of literary taste. Rollin wrote his excellent "Traité des Études;" Vertot, his "Roman Revolutions;" and Gérard, his "Synonymes." Destouches, Marivaux, and Boissy were at the same time distinguishing themselves in comedy. Crébillon and Jean-Baptiste Rousseau still wrote; and Massillon was immortalizing himself by his sermon of the "Petit Carême." Voltaire and Montesquieu had already appeared upon the scene; but the two celebrated works, the "Henriade" and the "Persian Letters," had given the world but a slight idea of the immense talent of their several authors, and of the enormous influence they were destined to exercise over their age.

## CHAPTER II.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XV., FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE MINISTRY OF FLEURY TO THAT OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

### 1726–1757.

Louis XV. had been born with a strong antipathy for pomp and show, and displayed from his tenderest years an exclusive taste for the details of private life. Fleury, his preceptor, took pains to gain his confidence by an extreme indulgence, and at the same time endeavoured to secure for himself a long ascendancy over him by keeping him apart from every influence that could elevate his mind and soul. The young King's studies, as well as his amusements,* were calculated to harden his heart, and contributed as much as the natural coldness of his disposition to render him an ungracious master. The Regent, careful to retain an absolute influence over his pupil after he had attained his majority, had dismissed his governor, Marshal Villeroi, who was an obstinate and violent man. The Bishop of Frejus, more compliant and adroit, inspired the Prince with less distrust, and retained his post near the young Monarch, whom he instructed with profound dissimulation, and in whose good graces he insinuated himself more deeply day by day. He had brought his young charge at last to see only with his eyes and to do only what he dictated; and when therefore Louis XV. declared, after the disgrace of the Duke of Bourbon, that he would have no First Minister, and Fleury was made a Cardinal, it might easily be foreseen that the latter, in spite of his seventy-three years, would rule the State, and exercise in reality the Royal power. One of his first acts was to abolish the tax of the fiftieth, and to fix the value of the silver mark at fifty-one livres, from which it has since but slightly varied.

Cardinal Fleury Minister, 1726.

* The favourite amusements of Louis XV. were games of cards, and cruel hunting sports in large halls, where birds of prey launched amidst thousands of sparrows made a hideous slaughter.—Lemontey, *History of the Regency.*

He was anxious also to carry out some wise economical plans, but being totally ignorant of financial affairs, he inflicted a dangerous blow on public credit by arbitrarily diminishing the life annuities. The Cardinal-Minister used his utmost endeavours to maintain peace. A general congress was opened at Soissons in 1728, but was dissolved in the following year without having achieved any practical result. Whilst the deputies of the several Powers were discoursing Fleury was negotiating. He formed an alliance between Spain and France, and, in 1731, fresh treaties, entered into at Vienna between France, the Emperor, Spain, and Holland, guaranteed to Charles VI. the execution of his pragmatic in favour of his daughter; to Don Carlos, the possession of the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, and the succession to Tuscany. By them also the Emperor promised to revoke the privileges accorded to the Ostend Company.

**France guarantees execution of the Emperor's pragmatic, 1731.**

Europe was at peace, but the miserable quarrel between the Jansenists and Molinists continued to scandalize Paris, and, in fact, all France. Fleury caused the meeting of a Council at Embrun, before which was cited and condemned Jean Soanen, one of the four last bishops who continued to oppose the bull Unigenitus. Fresh troubles were excited by the intolerant zeal of M. de Vintimille, who succeeded Cardinal Noailles as Archbishop of Paris. A dispute arose between him and the corps of advocates, who then assumed the title of Order, and supported the Parliament. The King refused to hear the magistrates, and many of them were exiled, and then recalled, without any decisive result to either party. The Jansenists, in this little war so fatal to the Church, endeavoured to support their cause by strange scenes, of which the cemetery of Saint Médard was the theatre. A Jansenist deacon, named Pâris, having been buried there in 1727, was pre-canonized as a saint, and a report was spread abroad that miracles were worked at his tomb. Crowds consequently resorted to it, and a vast number of sick persons experienced at it extraordinary sensations. It appears, indeed, pretty certain that the contagion of sympathy and the excitement of the imagination produced actual effects. "It is the work of God!" cried some. "It is the work of the devil!" exclaimed others. The incredulous drew from this circumstance fresh weapons against the faith, and at length the Archbishop prohibited any public homage to Deacon Pâris, on the ground that he was not canonized. The advocates appealed from this decision as an

**Religious quarrels, 1709-1732.**

abuse of power, and the Parliament admitted the justice of their appeal. The excitement on the subject now rose to its utmost height; the cemetery became the general rendezvous of the multitude, who thronged it at all hours in such a tumultuous manner that at length the Government had to close it.

In spite of the efforts of Cardinal Fleury peace was broken in consequence of the death of Augustus I., Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, in 1703. This Prince, famous for his prodigious debaucheries, had been raised to the throne of Poland when Charles XII. had ceased to maintain on it Stanislaus Leczinski. The latter, father-in-law to Louis XV., now conceived the hope of recovering the sceptre which he had lost. He proceeded in disguise to Warsaw, and was immediately proclaimed king there. But the Count de Munich was sent into Poland by the Czarina Anna Ivanovna, the niece of Peter the Great, and the heiress of his throne; and the Count caused the election of Frederick Augustus, the son of Augustus I. This Prince guaranteed the pragmatic of Charles VI., who assisted him with troops; whilst France could only assist Stanislaus, besieged by the Russians at Dantzig, with fifteen hundred French soldiers. Their support proved but useless; in spite of the heroism of Count de Plelo, who perished at their head, Dantzig capitulated, and Stanislaus, upon whose head a price was set, escaped through the midst of a thousand perils. Louis XV. avenged himself on the Emperor by seizing Lorraine. He also formed an alliance with Spain and Savoy, the throne of which had been abdicated by Victor Amadeus, and was now possessed by his son Charles Emmanuel III. Berwick and Villars led armies into Germany and Italy. Berwick took the fortress of Kehl, and Milan fell before the arms of Villars. In the course of the following year the careers of these two illustrious generals came to a close.

Rupture of Peace, 1733.

War for Poland.

The Duke of Noailles and the Marquis of Asfeld replaced Berwick, whilst Marshal Coigny and the Count de Broglie succeeded Villars in the command of the army of Italy. The two Belle Isles, grandsons of the famous Fouquet, and the Count Maurice of Saxony, a natural son of Augustus I., King of Poland, served in the army of the Duke of Noailles, who had for an opponent Prince Eugene, under whom served the Prince-royal of Prussia, then twenty-one years of age, who afterwards became Frederick the Great. Don Carlos, the son of Philip V. and Elizabeth Far-

nese, seized Naples and Sicily; and the French troops, commanded by the Marquis of Asfeld, took Philisbourg in the very face of Prince Eugene. These successes were followed by the battle of Parma, in which Coigny was the victor, and that of Guastalla, which was won by Marshal Broglie. The peace proposed in 1735, when Prince Eugene died, was concluded on the following conditions. Stanislaus renounced the throne of Poland, receiving in exchange the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, which were to revert to France. The Duke of Lorraine, Francis Etienne, receiving in his turn, in exchange for those duchies, that of Tuscany. Don Carlos, renouncing his claim to Naples and Sicily, obtained from the Emperor Naples and Sicily, when he was crowned King. Charles VI. resumed possession of Milan and Mantua, and France formally accepted his pragmatic, solemnly engaging to defend it against all. This treaty was not signed until 1738, and was not agreed to by Spain until 1739.

Battles of Parma and Guastalla. Treaty of Vienna, 1738.

France acquires Lorraine and the duchy of Bar, 1738.

Troubles in Corsica.

During these negotiations great disturbances broke out in the island of Corsica, then possessed by the Genoese, which led to its annexation to France. The cruel tyranny of the Genoese raised a revolt in this island, and a German adventurer, Baron von Neuhoff, contrived to have himself proclaimed king there, and reigned for some months under the title of King Theodore! Driven, however, by a tempest into the Bay of Naples, he was made king there; and then the Corsicans appealed for assistance to the French, who invaded the island, and soon afterwards evacuated it without having derived any advantage from their expedition.

The Emperor Charles VI. died in 1740, in the confident hope that his pragmatic, guaranteed as it was by all the powers, would be carried out, and that his daughter, Maria-Theresa, Queen of Hungary, would inherit his State. But he had scarcely closed his eyes when a crowd of princes put forward pretensions to his vast possessions, and verified the remark made by Prince Eugene that "in such a case the best guarantee would be an army of a hundred thousand men."

European war for the Austrian succession, 1740-1748.

Pretenders.

Amongst these princes the foremost were Charles Albert, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Elector of Saxony, Augustus III., who claimed the whole inheritance, the one as the descendant of a daughter of Ferdinand I., and the other as the husband of the eldest daughter of the Emperor Joseph. The King of Spain, Philip V., revived absolute claims

to the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, in the hope of thereby being enabled to bargain for establishments in Italy for the children he had by his second wife, Elizabeth Farnese. The King of Sardinia, Charles Emmanuel, claimed the duchy of Milan; and finally, Frederick II., King of Prussia, sought to obtain Silesia, which belonged, he said, by the right of reversion, to the Electors of Brandenbourg. Possessed of a full treasury, the captain of a numerous and well-disciplined army, and strong in his genius, Frederick first of all launched his battalions upon this province, and then bade Maria-Theresa surrender it to him, promising her, in case she complied, to afford her his support. Maria-Theresa refused, and Frederick thereupon took Breslau, gained in 1741 the battle of Molwitz, and reduced the greater part of Silesia to subjection.

Frederick II. invades Silesia.

France had not yet declared itself. It was solemnly engaged to support the pragmatic of Charles VI., but Louis XV., entirely occupied with his pleasures, and Cardinal Fleury, enfeebled by age, and having very few scruples with respect to the faith due to treaties, had allowed the ambitious Count de Belle Isle to obtain the chief influence in the Council. The latter put forward the old fear lest the House of Austria should become too powerful, and the King's Council devised a shameful subterfuge by which it might reconcile hostile projects with its engagements. It did not declare war directly against the daughter of Charles VI., but it concluded a treaty with the Elector of Bavaria, the principal claimant to the succession of Charles and the Imperial crown. Spain, which coveted the Austrian possessions in Italy, entered into this alliance, which was also joined successively by the Kings of Prussia, Sardinia, and Poland. The partition to be made was thus arranged. Charles, the Elector of Bavaria, was to have the imperial crown, the kingdom of Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Tyrol; the Elector of Saxony, Moravia and Upper Silesia—the rest of this latter province was to be given to the King of Prussia; and finally, the Austrian possessions in Italy were to be given to the King of Spain, as an establishment for the Infant Don Philip. To Maria-Theresa, who had married Francis de Lorraine, Grand-Duke of Tuscany, were left Hungary, the Low Countries, and Lower Austria. This Princess had no other ally than George II., Elector of Hanover and King of England. Two French armies, each forty thousand strong, entered Germany. The Count de Belle Isle, who had become a Mar-

First Hostilities with France, 1740.

shal, commanded one; and the other was confided to Marshal Maillebois, who during this campaign compelled England to remain inactive by threatening Hanover. The war commenced by great successes in favour of the allied powers. The Elector of Bavaria and the French threatened Vienna. Maurice of Saxony, then a lieutenant-general in the service of France, and the celebrated Chevert took possession of Prague, where the Elector of Bavaria was proclaimed King of Bohemia. A month afterwards he was elected Emperor at Frankfort, by the name of Charles VII.

In the meantime, Maria-Theresa, although deserted by all, was true to herself. She convoked the States of Hungary, presented herself before them, holding in her arms her son, then only a few months old, and demanded their assistance. "I place in your hands," she said, "the daughter and the son of your Kings, who hope to find in you their safety." Her address, which was in Latin, *idiome des Etats*, electrified all hearts, and the Hungarian nobles, drawing their swords, exclaimed, "We will die for our Sovereign, Maria-Theresa." Prompt results followed these words. An army was raised for her, which retook Austria, invaded Bavaria, forced the Marquis de Ségur to capitulate at Lintz, and deprived the Elector of all his States. The King of Sardinia had already renounced the League, and declared in favour of Maria-Theresa. The King of Prussia in his turn treated with her, on obtaining the cession of Silesia, and the French found themselves reduced in Bohemia to thirty thousand men, shut in between two armies. Prague was blockaded by the Austrians. Marshal de Maillebois, who was sent to the assistance of that city, could not reach it, and was replaced by Marshal Broglie, who escaped alone from Prague to take the command. The defence of this capital was entrusted to Marshal Belle Isle, and the latter, finding it impossible to hold it, evacuated it at the head of twelve thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, and effected a brilliant retreat on Egra in the depth of a rigorous winter. Chevert, who remained in Prague with six hundred sick, concealed his weakness from the enemy and obtained an honourable capitulation.

Success of the arms of Maria-Theresa.

Marshal Noailles received orders to watch on the Main the English and Hanoverian armies, commanded by Lord Stair, and with which were also the English Sovereign, George II., and his son the Duke of Cumberland. The English were driven as far as Aschaffenbourg, above Hanau,

between the mountains of Spessart and the Main, the course of which, both above and below, was in the hands of the French. Their army, already tormented by famine, and on the point of being enclosed on all sides, retraced its steps; Marshal de Noailles watching them from the other side of the Maine, and following all their movements. He threw numerous corps across the river in front of the village of Dettingen and a narrow defile through which the enemy would have to pass. There the Duke de Gramont, the Marshal's nephew, concealed with all the *maison du roi* in a deep ravine, into which the English army must necessarily descend, was to await it and check its advance, whilst the artillery were to be placed on the other bank in such a manner as to crush them. Had this plan been followed out the English army must have been destroyed, but the rashness of Gramont saved it. Before it was fairly enclosed, and before the Marshal had given the order for the attack, Gramont left his post and threw himself upon the English, who crushed his troops with their artillery, which was advantageously posted on a hill. Gramont endeavoured to take it, but in vain, and by throwing his troops between the French artillery and the English, compelled the former to discontinue its fire. So many faults were irreparable, and the Marshal, in order to rescue his nephew, had to employ all the resources with which he had intended to crush the enemy, and had to throw his army across the river into a narrow plain, which was incapable of holding it. At length, after a sanguinary engagement which had no decisive results, he ordered the retreat, and the English remained masters of the field of battle.

**Defeat of Marshal de Noailles at Dettingen, 1743.**

In the meantime Marshal Broglie had been unable to maintain his position on the Danube against Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother of the Grand Duke Francis. Bavaria was evacuated, and it was impossible for Marshal Noailles, after Broglie's retreat, to maintain his position in Franconia, where he had, during two months, held the army of the allies in check. Such was the unfortunate conclusion of the campaign of 1743, which carried the war to the frontiers of France. The Emperor Charles VII. no longer possessed any states, and this unfortunate Prince signed a treaty by which he renounced all his pretensions to Austria, engaging himself, as well as the Empire, to remain neutral during the continuance of the war, and leaving his hereditary possession, Bavaria, until a general peace, in the hands of Maria-Theresa, whom he had endeavoured to

despoil, and who, by the Treaty of Worms, strengthened her alliance with England and the King of Sardinia.

France in this struggle, from which she could hope to gain no advantage, had lost all her allies. Fleury, who now died more than ninety years old, had been opposed to this burdensome war, but had had the weakness to remain nominally at the head of the government when he had lost the power to maintain peace.

Campaign of 1744.

The year 1744 saw the whole of Europe taking part in the war. Spain, which was already contending with England in the interests of her commerce, united her navy with that of France, and the two fleets, numbering thirty vessels, under Admiral Court and Joseph de Novaro, attacked Admiral Matthews, who, with thirty-four vessels, was blockading the port of Toulon. The result was a drawn battle. About the same time twenty-four French vessels left Brest to convey to England twenty-four thousand men and Prince Charles, the heir of the Stuarts. But a tempest dispersed the fleet, and the expedition had no success.

Genoa, despoiled by the Treaty of Worms, declared itself against Austria, and Frederic II., anxious with respect to the safety of Silesia, promised to retake the field. According to the plan of campaign adopted by France, the Prince of Conti was to command in the Alps, and to assist Don Philip and the Spaniards, whilst Marshal Coigny remained on the defensive in Alsatia, and the chief effort was to be directed against the Low Countries, where Marshal Noailles was ordered to besiege the strong places, whilst his operations were covered by Maurice of Saxony, who had been recently made a French Marshal. The King accompanied the army in person; a hundred thousand French soldiers threw themselves upon the Low Countries, and a great part of Flanders had already been taken, when information was received that Prince Charles, at the head of eighty thousand men, had crossed the Rhine at Spire, that he had taken the lines of Wissembourg, and had repulsed Marshal de Coigny. It was now necessary to change the plan of the campaign, to direct the principal part of the forces upon Alsatia, and in Flanders to remain on the defensive. Maurice of Saxony only retained forty-five thousand men, whilst with the rest of the army Marshal Noailles moved upon the Rhine. The King wished to accompany him; but a serious illness compelled him to remain at Metz.

Already for many years past Louis XV., giving way to his passions and the perfidious instigations of those who speculated in his vices, had abandoned himself to a course of loose pleasures. Four sisters of the Baron de Nesle were successively his mistresses; and the last of them, who had received from him the title of Duchess of Châteauroux, had accompanied the Court to Metz, where the King had fallen seriously ill. Whilst he was still in danger, and the people, who were fond of him and called him the *well-beloved*, were addressing fervent prayers to heaven in all the churches for his restoration to health, Bishop Fitz-James, in the proper discharge of his duty, demanded and obtained the dismissal of the Duchess. When the King recovered, however, the bishop was disgraced, the favourite recalled, and Louis, who was more surprised than moved at the emotion which France had displayed during his illness, not unreasonably inquired what he had done to deserve so much affection. Nevertheless they were noble words which he addressed during his illness to Marshal Noailles, who was at that time opposed to Prince Charles—"Write to him," he said, "that whilst Louis XIII. was being carried to the tomb the Prince of Condé won a battle."

Illness of Louis XV., 1745.

Frederic now made a fresh expedition into Bohemia and Moravia, and within twelve days had forced the garrison of Prague, consisting of eighteen thousand men, to capitulate. Prince Charles left the Rhine in all haste, and was supported by a diversion which the King of Poland made in the rear of the Prussian army; but their united efforts were not able to prevent the evacuation of Bavaria by the Austrians and the invasion of Piedmont by the Prince and Don Philip, after heroic exploits in impracticable defiles. The Emperor Charles VII. for a third time entered Munich, his capital, worn out by chagrin and sickness, and died there in the following year, forty-seven years of age, "leaving," says Voltaire, "this lesson to the world, that the height of human greatness is compatible with the depth of human misery." His son Maximilian-Joseph, taught by the misfortunes of his father, deceived the hopes of those who flattered themselves that they would be able to oppose him to Maria-Theresa; for he entered into negotiation with her, and promised his support to the Grand Duke Francis, her husband, whom she hoped to raise to the Imperial throne. Louis XV., irritated at this pretension, continued the war.

Death of the Emperor Charles VII., 1745.

He resolved to conduct the campaign with the greatest activity in Italy and Flanders, and to keep his army in Germany on the defensive. Marshal Saxe invested Tournay, which was defended by a Dutch garrison; and an English army, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, made great efforts to raise the siege. Marshal Saxe immediately drew up his troops in order of battle beyond the Scheldt; with the village of Fontenoy in front of his centre, that of Antoigné on his right, and the wood of Barri on his left. All these positions were defended by formidable batteries. On the 11th May the enemy advanced to attack the French in this strong position; the English occupying the centre, the Austrians holding the right under Count Koenigsberg, and the Dutch forming the left under the Prince of Waldeck. The two armies were each about forty-five thousand strong; but Marshal Saxe was sick, and, being incapable of mounting his horse, was borne through the lines in a litter. Louis XV. and the Dauphin were present with the army, and his head-quarters were established at the village of Antoigné. After a long and ineffectual cannonade the English advanced, and rushed forward to take the village of Fontenoy under the protection of a terrible fire. Ill supported by their auxiliaries, they changed the direction of their attack and advanced alone against the French lines, which extended between Fontenoy and the wood of Barri. They closed up into a formidable column, so as to offer a less frontage to the artillery, and overthrow the feeble corps opposed to them. Two lines of French infantry were pierced, and the column, now out of the reach of the batteries, was on the point of turning the French left and taking the village of Antoigné, in which was the King, who was urgently entreated to retreat; he refused, however, and the Marshal coming up, secured the victory. The enemy's column suffered enormous loss; four pieces of artillery in reserve were directed against it, and made a frightful gap in its ranks. The French cavalry threw themselves upon it at a gallop, surrounded it on every side and swept what remained of it before them. Nine thousand English, wounded or slain, remained on the field of battle. A few days later Tournay was taken, whilst almost the whole of Flanders was occupied, and its principal towns and cities became the prize of this important victory.

Campaign of 1745.

Victory of Marshal Saxe at Fontenoy, 1745.

The French arms were no less fortunate in Italy under Marshal Noailles and the Infant Don Philip. All the Austrian possessions in Italy

fell into the hands of the French, with the exception of a few fortresses, and the King of Sardinia found himself reduced to his capital. In Germany, however, the Austrians made head against the French, and recovered Frankfort, where, on the 15th September, the Grand Duke Francis was proclaimed Emperor. The King of Prussia had, three months previously, obtained a great victory at Friedburg; and the cession of the province of Glatz, which was annexed to Silesia, rendered this Monarch neutral.

Success and defeat of the Pretender, 1745-1746.

Charles Edward having landed in Scotland, after having been declared Regent by his father, obtained victories at Prestonpans and Falkirk, and caused at this time (1745-1746) much anxiety to George II. The defeat of the Pretender at Culloden by the Duke of Cumberland, however, ruined the hopes of himself and of those who had supported his cause. After enduring great perils and sufferings, he succeeded in returning to France, and from thenceforth for ever abandoned England, where his formidable appearance was the cause of and the pretext for the infliction of terrible cruelties on his followers.

Germany, Flanders, and Italy continued to be the scenes of a desperate war. The Austrians drove the French from Piedmont, seized Genoa, and invaded Provence. Genoa, subjected by them to a yoke of iron, heroically threw it off; and when it was again besieged, Boufflers and Richelieu flying successively to its assistance, secured its safety. Marshal Belle Isle forced the Austrians to evacuate Provence, and Maurice of Saxony, victorious over Prince Charles at Rocoux, made the conquest of Brabant (1747).

Military operations of Dupleix, and of La Bourdonnais in India.

The terrors of this sanguinary war also extended to the East. La Bourdonnais, Governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon, entered on an enterprise which was calculated to inflict a terrible blow on the commercial interests of England in the East Indies. Having armed, without any assistance from his government, nine vessels, he vanquished a division of the English fleet, and, keeping the rest at a distance, boldly landed some thousands of troops in the very face of Madras, where the English had one of their principal factories. The city was besieged and capitulated, but contradictory instructions had been given by the French Minister to La Bourdonnais and to the famous Dupleix, Governor-General of the establishments of the French East India Company, and the latter, jealous of

Taking of Madras.

his brilliant colleague, and relying on his secret orders, refused to recognise the capitulation which La Bourdonnais had signed, and depriving him of his conquest, took possession of it himself. Denounced by Dupleix, La Bourdonnais on his return to France was loaded with chains in return for his glorious services, and was thrown into the Bastile. Nevertheless, Dupleix, in spite of his weaknesses and his errors, was a great man, and was the first to conceive and put in practice the system afterwards followed with indefatigable perseverance by the English, and which gave them their Indian Empire. This system was analogous to that which had enabled Cortez and Pizarro to achieve the conquests of Mexico and Peru, and consisted in taking advantage of the rivalries existing between the various native princes, and in declaring in favour of those who seemed most likely to subserve the interests of the East India Company. The political state of India at this period was very propitious to the success of such a plan. The Empire of the Mogul was but a phantom. The invasion of Jhanso Kouli-Khan had deprived the Court of Delhi of all its prestige; and a species of feudality had been established in India which rendered the nabobs or governors almost as independent of the subahdars or viceroys, as the latter were of the Grand Mogul himself, by whom they were invested with their sovereignties. Success had crowned the arms of a crowd of usurpers, and from them arose pretensions without bounds, and conflicts without number. Usurpation was to be found in every direction, positive right nowhere; and it was on the basis of this state of things that Dupleix formed his plans. He resolved to transform simple factories, a few weak and penurious possessions, into a vast and powerful kingdom, and did, indeed, lay the foundations in India of a French Empire; but he was supported neither by the Company nor his Government, and had to succumb after he had maintained during several years a most heroic struggle in a most unequal conflict.

The continental war absorbed all the attention and resources of the French Government.

The unfortunate engagement of the Col d'Exilles in Dauphiné, in which the Chevalier Belle Isle, a brother of the Marshal of that name, was slain, with four hundred men, whilst attempting to force an impregnable position, was atoned for by a brilliant victory gained at Lawfeld by Maurice of Saxony over the Duke of Cumberland, which opened to that great general the road to Holland. The conquest of many cities

was the result of this glorious battle; Bergen-op-Zoom, which had resisted the Duke of Parma and Spinola, being, amongst others, taken by General Lowendahl. The English, on the other hand, inflicted terrible blows on our navy, the French fleet, after an heroic contest, being destroyed off Cape Finisterre. Some months later a second squadron, the last which France possessed on the ocean, succumbed in its turn in an unequal struggle near Belle-Isle, with a fleet of fourteen vessels of the line under Admiral Hawke, every one of the French ships being captured. France now sighed for peace, and Maurice of Saxony, as the best means of bringing it about, hastened to invest the city of Maestricht; whereupon the preliminaries of the much-desired peace were almost immediately signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. By the terms of this peace the King of Prussia retained possession of his conquests; Don Philip, the brother of Don Carlos, obtained the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla; and finally, the English the position they had held in Asia and America before the war. They recovered Madras in India, and in the New World gave up Louisburg and Cape Breton, but acquired the whole of Acadia. France restored Savoy to the King of Sardinia, the Low Countries to the Empress Maria-Theresa; and to the Dutch all the places she had taken from them. By a secret article she undertook not to afford an asylum to Charles Edward, who was forthwith expelled by an order of the Government; and the final result of this sanguinary and unjust war, which had lasted so many years, was an enormous addition to the French debt of twelve hundred millions. Prussia alone gained by this war a considerable increase of territory and influence, and suddenly became one of the great powers of the Continent.

Battle of Lawfeld, 1747.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.

Some salutary edicts were issued during the years which immediately followed the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; and amongst this number may be mentioned the law of Mortmain, the last sealed by the illustrious D'Aguesseau, which restrained the clergy from accumulating additional wealth. Argenson, the Minister of War, son of the former Keeper of the Seals of that name, established in 1751 a military school for five hundred gentlemen without fortune, and Machault, the Comptroller-General, issued the famous edict authorizing the free commerce within the kingdom in grain, which had hitherto been subjected to a thousand shackles injurious to agriculture. Machault, an honest man and an able administrator, was undoubtedly the greatest of the

Royal edicts, 1745-1748.

fourteen comptrollers-general who succeeded each other in the reign of Louis XV. It was he who established the tax of five per cent., destined to form a sinking fund; strongly impressed by all the evils which resulted from the unequal distribution of the taxes, and the unfair privileges enjoyed by the two first orders, he proposed to render the tax of five per cent. perpetual, and to substitute it, with a great extension, for the *taille* and other unfair and burdensome imposts. Machault had already overcome the strenuous resistance opposed to his wise plans by the Parliaments, the *pays d'états*, and the clergy, when the King's mistress, the Marquise de Pompadour, whose pride Machault had not sufficiently conciliated in an important matter, procured his dismissal. The clergy preserved the privilege it enjoyed of determining what charges it would bear, and maintained its right of only paying its share of the taxes under the name of "free gifts."

Projects of Machault for the equal division of taxation.

Louis XV., solely occupied by his scandalous pleasures, had but a slight share in the wise measures of his Council. Madame de Pompadour exercised over him the most complete influence, and it was she who, flattering his shameful caprices, had a great share in forming the infamous seraglio branded by the name of the Parc-aux-Cerfs, the expenses of which absorbed enormous sums. Nevertheless, Louis XV. was extremely scrupulous in respect to the outward observances of religion, and took an active part in the religious quarrels by which France was agitated. They were renewed with scandal by the intolerance of M. de Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris, who pushed his hatred of Jansenism so far as even to order that extreme unction should be refused to dying persons who should be not only not convicted, but even suspected of adhering to the opinions condemned by the bull Unigenitus. Confessional tickets were demanded of the sick, and their orthodoxy was esteemed according to the names of their spiritual directors. The Parliament, supported by public opinion, protested against these measures, and decided that the curé of Saint-Etienne du Mont should be tried for having refused to administer the sacraments. The King's Council, however, annulled this decree, and enjoined respect to the bull as the law of the Church and the State. Violent discussions followed between the Parliament and the Archbishop, and, on the refusal of the sacrament to a nun, the temporalities of the prelate were seized, he himself summoned to appear, and the Court of Peers convoked. The King prohibited the Peers from attending to this summons, ordered

the Parliament to stay its proceedings, refused to listen to its remonstrances, and exiled it. In the place of the exiled Parliament a Royal Court was established, composed of Councillors of State and Masters of Requests; but the Châtelet refused to acknowledge its authority; the advocates, attorneys, and registrars refused to obey it, and the course of justice was thus interrupted during four months.

The King perceived at length that he must effect a compromise, and, on the 23rd August, 1754, amidst the rejoicings on the occasion of the birth of the Duke of Berri, who was the unfortunate Louis XVI., the Parliament, recalled to Paris, re-entered it amidst the acclamations of the Jansenists, the philosophers, and the populace. The Archbishop and many curés thereupon displayed with additional violence their inquisitorial zeal. Being admonished by the Council they gloried in exposing themselves to martyrdom, and the Archbishop in his turn was exiled, with two other prelates and the furious curé of Saint-Etienne du Mont. The Procureur-General appealed against the bull Unigenitus itself as an abuse, and the King's Council again censured the Parliament. The latter ventured to suppress a conciliatory brief of Pope Benedict XIV.; and, its boldness increasing with its irritation, it refused to register the edicts for fresh taxes on the breaking out of a war with England. It then leagued itself with the other Parliaments of the kingdom against the great Council, endeavouring to form of all the superior courts of the French magistracy one single body, which should be divided into different classes, and which should be sufficiently strong to resist the arbitrary measures of the Court. The Chancellor Lamoignon insisted in the King's Council on the danger which might result from these bold measures, and on the 13th December, 1756, in a Bed of Justice, the King had three edicts registered, the principal purport of which was to renew the injunction of respect to the bull, to deprive every magistrate of less than ten years' standing of a deliberative voice, to enforce the registration of edicts after the permitted remonstrances, to prohibit any interruption to the course of justice under the penalties of disobedience, and to suppress the major portion of the Courts of Inquests and Requests, the usual sources of the most violent measures.

Quarrels between the Clergy of Paris and the Parliament, 1748–1756.

These acts of Royal power, and especially the last, struck the Parliament with dismay. The people, whom the remonstrances against the fresh taxes strongly interested in the resistance of the magistrates to the Court,

encouraged them in their opposition by the most noisy testimonies in its favour. It became enthusiastic in the cause of the Parliament, launched invectives against the prodigalities and scandalous life of the King, and became exasperated to the highest pitch when it found that all the magistrates, with the exception of thirty-one members of the great chamber, had given in their resignation. Such was the state of popular feeling in the capital when, on 5th January, 1757, an unhappy wretch, named Damiens, stabbed the King at the gates of the palace of Versailles. The wound was only slight, but it was feared that the weapon was poisoned, and the King himself believed that he had reached his last moments. The opinion of the Court attributed this crime to the popular excitement caused by the violent opposition of the Parliament; and the magistrates trembled at the extent of their peril. Most of those who had sent in their resignations hastened to offer their services at Versailles and to protest their devotion. In the course of the assassin's trial there appeared good reason to suppose that he had no accomplices. The Court of Peers, formed of the peers of the kingdom, and the magistrates who had retained their seats, tried the criminal, and condemned him to the frightful punishment inflicted on regicides. He had his right hand burnt in a fire of sulphur, his flesh was torn with red-hot pincers, and molten lead was poured on his wounds; he was then, whilst still living, torn asunder by four horses; when the fragments of his body were burnt to ashes and their cinders thrown to the winds.

Attempt to assassinate the King, 1757.

After this frightful proceeding Louis XV. endeavoured to conciliate the popular feeling; the greater number of the magistrates were recalled, and the Parliament resumed its habitual functions.

The Marquise de Pompadour, who was dismissed from the palace whilst the King considered himself in danger, returned in triumph, and the Minister Machault, who had contributed to her temporary disgrace, and Argenson, who had openly exulted in it, were sacrificed to her anger. These two Ministers were the most able members of the Council, which, now that it was deprived of all its talent and strength, remained under the direct influence of the Marquise.

The Marquise de Pompadour restored to favour.

At this period a general war had already broken out in the two worlds. The governments of France and England had long since ceased to ex-

change pacific assurances, whilst their agents were disputing in Asia and America for the possession of immense territories. Dupleix had filled the whole of India with his name, and France, by his talents and courage, had been rendered the ruler over thirty millions of men occupying the Deccan from the river Kristna to Cape Comorin. The English, through the whole extent of that magnificent territory, only possessed at that time the city of Madras with its environs, and a few fortresses, of which the principal was Fort Saint David. Chunda-Sahib, a creature of Dupleix's, was, under the latter's authority, recognised as Nabob of the Carnatic; a single city, Trichinopoly, alone still declared for his rival, Mahomet Ali, who was protected by the English, and had taken refuge within its walls. Chunda-Sahib advanced to besiege it with his army; it resisted; and from that time declined the fortune of Dupleix and French Empire in India. They fell before the genius of a single man, who had been born to give an empire to England, and whose name was Robert Clive. This extraordinary man, after some brilliant preliminary exploits, marched to the relief of Trichinopoly, which was besieged by an army composed of Indian and French troops, and by his skilful tactics drove the besiegers into a position in the island of Seringham, on the river Cauvery, in which they found themselves besieged, and were forced to lay down their arms. The Nabob Chunda-Sahib surrendered himself to a Hindoo chief, and was poniarded; his rival, Mahomet Ali, was presented with his head, and Trichinopoly was saved.

War in India between the English and French Companies.

Dupleix and Clive.

At this point there is a pause in Clive's brilliant career. Fatigue had seriously affected his health; and after some other operations, which were equally successful, he returned to England (1753), where he met with the reception he deserved. Very different was the conduct of the Government and the Company towards Dupleix, who, in spite of the severe blow inflicted on French interests in the Carnatic, had courageously pursued his skilful policy, and begun to repair his losses. He took advantage of a struggle which had arisen between Mahomet Ali and the Mahratta and Mysorian chiefs, and with indefatigable activity and boundless generosity made prodigious efforts. His object was not wealth, but renown; he desired to obtain for his country power and glory, and with this aim in view he lavished the remains of his fortune. He formed and disciplined a new army; nominated and supported a new Nabob of the

Carnatic; again invested Trichinopoly, and besieged Arcot, whilst the most illustrious companion of his labours, the heroic Bussy, continued to fight and to conquer for France.

If, under these circumstances, the French Government and the India Company had afforded Dupleix some effectual assistance, France might at this day have been reigning from the coast of Malabar to that of Coromandel. But Dupleix was abandoned. The Company, finding its dividends diminished by reason of the troubles in the Carnatic and Clive's victories, no longer received his reports with confidence, and showed but little disposition to support him; whilst at the same time public opinion, which had been intoxicated by the news of his first successes, suffered an instantaneous reaction when it was informed of his first reverses, lent a ready ear to the eloquent complaints of La Bourdonnais, a prisoner in the Bastile, and saw in Dupleix, who had contributed to his ruin, nothing but a jealous and cruel tyrant. At length the feeble Government of Louis XV. began to fear that the rivalry in India between the two Companies might lead to hostilities between the two nations, and that France might thus, in spite of herself, be dragged into a war with England. France wished for peace, and flattered herself that this might be preserved by timid concessions; but these delusions were dispelled by England. Dupleix disquieted it by his ambition, his genius, and his successes. It feared the marvellous power of this man; and the terror with which he inspired the English, who saw in him the chief obstacle to their progress in India, induced them to demand of France that he should be sacrificed. An understanding was come to between the two Governments, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of the French East India Company, that everything in the East should be placed on the same footing on which it stood before the late struggles, and that the acquisitions of territory made on either side since the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle should be exchanged, although the English had acquired scarcely anything, and the conquests of the French, and especially the concessions they had obtained, were very considerable. At this price England led the French Government to believe that peace would be maintained, although it had already fitted out and sent to India a squadron of ships of war.

Disgrace of Dupleix.

The French Government still had time to render Dupleix's position in India tenable; all that was required for this being that the Government

should permit the Company to support its Governor at its own expense; in which case nothing would have been definitely compromised or lost. Clive had returned to London, and we have already seen that Dupleix lavished his own resources with incomparable generosity, and made the most tremendous exertions to repair the reverses which had been sustained. Trichinopoly, again besieged, was on the point of falling into his power, and to take it he only awaited a reinforcement of twelve hundred men, enlisted and paid by the Company, which had long been promised. They arrived at length, but accompanied by a Government commissioner named Godeheu, who had been sent to treat with the English, to supersede Dupleix, and to send him to France. Dupleix, who had long foreseen his fall, at once obeyed, and surrendering his authority, quitted for ever the scene of a prosperity which was extraordinary as his disgrace. After having been the possessor of immense treasures, extended his sway over thirty millions of men and vast territories, he returned to France, stripped by his own hands, because he had wished to bestow an empire on his country. He appealed in vain to his glorious services, his rights, and his immense sacrifices, and after a few years died in poverty and neglect, as did his rival and victim, La Bourdonnais.

Dupleix had scarcely quitted the soil of India when an ignominious treaty, which was afterwards ratified in Europe, was concluded at Madras by the commissioners of the two Governments (October, 1754); the principal clauses of which stipulated: 1st, that neither of the Companies should interfere in the internal politics of India; 2nd, that the agents of neither Company should accept from the native governments either dignities, offices, or honours; 3rd, that all places and territories occupied by them should be restored to the Grand Mogul, with the exception of those which they had severally possessed before the late war; 4th, that the two Companies should divide between them the important district of Masulipatam, and that all their possessions should be placed on a footing of perfect equality—and thus were lost in a few days the fruits of so many remarkable exploits, of the profound policy and of the astonishing efforts of a great man. England inherited in the Indies all the influence of which France deprived herself, and she could now freely and fearlessly lay in the East the foundation of her future empire there.

Convention of Madras. Loss of the conquests of Dupleix, 1754.

The state of things was not more propitious to the maintenance

of peace in North America, where, during the preceding hundred and fifty years, England and France had founded considerable colonies. On the one hand, the boundaries of Acadia or Nova Scotia, which was ceded to England by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, were ill defined, and on the other, French, who were the possessors of Canada, had ascended the St. Lawrence as far as the lakes Erie and Ontario, and now wished, by means of a chain of strong forts on the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi, to connect their establishments in Canada with those which they had in Louisiana, whilst the colonists of Virginia or New England demanded as a dependency of their territory the vast district to the south of the St. Lawrence, from the Alleghany or Blue Mountains to the banks of the Ohio. From these rival pretensions arose perpetual quarrels between the colonists of the two nations; and already, in 1753, a Virginian major, ordered to dislodge the French from Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, had been surrounded by a superior force in a place named Great Meadows, and had been forced to capitulate. This major was George Washington, and the affair in which he makes his first appearance in history, was to be one of the principal causes of the war which was soon to set the world in flames.

Mutual condition of the English and French in North America, 1753-1754.

First hostilities, 1753-1754.

In the following year a French officer, M. de Jumonville, sent to demand the surrender of a fort in the occupation of the English, perished, together with thirty of the men under his command, and this catastrophe was regarded in France as an odious violation of the rules of war and the law of nations.

The French colonists, in alliance with the native tribes, speedily exacted a bloody revenge on a body of twelve hundred troops sent by the English Government, under the command of General Braddock, to the assistance of Virginia. Braddock, a rash and haughty man, disdaining the precautions necessary in a war of skirmishes, to which he was unaccustomed, was assailed whilst on his way to attack Fort Duquesne, in the midst of a defile clothed in the wood, by a troop of French and Indians, who, invisible themselves, fired on his own exposed men from every direction. Braddock himself, and seven hundred of his soldiers, perished in this ambush.

Defeat and death of General Braddock, 1755.

The sea was less propitious to the French arms. The squadron of Admiral Boscawen attacked a French division off Newfoundland, and

took two vessels; and shortly afterwards, by an order of the English Admiralty and in accordance with an odious system, the English ships of war fell upon the French mercantile marine, and took three hundred merchant vessels without any previous declaration of war.

Thus the pacific hopes of the French Court were frustrated in every direction; and at length the scales fell from the eyes of the King, as he witnessed the disappearance one by one of the illusions to which he had sacrificed in the Indies the prospect of an empire, by recalling Dupleix, and abandoning that great man's undertaking. His Government demanded an explanation of the English Government of the acts of violence of which the English navy had been guilty by the seizure of our merchant ships; its complaints were treated with contempt; and war was soon afterwards declared.

## CHAPTER III.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS XV.

THE war which broke out in 1756 between England and France speedily embraced the whole of Europe, and its ravages extended over the entire world. Maria-Theresa, regretting the loss of Silesia, which had been ceded to Prussia, and hoping to recover that province, had formed an alliance with Elizabeth Petrowna, the Empress of Russia, Augustus III., the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, and the King of Sweden, Frederic Adolphus. Louis XV., who had been long in alliance with the King of Prussia against Maria-Theresa, had no feeling of resentment against that Prince, but the support of France was especially desired by the Queen of Hungary, and as she knew how to flatter Madame de Pompadour, who was much incensed at some ridicule directed against her by Frederic, she contrived to procure an alliance between the two crowns. They reciprocally undertook to furnish a contingent of twenty-four thousand men to aid in repelling the attacks by which either might be threatened; and soon all the forces of the kingdom were placed at the disposal of Austria.

The Seven Years' War, 1756–1773.

This terrible and deplorable war, known under the name of the Seven Years' War, commenced with circumstances favourable to France. The Duke of Richelieu, who had hitherto been only known for his gallantries, at once made the scandal of his vices forgotten by the conquest of Minorca, an island in the Mediterranean, which the English had taken possession of during the war of the succession in Spain. The French Government equipped at Toulon a formidable expedition, destined apparently for America, but in reality intended for Minorca. At the commencement of April everything was ready; the Duke of Richelieu was entrusted with the command of the expedition, whilst Admiral Galissonière with twelve ships of war, was to escort the

transports, protect the disembarkation, and cover the attack. The English Ministry had received numerous intimations of what was intended without paying any attention to them, and at length, only when it was too late, made hasty and insufficient preparations of defence, and sent Admiral Byng to the assistance of the threatened island. When Byng arrived off Minorca the French were besieging the formidable citadel of St. Philip, which commands Mahon, the capital of the island, and its magnificent port. The garrison numbered about three thousand men, and in the absence of its Governor, his lieutenant, old General Blakeney, in spite of his age and infirmities, made an obstinate defence. The hopes of the besieged lay in Byng's fleet, which was almost equal in number and strength to that of the French; and on the 20th of May they fought. The left wing of the English, under Admiral West, had at first the advantage, but was badly supported. The French line of battle, which had been temporarily broken, was speedily reformed, and by superior tactics was victorious over all the efforts made by Admiral Byng, who, losing all hope of being able to relieve it, abandoned Minorca to its fate, and sailed with his squadron for Gibraltar.* The French now redoubled their efforts. Richelieu ordered an assault, and, encouraging the besiegers by his own example under a most murderous fire, carried all the outer works, sword in hand, forced the fortress to capitulate, and won Minorca for France. The victory obtained by the French fleet off Mahon subsequently cost Admiral Byng his life; for his defeat was imputed to treason, and having been tried and found guilty, he was shot.

Naval victory of the French before Minorca.

Taking of Port Mahon by Richelieu.

Frederic II. did not wait to be attacked by his enemies, but in reply to the new league formed against him, hastened to invade Saxony, and took Dresden, from which the King of Poland was forced to fly. He then encountered, at Lowositz, Marshal Brown, at the head of fifty thousand Austrians, and with only half that number of troops compelled him to repass the Eger. He next hastened to Pirna, where the Saxon army was blockaded, and compelled it to

Skilful operations of Frederic II.

* The French Admiral followed the English fleet as far as the island of Iviça. On the 21st he returned to resume his post at the entrance of the port, to bar the passage to the reliefs which might have entered in his absence. He wrote to Marshal Richelieu:—"I have preferred your glory to my own, and the principal object of our expedition to any honour I might myself have acquired by the pursuit of a few of the enemy's vessels, which appear to be in a very distressed condition."

capitulate. Besides the twenty-four thousand men promised to Austria, and commanded by the Prince of Soubise, sixty thousand French troops entered Germany under Marshal d'Estrées, and threatened the Electorate of Hanover, a possession of the King of England. D'Estrées vanquished Cumberland at Hastemberg, at the moment when a Court intrigue replaced him by Marshal Richelieu, who followed his plans for the campaign, drove the Hanoverians into a corner near Stade on the Elbe, and forced Cumberland to sign the capitulation of Closterseven (1757); which sent one portion of his army to its homes, condemned another portion to inaction, and placed the Electorate of Hanover at the mercy of France.

Capitulation of Closterseven, 1757.

Frederic, victorious over Prince Charles of Lorraine at the sanguinary battle of Prague, was afterwards himself vanquished by Marshal Daun at Chotzemitz, and lost twenty-five thousand men, when he learned the successive defeats of his generals and the disastrous capitulation of Closterseven. A check for Frederic, however, was only the prelude to a victory; he multiplied his troops, so to speak, by carrying them with the utmost rapidity from one portion of his states to another; and when vanquished and pursued, he always showed himself in force where least expected. This memorable war put the crowning touch to his glory: he had to contend with, simultaneously and alone, the French, Austrians, and Russians, commanded by able generals; he saw armies twice as strong as his own invade his states; he lost his capital, and was himself frequently surrounded; but, displaying in the midst of all his perils the most astonishing skill, he issued victorious from every trial, and found his power only the more firmly established after a struggle in which, according to all human foresight, it was destined to be destroyed.

Overwhelmed by the reverses of his generals in this terrible campaign of 1757, and still more by the capitulation of the English at Closterseven, surrounded by several armies in Saxony, and held in check by Marshal Daun, Frederic appeared to be without any resource, and for a moment believed himself lost, but his genius still contrived to win fortune to his side. He escaped the Marshal with admirable skill, and boldly went to reconnoitre the French army commanded by Soubise, and that of the Imperialists, which, united, were advancing to surround him. By a series of able manœuvres before them he induced them to believe that

he was anxious to avoid them, and at length encamped in an advantageous position at Rosbach. Soubise endeavoured to surprise him and strove to turn his camp; but all his movements were foreseen. Frederic changed his front without the knowledge of the enemy, whom he allowed to approach his columns, and when the French and Imperialists arrived within reach of his cannon, Frederic's tents dropped to the ground, and the Prussian army appeared between two hills, from which volleyed a murderous fire. The assailants were struck with stupor, and the Imperial troops fled without fighting. Their example was followed by the French infantry, which retired in disorder before six Prussian battalions, and left behind them three thousand dead and seven thousand prisoners. The Marquis de Castries, at the head of the cavalry and two Swiss regiments, alone did his duty in this battle, which is almost unexampled in the military annals of France.

Victory of Frederic at Rosbach, 1757.

Frederic took no repose after this unhoped-for victory, but flying into Silesia, which was almost lost, won, against Prince Charles and Daun, the bloody battle of Lissa, near Breslau. The English then broke the capitulation of Closterseven, and the Hanoverian army reappeared under Ferdinand of Brunswick, its new commander, who asserted that he had nothing to do with this military convention. Such were on the Continent the principal results of this first campaign, during which the master of a kingdom which had been scarcely half a century in existence, overcame almost unaided the power of France and Austria, and deserved the surname of Great by vanquishing the armies of the two most formidable powers on the Continent.

The Count of Clermont lost in the following year the battle of Crevelt, against Ferdinand of Brunswick, and was superseded by the Marquis de Contades: Soubise, and, under him, the Duke de Broglie, partly repaired, however, at Sondershausen and at Lutzelberg, the disasters of this bloody battle, and the French re-entered Hanover; but in 1759, Brunswick, vanquished by the Duke de Broglie at Berghen, vanquished in his turn the Marshal de Contades at Minden in Westphalia. Frederic then fought with varied success against the Austrians and Russians; and the most murderous battle of this campaign was that of Zorndorf, where thirty-three thousand men, of whom twenty-two thousand were Russians and eleven thousand Prussians, remained on the field of battle.

Battle of Crevelt, 1758.

Losses of France in America and Asia, 1757–1759.

Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, the Minister of George II., was at this time at the head of the English Cabinet. He directed his attention to the colonies, and gave fresh vigour to maritime operations. Acadia, in spite of the efforts of the Marquis de Montcalm, remained in the power of the English; Quebec was taken after a battle fought under its walls, in which perished the two commanders-in-chief, Wolfe and Montcalm, and in 1760 the English snatched from the grasp of France the whole of Canada. Our arms had not been more fortunate in Africa, where we lost Senegal; or in Asia, where the English became masters in 1757 of the French establishment of Chandernagore on the Ganges. Count de Lally, who was of Irish origin, but of a violent and despotic character, was entrusted by Louis XV. with the duty of avenging our defeats in the East. His first exploit was to seize Fort Saint David, on the coast of Coromandel, and to raze its defences; but differences which arose between him and the commander of the naval squadron, Count d'Aché, were fatal to the interests of France.

Naval disasters.

England was at this time threatened by the descent upon her coasts of two French armies, under Chevert and the Duke d'Aiguillon, which were to be protected by two French squadrons. The first of these, however, which was commanded by M. de la Clue, was destroyed by Admiral Boscawen off Cape Saint Vincent, whilst two months later the second, under Marshal de Conflans, underwent the same fate within sight of the coast of Brittany. A division of this fleet entered the river Vilaine and was obliged to remain there. This defeat was regarded as ignominious, and the defeat was disgracefully known as the Battle of M, de Conflans.

Ministry of the Duke de Choiseul.

The Duke de Choiseul, a friend of men of letters and philosophers, whom he protected, supported by Madame de Pompadour, had succeeded the Abbé de Bernis as Minister for Foreign Affairs; the general direction of affairs being under M. de Silhouette, who commenced his duties by some useful measures, by one of which he reduced the enormous profits of the Farmers General to one half; creating seventy-two thousand shares of a thousand livres each, amongst which he divided the other half. The whole of them were taken up immediately, and within four-and-twenty hours the Comptroller-General had obtained seventy-two millions. Overwhelmed with praises

on this occasion by every mouth, he was equally decried when, in 1759, his reforms attacked the rights of the upper classes. On the 22nd September he had registered at a Bed of Justice an edict of Territorial Subvention, which subjected to taxation without exception all the classes which had previously been exempt from it. The outcry was general, and the Magistracy was the first to exclaim against the wise measure with so much violence that it was never carried out. M. de Silhouette then suspended a portion of the payments due from the Treasury, and invited the citizens to take their silver plate to the Mint to be coined. England, informed of this penury, believed that France was without resources, and refused to treat with her.

The campaign of 1760 was glorious in Germany for Marshal Broglie, who vanquished the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick at Corbach, near Cassel, for the capture of which he was preparing. One of the corps of his army, commanded by the Marquis de Castries, took up its position near to Rhumberg, on the river bank, and being attacked by the Prince, gained a brilliant victory which delivered Wesel. A sublime instance of self-devotion immortalized this battle. The Chevalier d'Assas, a captain in the regiment Auvergne, having been sent out during the night to reconnoitre, was surprised by the Hanoverians within ear-shot of the French camp, and twenty bayonets directed against his breast. To speak he knew was to die, but "Help, Auvergne!" he cried; "it is the enemy!" He fell, pierced through and through by the bayonets of the enemy, but the French camp was not surprised. Frederic now escaped in Saxony from the numerous armies which surrounded him, and vanquishing successively Laudhon at Lignitz, and Daun at Torgau, retook Silesia.

Campaign of 1760.

Pondicherry, which numbered eighty thousand inhabitants, whom the governor, Lally, had alienated by his pride and despotism, fell in the course of this year into the hands of the English. Count d'Aché, who was called upon to relieve this place, did not appear, and seven hundred soldiers were all that remained for its defence. The town was taken, and its fortifications razed; and Lally, returning to France, was accused of treason, and paid for his defeat with his life. The Parliament condemned him, and he was even insulted by being conveyed to the scaffold gagged. He left behind him a son who was a worthy avenger of his memory.

Taking of Pondicherry.

Trial and execution of General Lally, 1760.

Choiseul, who became Minister of War after the death of Marshal Belle Isle, offered to make peace with George III., who now succeeded George II. on the English throne. Lord Bute, who was Prime Minister, was willing to accede to his wishes, but Pitt opposed his views, and his counsels prevailed. The Duke de Choiseul, after having in vain attempted to reanimate the national enthusiasm, endeavoured to secure the support of Spain, where Charles III. now reigned; and on the 16th of August, 1761, his exertions were crowned by the signature of the celebrated Family Treaty. This treaty, which was arranged in secret, stipulated that the various branches of the House of Bourbon should reciprocally assist each other, and declared that the enemies of any one branch should be regarded as the enemies of the others. France had lost in the course of the last war thirty-seven ships of the line, and fifty-six frigates, and the assistance of the Spanish fleet was but a feeble balance to a loss so enormous.

On the 16th of July, some days before the signature of the Family Treaty, Marshals de Broglie and Soubise, having effected a junction, threatened the Prince of Brunswick, whose army they encountered at Filingshausen, near the Lippe, when the want of concert between these two generals deprived them of the victory. They then had a serious quarrel, and the Prince's mistress constituted herself the judge between them. Those who most sedulously courted Madame de Pompadour were, in her eyes, the best generals; and we may judge by this example how far the deplorable weakness of Louis XV. weakened the power of his throne. Soubise paid great court to the favourite, and gained the day. The vanquished general of Rosbach triumphed in the Royal boudoir over the victor of Berghen; and the Duke de Broglie, who was dear to France for his talents and his successes, was banished and superseded by old Marshal d'Estrées.

**Disgrace of the Duke de Broglie.**

In the meantime, pressed close by the Imperial army and the Russians, Frederic was driven to bay, when the death of the Empress Petrowna, which took place on the 2nd of January, 1762, released him from his perilous position. Elizabeth left her throne to Peter III., her nephew, who was a passionate admirer of the King of Prussia, and of whom he declared himself the friend and protector; but yielding unreservedly to his passion for innovations he wounded the prejudices of his people, and was dethroned, after a reign of six months, by his own wife, Catherine of

Anhalt-Zerbst, who assumed the crown by the name of Catharine II., and some days afterwards the unfortunate Peter III. was assassinated. The Empress declared herself neutral; and the results of the campaign of 1762, the last of this bloody war, left each party in the same state as before. England, France, Spain, and Portugal then signed preliminary conventions, which were converted into a definitive peace on the 10th of February, 1763, by the Treaty of Paris, which was disgraceful to France. This power ceded to England a portion of Louisiana,* Canada and its dependencies, the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands in the Gulf, and the river St. Lawrence. England retained Senegal, in Africa; and in the East Indies, each nation resumed possession of the territories they had held previous to the commencement of the war, on condition that France should not send troops there. The island of Minorca and Port St. Philip were restored to England, and France gave up to King George his Electorate of Hanover. The English who, a century before, had only possessed, beyond the British Isles, the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, now found themselves masters of a multitude of islands and strong naval stations in every sea; whilst the French navy was almost annihilated, and the empire of the ocean was given over to England. Peace was at the same time signed between the Empress Maria-Theresa, the Elector of Saxony, and the King of Prussia; and after seven sanguinary campaigns the three powers stood on the same footing as before the war. Frederic retained Silesia and Glatz, by promising his support to the son of Maria-Theresa, the Archduke Joseph, who was selected as King of the Romans, and succeeded to the Empire on the 18th of August, 1765.

**Peace of Paris. Surrender of nearly all the French Colonies in America, 1763.**

The last years of this war were signalized by the abolition of the Order of the Jesuits in the kingdom of France. The philosophers and the Parliaments were their enemies, and sought for an opportunity of striking them a mortal blow, which they found in the failure of the Jesuit Lavalette for many millions. The Society, formally summoned to be answerable for him, refused to do so; whereupon the Procureur-General, and especially La Chalotais, the Procureur-General of the Parliament of Brittany, launched against the members of the Order an immense number of suits. The Jesuits defended themselves but feebly;

**Abolition of the Order of Jesuits in France, 1764.**

* The remainder of Louisiana was ceded by France to Spain, to recompense her for the cession of Florida to England.

numerous sequestrations were made, and their constitution, examined in detail, was vehemently attacked at every point. An assembly of Bishops, convoked by the King's command, pronounced in favour of the maintenance of this Order, which was secularized by the Parliaments in 1762. The Duke de Choiseul vigorously supported the magistracy, and the King sacrificed the Jesuits to his repose. Their Order was suppressed throughout the kingdom by an edict of 1764, which gave them permission to reside in France as simple private persons. All the Bourbon Courts declared themselves at the same time against this famous society; the Jesuits were successively driven from Portugal, Spain, Naples, and Parma; and the total suppression of the Order was earnestly solicited at Rome by the Duke de Choiseul, who, on this condition, promised the restoration to the Holy See of the Venetian province. Refused by Clement XIII., this request was complied with by the celebrated Ganganelli, who was Pope by the name of Clement XIV., and who thus destroyed the firmest support of the rights of the Court of Rome. Two sovereigns who were not Catholics, Frederic II. in Prussia, and Catharine in Russia, were the only ones who gave to the Jesuits an asylum and protection in their states.

**Total destruction of the Order of Jesuits, 1773.**

Madame de Pompadour, who was the cause of the unfortunate part which France bore in the Seven Years' War, died in the year following the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris, and was soon after succeeded as mistress to Louis XV. by a woman of low origin, whom an infamous alliance decorated with the name of the Countess du Barri, and whom the King introduced with the greatest effrontery into his Court and the bosom of his family. In the course of the next four years he lost the Dauphin, the Dauphiness, his father-in-law, Stanislaus-Leczinski, who perished by an accident at an advanced age; and the Queen, Maria Leczinski, who only survived her father two years.

By the death of Stanislaus-Leczinski, Lorraine had become incorporated with France, and Corsica was also added to the French Crown two years later. Gafforio, who had driven the Genoese from the isle, died by assassination in 1753. The intrepid Pascal Paoli succeeded him as the head of the party of Independence. The French, who had descended upon Corsica in 1756 under pretext of foiling the designs of England upon this island, obtained the

**Final union of Lorraine with France, 1766.**

delivery into their hands of the maritime places as protectors. In 1768 Genoa surrendered all its rights over Corsica to France, and M. de Chauvelin immediately proclaimed Louis XV. King there. The indignant inhabitants, aroused by the voice of Paoli, immediately ran to arms; but their courage was powerless against a French army commanded by the Count de Vaux. Paoli was exiled, and Corsica submitted; but it obtained its elevation into a *pays d'état*, and preserved the right to regulate its own taxes.

Acquisition of Corsica by France, 1768.

The Seven Years' War added thirty-four millions of annual interest to the national debt. In each year the expenses exceeded the receipts by thirty-eight millions, and the taxes which had enormously increased during the war were not lessened at the peace. The Parliament of Paris endeavoured to procure some relief to the public burdens, that of Besançon refused to register the Royal edicts; and many of the opposing magistrates were exiled. Speedily, however, all the Parliaments took up the cause of Besançon, and the Parliament of Paris energetically maintained, to the great displeasure of the Court, that the whole magistracy of the kingdom formed but a single body, divided into various classes. Louis XV., at a Royal sitting held in 1766, denied to the Parliaments that association to which they made pretensions, and laid down the following maxims:— "We hold our crown directly from the hands of God; and the King possesses solely, and without dependence on any other authority, the legislative power." It will be seen from these facts, that the King wished to establish an absolute monarchy, and that the great judicial bodies, although possessed with ideas more or less vague as to the object of their efforts, were endeavouring to form a parliamentary monarchy which should hold the King and nation in subjection.

Debates between the Court and the Parliaments, 1763–1771.

Disturbances broke out in various provinces, and especially in Brittany, where the Duke d'Aiguillon, governor of the province, rendered himself odious by his stern and despotic administration. The Parliament of Rennes took cognizance of the complaints which were brought against him, and as they could obtain no satisfaction from the Court, the greater number of the members gave in their resignation. The procureur-general, La Chalotais, who had vehemently denounced the governor, was arrested and taken with his son and three councillors to the citadel of St. Malo.

A commission was appointed to try the prisoners, who were accused of having held illegal assemblies, spread abroad defamatory libels against the Government, and carried their audacity so far as even to send to the King himself anonymous letters filled with insults. It was urged upon Louis XV. that the Bretons were a turbulent and rebellious race, and that it was necessary to make an example of them. In the meantime the Parliament of Paris took energetic measures in favour of the accused, and the Duke de Choiseul, who declared himself the protector of the magistrates, hastened to suspend the powers of the commission of St. Malo, and to have the matter brought before the regular judges. The accused protested against being tried by the Parliament of Brittany, on the pretext that it was not sufficiently numerous, and were transferred to the Bastile. At length, in December, 1766, all prosecution of them was stopped, and they were declared innocent, but were nevertheless exiled. The Parliament exclaimed against this arbitrary punishment, which was a triumph for the Duke d'Aiguillon, who now acted with redoubled violence. He now even had the boldness to present for acceptance by the States of Brittany a regulation which would have deprived them of the right of fixing and levying their own taxes. This produced a general outcry, and an address presented to the King produced the recal of the Duke d'Aiguillon, and the re-establishment of the Parliament of Brittany in its integrity, with the exception of Chalotais, who was not restored to his office.

**Character and Projects of the Chancellor Maupeou.**

The first act of the restored Parliament was to commence a prosecution of the Duke d'Aiguillon, whom it accused of abuse of power and of enormous crimes. The King had recently raised to the dignity of Chancellor, Maupeou, the chief president of the Parliament of Paris. This man, at once bold and supple, was capable of adopting hazardous resolutions, and of securing their success by the most immovable firmness, united to great powers of intrigue. After having displayed some character in an exile from his assembly, he soon preferred the road to fortune to every other, and drew upon himself the contempt of the magistrates, who regarded him as sold to the Court. Devoured at once by ambition and a desire for vengeance, he was resolved to humiliate the magistrates, and circumstances favoured his design. The King, in accordance with his suggestions, ordered that the Duke d'Aiguillon should be tried by the Court of Peers, and that the sittings at

which he wished to be present should take place at Versailles. He then converted the Court of Peers into a Bed of Justice, and justifying the Duke d'Aiguillon, ordered that the whole process against him should be annulled. The Parliament then issued a decree which attacked the Duke's honour. The King annulled it; had the whole process struck off the rolls; and at another Bed of Justice, held on the 7th of December, prohibited the Parliament to make use of the name of *class* when speaking of the other bodies of the magistracy; to suspend all its proceedings, and to give in its resignation. The remonstrances with reference to this rigorous edict were treated with contempt, and the Parliament ceased to exercise its functions. A Court revolution deprived it also of its most powerful protector. The Duke de Choiseul had never paid any court to the favourite, Madame du Barri, and she, irritated at his manifest contempt, did all she could to bring him into discredit with the King, especially accusing him of having endeavoured to lead France into a war with England in favour of the American colonies, then disposed to rebel. The King, enamoured of a scandalous ease, yielded to the demands of the favourite, and the Duke de Choiseul, together with his relative, M. de Praslin, was disgraced and banished to his estate at Chanteloup. It was then, for the first time since the Fronde, that a portion of the Court and the highest classes of society, displayed a formidable spirit of opposition to the Government. All that was most distinguished in France did itself honour by paying court to the Duke de Choiseul in his retreat, and by giving an air of triumph to his disgrace. The dismissal of the Duke de Choiseul was followed by the appointment of the Duke d'Aiguillon to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and shortly afterwards of the Abbé Terray as Comptroller-General of the Finances. These two men formed, together with the Chancellor Maupeou, a triumvirate celebrated for the revolution which it effected in the judicial order.

Disgrace of M. de Choiseul, 1771.

On the 19th January, 1771, each of the members of the Parliament were awaked by two musketeers, who presented to him an order to resume his functions and to sign an agreement or refusal to do so by a simple "Yes" or "No." The greater number of them refused, and the small number who, either from fear or astonishment, gave in their consent, retracted on the following day. On the following day they received an intimation that their offices were confiscated; and each was exiled by a *lettre de*

*cachet* to some different place. Maupeou nominated in their place Councillors of State and Masters of Requests, whom he himself installed in the midst of an irritated crowd. The Chancellor then employed himself in the formation of an assembly which had less resemblance to a judicial body, composed of the members of the great council, and men taken from the various bodies in different classes, who henceforth composed the Parliament. Maupeou assembled them on the 13th April, 1771, at a Bed of Justice, which had been secretly prepared, and there registered two edicts which abolished the old Parliament and established the new. The public wrath burst forth against a minister who tore from France, in the persons of her independent magistrates, the last guarantees against despotic power. Lambert, the senior of the great council, distinguished himself amongst all by his courage. Constrained by a *lettre de cachet* to take his seat in the new Parliament, he did so, but said—"I can perform here no act of magistracy; I abandon to the King my fortune, my liberty, and my life; but I will keep my conscience pure, and will not appear again in this place." On the same evening he was exiled. All the princes of the blood, with a single exception, and thirteen peers of the kingdom, lodged a protest against acts in which they saw the overthrow of the laws of the State. The provincial Parliaments made courageous remonstrances; and a large number of bailliages who had no other means of subsistence but what they derived from their offices, refused obedience to those who were substituted for the former magistrates. When the Council of State sat in the Parliament hall, the advocates ceased to appear at the bar, and the greater number of the suitors refused to plead. The most distinguished remonstrances were made by the Court of Aids, and that assembly was dissolved. The Châtelet of Paris was reorganized; the provincial Parliaments and the noblesse, and especially those of Normandy and Brittany, raised complaints to which Maupeou replied by *lettres de cachet*, which sent the murmurers either into exile or to the Bastile. Then there arose a loud demand for the convocation of the States-General. Maupeou, however, overcame all resistance. The old magistrates had alienated the philosophers by many judgments which bore the stamp of barbarity and fanaticism, such as those upon Calas and the Chevalier de Barre. Maupeou took care to remind the public of these judgments, and endeavoured to allay the popular indignation by promising the reduction of the

Destruction of the ancient Parliaments, 1771.

immense authority of the Parliament of Paris, the gratuitous administration of justice, the abolition of the sale of offices, and the revisal of the criminal laws. He thus secured the execution of his vast projects, and induced many of the members of the provincial Parliaments to register edicts which suppressed them, the prices they had paid for their offices being repaid, and to register others which reclothed them with their functions, with wages and appointments. At the close of 1771, in the space of less than a year, the new judicial arrangements were in force over the whole surface of the kingdom, and Maupeou boasted that he had withrawn the Crown from the registrar's office.

Whilst Maupeou thus violently altered the French magisterial system, Abbé Terray dealt with the finances in a manner no less arbitrary and despotic. He formed no financial system, but endeavoured only to avoid making payments and to procure resources, and to effect these objects he had recourse only to rapacity and bad faith. No retrenchment was made in the luxuries of the Court, and Louis XV. never ceased to exhaust the country by his prodigalities. The only attempt at reform consisted in an arbitrary reduction of the dividends payable by the State, and was in fact a shameful act of bankruptcy. The taxes were at the same time raised to an exorbitant amount, and Terray destroyed the most glorious achievement of Marchault —the law which authorized the free circulation of corn throughout the kingdom, in order that he might engage in infamous speculations, the success of which was secured by the fears and wretchedness of the people.*

Finances. Maladministration of the Abbé Terray.

The Duke d'Aiguillon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the third member of this triumvirate, at the same time allowed three Powers to make a serious attack on the rights of peoples and the balance of power in Europe. The last Elector of Saxony, King of Poland, died in 1763. The dissensions amongst the Poles gave to Catharine II. and the King of Prussia a great influence over the following election. The religious quarrels amongst the Catholics and the Nonconformists were added to the political discords to hasten the ruin of this unfortunate country, and Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, one of the Empress's old

Foreign Affairs.

* Terray prohibited the exportation of corn from a certain province, and when its price had fallen there, he purchased it and sold it in some other province which he had famished by exciting the exportation of corn from it to the utmost.

favourites, was elected King through the influence of Russian bayonets. The two foreign sovereigns had concerted to remove all the most formidable and independent competitors, and some senators, opposed to Catharine's views, were seized and transported to Siberia. Indignant at this violence, a Polish party seized Cracow and Bar; and in this latter city a confederacy was formed in 1768 for the purpose of delivering the country from its foreign yoke. The confederates implored the assistance of France, which only sent them an insignificant contingent of fifteen hundred men, commanded by Dumouriez, who subsequently became so famous. At the same time, at the instigation of the French ambassador, Count de Vergennes, the Ottoman Porte entered upon an unfortunate war with Russia, the results of which were the destruction of the Turkish fleet, the capture of Bender, and the conquest of the Crimea by the Russian arms. Strong in this success, in her amity with Frederic II. and Maria-Theresa, and the supine indolence of Louis XV., Catharine II. signed in 1772, with the Courts of Prussia and Vienna, a treaty for the dismemberment of Poland. This preliminary division deprived the country of a third of its territory, and led to other treaties which effaced Poland from the number of independent nations. In the same year Gustavus III. effected in Sweden a revolution which substituted the monarch's will for the sovereign authority of the States.

Confederation of Bar, 1768.

First division of Poland, 1772.

Louis XV., utterly apathetic in the midst of these serious events, continued to present to the world an example of shameful debauchery, and an even more disgraceful example of a complete indifference to scandal. Nevertheless, when he heard of the partition of Poland he was indignant at being considered as of no account in Europe. "Ah!" he said, "if Choiseul had been here things would have been different!" and then he went to forget his anger and his shame in fresh and unexampled orgies. He had Madame du Barri publicly presented at Court, and gave her a distinguished place at the table at which were present, for the first time after their marriage, his grandson, the Dauphin, and his young spouse, Marie-Antoinette of Austria. In the composition of his character a sordid avarice was joined to depraved tastes, and he formed a private treasury which he increased by the most culpable means. At length, worn out by *ennui*, weary of pleasure, and disgusted with all things, he died of the small-pox in the sixty-fourth year

Death of Louis XV., 1774.

of his life, and after a reign of fifty-nine years, which is one of the most deplorable recorded in history.

The old order of things crumbled in every direction around a throne disgraced by scandals which were unredeemed by any gleam of either virtue or glory. The great bodies which had so long formed the strength and contributed to the splendour of the monarchy faded away and perished. The clergy aroused against themselves the murmurs of all enlightened persons and the indignation of the middle class, by their violence towards the Jansenists, their cruel proceedings on the subject of the bull Unigenitus, and the vices of many of their number. The high nobility lost day by day more and more of its prestige in the eyes of the nation, through its state of servitude in a Court which was disgraced in public opinion, whilst the shameful traffic which was carried on in patents of nobility contributed to deprive the provincial noblesse of all estimation. Finally, the old Parliaments, which had so long and so happily defended the rights of the Crown, and which had formerly strengthened the throne when even they for a time opposed the Government, had been destroyed by the Royal authority. The finances of the kingdom were in a deplorable state, and the treasury showed a deficit of forty millions. The wretchedness of the people, overwhelmed with taxes and vexatious burdens, was excessive; many of the inhabitants of the country districts abandoned agriculture for contraband trade; and France seemed, in short, to have sunk back into that state of spoliation and ruin from which it had been rescued by Henry IV. and his ministers.

General reflections.

In the midst of so many calamities and signs of dissolution there grew up a spirit of inquiry and analysis, which was not unattended with danger. Montesquieu, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and Voltaire, the leaders of a powerful school, attacked with the magic strength of genius the excesses of arbitrary power, and summoned the people of France to the enjoyment of their political rights. A crowd of distinguished men suddenly arose from the ranks of the people and fought under the same flag. D'Alembert, Diderot, Helvetius, Condillac, Mably, and many others, overthrew the existing order of things. The greater number, following the example of Voltaire, too often confounded the good with the evil in their violent attacks, and thus, after having denounced the abuse of the clerical power, endeavoured to shake Christianity to its deepest foundations.

Criticism was in the ascendant at this period, and was found in the most widely different species of literature, in the works of the poets as in those of the philosophers, and even in the best theatrical pieces, amongst which those by Voltaire were the most prominent. In the arts we can reckon at this time but few illustrious names; amongst the most celebrated are the composers Grétry and Monsigny; the painters, Watteau, Boucher, and Joseph Vernet, and the architect Soufflot, who erected the Hôtel-Dieu and the Pantheon. But this age was fruitful in scientific discoveries; Buffon and Saussure immortalized themselves by their studies in natural science; the first being as great as a writer as he was great as a naturalist. Lavoisier created a new system of chemistry; and Haüy propounded the true theory of the composition of crystals. Many learned men and philosophers undertook to collect all human knowledge into one vast publication, to which they gave the name of "Encyclopædia;" and Diderot and the mathematician D'Alembert took the largest share in the immense undertaking, which was conceived in a spirit of hostility for the old faith. Since several ages France had witnessed no more deplorable reign than that of Louis XV., and yet the vices of its Government had never been more clearly brought into view. A social and political revolution was imminent, and was announced by several infallible foreshadowings.

## CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS XVI. TO THE THRONE TO THE CONVOCATION OF THE STATES-GENERAL.

### 1774-1789.

Louis XVI. ascended the throne on the 11th of May, 1774, at the age of twenty. His morals were pure, his intentions upright and generous; but to complete inexperience he added a great want of decision of character; and, unfortunately, no Prince had more need of strength of will and perseverance. He found on his accession the finances in disorder, the Government regarded with contempt, public opinion excited and irritated, and the privileged bodies leagued together against every species of reform. The King still further increased the difficulties of his position by choosing as his mentor old Maurepas, who had been the object in the preceding reign of the hatred of Madame de Pompadour, whom he had offended. Louis XVI. hoped that he had selected a sage, but in fact had obtained only a frivolous courtier. This Minister thought that he would render himself popular by recalling the old Parliaments, but knew not how to make them submit to useful and efficient reforms. They were reinstalled on the 12th of November, and Maurepas, for the sake of procuring for the Royal authority a fleeting popularity, raised up against it serious dangers in the future.

Maupeou and Abbé Terray had fallen before the clamours of the people, and Maurepas, who at that time was anxious for the support of public opinion, replaced them by men who possessed its confidence. His choice fell upon Turgot, a man of a firm and judicious character, already famous for his large political views, who had recently obtained a place in the King's Council as Minister of Marine, and whom Maurepas now made Comptroller-General of the Finances. In the following year the Council was opened to Lamoignon de Malesherbes, a magistrate of the highest merit

and a friend of Turgot, whom he assisted in his vast operations. His department was the King's household, and the disposal of the *lettres de cachet*, no abuse of which was to be feared whilst they remained in his hands. The other influential members of the Council were Hüe de Miromesnil, Keeper of the Seals; the Count of Saint Germain, Minister of War, and Vergennes, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Louis XVI. on ascending the throne had suppressed the impost of the joyous occasion, and yielding as much to the dictates of his own heart as to the advice of wise ministers, abolished tortures, and the law which rendered the taillables alone liable to pay duties. But Turgot planned more extensive reforms, and devoting all his care to the promotion of the happiness of the people, undertook the suppression of a vast number of servitudes and burdensome privileges, and it was of him that Malesherbes said, "He has the head of Bacon and the heart of L'Hôpital." He wished to make the noblesse contribute to the taxes in the same proportion as the Third Estate; and desired also by means of provincial assemblies, to accustom the nation to the discussion of matters relating to the public welfare. He planned with Malesherbes a system of administration which would have spread a spirit of calm throughout France, by destroying all abuses, and towards this end he procured the issue of edicts which replaced the corvées by a rate equally levied upon all classes, re-established free-trade in grain throughout the whole interior of the kingdom, and abolished wardenships and corporations. The privileged classes immediately burst forth into complaints and murmurs, the Parliaments refused to register these wise edicts, and it was necessary to make use of the powers of a Bed of Justice. The philosophers and the economists triumphed; but a powerful league was formed at the Court against the ministers of reform. Placed between a young King of no experience, and an old courtier-minister, Turgot found himself in a difficult position. If he had hastened to explain his projects, he would not have been understood, and would have uselessly compromised his credit. He never ventured to reveal his vast plan for the reform of the general administration, but confined himself to preparing Louis XVI. to listen to it at some future period, to the reform of the most serious abuses, and to pointing out to the King the storms which threatened his reign should not the throne be strengthened by salutary institutions. The fault of Turgot's plan was that it required

**Operations of Turgot, 1774-1776.**

for its execution that Turgot himself should live twenty years, and that the Prince should possess sufficient firmness of will to retain its author in his counsels, in spite of the opposition of his family, his Court, and the privileged classes. Its success was impossible under a monarch so readily accessible as was Louis XVI. to diverse and contrary interests. Malesherbes himself, although inspired with the best intentions, had not succeeded in abolishing *lettres de cachet*, which deprived citizens of their liberty without any trial, or in suppressing the monstrous abuse of letters of respite which were granted to debtors in favour at Court, to enable them to delay or defeat their creditors. He was scarcely able to make some slight reduction in the ruinous luxury of the King's household, and his most just proceedings had already given rise to a thousand clamours.

Soon, jealous of the popularity enjoyed by Turgot, and of his influence over the King, Maurepas himself aroused enemies against the two ministers, and alarmed the King with respect to the dangers that might arise from the spirit of the new system. Malesherbes perceived the workings of the Prince's feeble mind, and sent in his resignation, whilst Turgot awaited to be disgraced. Louis XVI. had said of him, "It is only M. Turgot and I who love the people," and he dismissed him. To the popular ministers succeeded courtier ministers; the system of government was altered and the reforms were abandoned. Clugny, formerly governor of St. Domingo, and then Taboureau, replaced successively, and without success, this great minister; and after them the general management of the Government again fell into the hands of an upright man who was endowed with great financial abilities. Necker, a Genevese banker, the envoy of his republic, was made the colleague of Taboureau, and succeeded him in 1777. Louis XVI. had according to ancient custom taken the oath to exterminate heretics, and Necker was a Protestant; but such were his reputation and the imminence of the peril, that he was placed by Maurepas himself at the head of the finances with the title of Director-General. Necker made good faith and probity the basis of his system, which consisted in the reduction of the expenditure to a level with the receipts, to make the national taxes serve to defray the national expense in ordinary times, to have recourse to loans only when circumstances imperiously required them, and to have the taxes assessed by the provincial assemblies. These plans

Fall of the Ministry.

Operations of Necker, 1777.

were wise; and capitalists had conceived so high an opinion of the talents and honesty of Necker, that his name alone was a sufficient guarantee in their eyes, and re-established confidence amongst those to whom the Government applied for loans.

Necker placed France in a financial position which enabled her to support a war which had a great influence on her destinies by accelerating the current of its intellect and the progress of liberal ideas. This war was that occasioned by the revolt of the English colonies of North America against their mother country. England, overburdened by debt after the peace of 1763, had endeavoured to make its American colonies contribute to its taxes; and the latter, having been in the habit of taxing themselves, and of seeing the sums levied on their soil expended to defray the expenses of their Government, made an energetic resistance to the new pretensions of the mother country. The struggle commenced in 1773 on the imposition by the English Government of a considerable tax on tea, which was consumed in enormous quantities in America. The inhabitants of Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, refused to give admittance into their ports to cargoes burdened with this tax, and the populace, roused to a state of irritation, threw them into the sea; whereupon the English Government immediately ordered General Gage to keep that port in a state of blockade. But the spirit of resistance had been aroused, and deputies from all the principal districts of the colonies assembled at Philadelphia at a general Congress, at which was drawn up and accepted in September, 1774, the famous Declaration of Rights, which was the type of all those which were soon afterwards made in Europe. The Congress annulled the powers of all the English officials, ordered a levy of the national militia, and proclaimed George Washington generalissimo of the forces. Some first successes of the American militia excited the enthusiasm of the colonists; the insurrection became general, and the capture of Boston by the insurgents raised the popular excitement to its height. At length the Congress published, in 1776, the Act of Independence, by which it constituted itself a free power, and independent of the English power. Diplomatic agents were immediately despatched to the various courts of Europe, to obtain the recognition of the independence of the American Colonies, and Benjamin Franklin, as celebrated for his discoveries in science as for the services he rendered to his country, was selected by his country to plead the national

Rebellion of the American Colonies, 1773.

cause at the court of Versailles, and to solicit the support of France against England. The simplicity of his costume and his manners created a great sensation in Paris, and the general feeling in his own favour hastened the conclusion of the negotiations between France and the insurgent colonies.

The youth of France, eager for glory, burnt to repair on the American soil the losses suffered in the late war, and Lafayette, then twenty years of age, distinguished himself by his generous, although frequently belied, devotion for the cause of the freedom of peoples. Renouncing the pleasures of a most brilliant and enviable existence, he equipped a vessel at his own expense, and offered the assistance of his sword to the American colonists just when they were crushed by many reverses. He was willing to serve as a simple private in the ranks, but received a commission as Major-General and the friendship of Washington. Many Frenchmen of the most distinguished families followed his example. The English Government, of which Lord North was then the head, complained of this, and avenged itself by some acts of aggression against France. Louis XVI. hesitated for some time to enter upon hostilities; but at length, in 1778, after the memorable battle of Saratoga, in which General Burgoyne, at the head of six thousand men, was compelled to lay down his arms, France concluded a treaty of alliance and commerce with the Americans; whereupon England recalled her ambassador, and war was resolved on.

Devotion of Lafayette to the cause of American Independence.

A fleet of twelve ships of the line, commanded by the Count d'Estaing, set sail from Toulon for America, and made a vain attempt, in concert with Washington's army, to take Newport, in Rhode Island, one of the English arsenals. On the 27th July, in the same year, the French Admiral d'Orvilliers encountered Admiral Keppel at the entrance of the Channel. The two fleets consisted severally of thirty vessels, and after having fought for a whole day parted to refit without having lost a single vessel on either side. This battle was at first celebrated in France as a brilliant victory. The conduct of the Duke de Chartres, subsequently famous by the name of the Duke of Orleans, who commanded the rear guard of the fleet, after having been extravagantly praised, was afterwards unjustly decried, and the King removed him from the navy by making him a colonel general of hussars.

War of Independence, 1778-1783.

This appointment, under the circumstances, was an insult, and the Duke had still more bitter affronts to suffer, and thenceforth appeared devoted by a species of cruel fatality to an unfortunate celebrity.

Alliance with Spain. Military Operations, 1770.

France concluded with Spain, in the following year, an alliance which doubled its naval strength. Admirals d'Orvilliers and Don Louis Cordova united their fleets, and threatened, without result, a descent upon England, whilst Count d'Estaing, supported by Count de Grasse and La Motte-Piquet, seized in the Antilles the islands of St. Vincent and Granada. This success retarded his arrival in the United States, and the unfortunate Georgian expedition ended the campaign. Count d'Estaing, in concert with General Lincoln, made a rash attack upon Savannah, the capital of the province of that name, and was repulsed with loss, in spite of prodigies of valour. He raised the siege and returned to France, to be succeeded by Count de Guichen, who honourably maintained the struggle against the English Admiral, George Rodney.

French conquests in Africa.

The war ensanguined the four quarters of the globe. The French troops under Vaudreuil and Lauzun, seized upon Senegal, Gambia, and Sierra Leone, but suffered, on the other hand, fresh disasters in India. Its establishments in Bengal fell into the hands of the English, and Pondicherry had to yield forty days after the trenches had been opened against it. Such were, during two years (1778-1779), in the two hemispheres, the principal events of this great struggle, which had hitherto been prolonged without decisive results, but which was as disastrous, through its expense and its duration, for England as for its late colonies.

Declaration of armed neutrality, 1780.

In the following year (1780), England found the number of its enemies still further increased. The Northern powers, the Empress of Russia, the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, formed a league to resist its pretensions respecting the dominion of the seas, and signed a declaration of armed neutrality, by which it was agreed that the neutral powers should be at liberty to sail from port to port of, and to sail on the coasts of, the belligerent nations; that merchandize belonging to the latter should be free from capture, if not contraband or intended for admission into a port actually blockaded. The Northern powers announced that they would enforce respect for their declaration by warfare if necessary, and England, after having made a

futile attempt to obtain the alliance of Holland, where the Republican party was more powerful than that of the Stadtholder which was favourable to England, had to struggle against the combined fleets of France, the United States, and Spain.

The majority of the French Ministry was at this time composed of men of merit and talent. Vergennes made the kingdom respected abroad; Ségur and Castries, soldiers worthy of high esteem, carried on the war with energy; and Necker afforded the King the means of continuing it. His celebrated *compte rendu* of January, 1781, showed for the first time an excess of ten millions of receipts over the expenditure, and produced a sensation and favourable public opinion, which inspired Maurepas with a great degree of jealousy.

Ministerial Acts, 1781.

Deeply offended by the unanimous praises lavished on a Minister whom he regarded as his creature, Maurepas persuaded the King that danger might arise from the public discussion of the proceedings of his Government which would naturally arise from the publication of Necker's *compte rendu*, and from that moment all the plans of that statesman were received with disfavour. The Council opposed them, and the privileged classes struggled against the carrying out of his judicious reforms. He nevertheless succeeded, by the simple credit attached to his own name, in effecting two loans which amounted to ninety millions; but perceiving that he no longer possessed his Sovereign's confidence, he sent in his resignation, which was accepted on the 23rd May. He left in hand sufficient funds to complete the decisive campaign of 1781, and his retirement was regarded as a public calamity.

The assistance which France had hitherto accorded to the United States had only been by sea, but on the 11th July, 1780, a first French division, numbering six thousand men, disembarked at Rhode Island under Count de Rochambeau.* The arrival of this powerful reinforcement, which had been long expected, re-animated the courage and enthusiasm of the Americans; the English, however, succeeded in blockading the port at which the French had disembarked, and thus, till the close of the year, rendered their assistance almost useless. This campaign, in fact, only brought to the Colonists vain hopes or reverses. The conqueror of Saratoga, General Gates, was beaten

Progress of the English in South Carolina, 1780.

* In order that the military operations might have uniformity of plan, Louis XVI. made Rochambeau subordinate in command to Washington.

at Camden, in Southern Carolina, by Lord Cornwallis, and the whole of this province was consequently lost. In the North treason deprived the Americans of one of their most able generals, Benedict Arnold, who was led into crime by the necessities arising from a dissolute life.

France now came to the aid of the Colonists with a generosity more magnanimous than prudent, considering the condition of her own finances, and advanced to the United States on the simple word of Congress, the large sum of sixteen million francs. About the same time a new French fleet of 22 vessels, under Admiral de Grasse, set sail for the Antilles (March, 1781). Washington was then rendered by the severity of the season almost inactive in the North, where he had been joined by Rochambeau, whilst the English pursued their advantages in the South, in the two Carolinas. The powerful assistance rendered by France enabled Washington to determine upon a plan which decided the campaign and the war.

Able manœuvres of General Greene, 1781.

General Greene, one of the ablest generals the Americans possessed, continually harassed the victorious army of Lord Cornwallis. The English had the advantage in most of the engagements which took place between the two armies, without, however, being able to obtain any decided results in their favour, and were at length so enfeebled by these incessant and futile conflicts, that Greene was enabled to cut off their communications with North Carolina. Cornwallis then resolved to abandon Carolina, and, in concert with the traitor Arnold, to subdue Virginia. He marched to the North, effected a junction with Arnold's corps, and then consolidating his forces at York Town, a little town at the entrance of the river York, entrenched himself there with the purpose of awaiting a favourable opportunity. This proved his ruin.

Washington from his camp before New York followed all the movements of the various hostile corps, and on learning the situation of Cornwallis and his army at York Town, immediately conceived the hope of performing a brilliant feat by effecting their capture. He put himself into communication with Rochambeau and Admiral de Grasse, and, in order the better to deceive the enemy with respect to his plans, invested New York, and began to besiege it; then suddenly withdrawing with the bulk of his army, and only leaving behind him one division to hold the enemy in check, he traversed Philadelphia at the head of the combined

French and American forces, embarked at Cape Elk, and arrived at Williamsburg, where he joined Lafayette and his army. Washington now had sixteen thousand men under his command, including Rochambeau's corps, and on the 28th September, 1780, the allied armies appeared under the ramparts of York Town, and invested it whilst the sea was shut against the English by the fleet under Admiral de Grasse. The British troops made a desperate defence, but there was a generous emulation between the French and Americans which made them perform prodigies. The murderous fire from two redoubts checked the attack, and it was necessary that they should be taken. An American column under Generals Lafayette and Lincoln took, at the sword's point, one of these redoubts, into which Colonel Hamilton was the first to throw himself; whilst the French, led by Vioménil and the Chevalier de Lameth, carried the second. The capture of these redoubts involved the fall of the place. Cornwallis driven to bay, made an attempt to save his army by the river York, but a tempest destroyed or scattered his frail vessels, and on the 19th October Cornwallis found it necessary to capitulate, and surrendered with eight thousand men between the two French and American armies, the one distinguished by its splendid drill and glittering uniforms, whilst the other, no less martial in bearing, inured to trials and dangers, was justly proud of its ragged garments, the glorious traces of the sufferings it had endured for its country. Washington ordered that a solemn service should be performed on the following day in every brigade and division of his army to thank Providence for his victory, which was a decisive one. Hostilities still continued for some time between the belligerent powers and ensanguined other parts of the globe, but the American war might be considered at an end, and Lord Cornwallis, when he signed the capitulation of York Town, may really be considered to have then signed the independence of the United States.

Siege of York Town by the Americans and French, 1781.

Capitulation of Lord Cornwallis at York Town, October, 1781.

The Duke de Crillon having captured the island of Minorca and the town of Mahon, in 1781, undertook in the following year the siege of Gibraltar, which was closed against Admiral Howe by the fleets of France and Spain, united under Don Louis Cordova. Floating batteries, invented by Chevalier d'Arçon, were constructed for the purpose of bombarding this fortress, which was defended by the brave General Eliott; but they were set on

Taking of Mahon, 1781.

Siege of Gibraltar, 1782.

fire by a storm of shells and red-hot shot, and the flames produced a frightful amount of damage. A few days after, Admiral Howe, taking advantage of the dispersion of the French fleet by a gale, by skilful manœuvres succeeded in entering the port and revictualled the fortress, the siege of which was abandoned. In the same year a naval engagement, which ended disastrously for France, took place on the open sea. There remained in the possession of the English, in the Little Antilles, but two islands; Jamaica itself was threatened, and would have been compelled to yield, if Rodney, with twelve vessels, had not hastened to those latitudes. He succeeded, in spite of the efforts of the French admiral, De Grasse, in effecting a junction with Hood in the sea of the Antilles; and the two English squadrons together formed a formidable fleet of thirty-six sail. De Grasse, who had but thirty-three, awaited the arrival of the Spanish fleet to meet the enemy with sixty. Rodney skilfully prevented the junction of the two fleets, encountered De Grasse on his way to St. Domingo, near the island of St. Lucia, and forced him to fight. Hood was in command of the English vanguard, and Drake of the rear-guard; Admiral de Grasse having for his seconds in command, Bougainville and Vaudreuil. The battle took place on the 12th April, 1782, and lasted ten hours. Rodney, favoured by the wind, boldly broke through the French line, and by this able manœuvre secured the victory. The French fleet, however, continued to fight long after it was thrown into disorder with the utmost heroism, and several vessels sank rather than surrender. Seven English ships simultaneously attacked the magnificent vessel of the French Admiral, *la Ville de Paris*, of 120 guns, and when at length, after a desperate conflict, there remained on board only three men unwounded, De Grasse struck his flag. He lost six vessels in the course of the action, two others foundered on the following day, and those which were captured by the enemy had suffered so greatly that they sank before reaching the British ports; amongst these was the *Ville de Paris*.

Campaigns in India, 1778-1783.

India had been during four years the scene of a sanguinary war. The English, in 1778, had taken Pondicherry from the French and inflicted severe injury on the Dutch, their allies. Haïder Ali Khan, Sultan of Mysore, and his son Tippoo Sahib, supported the French in these regions; and these famous chiefs had marched too late to the relief of Pondicherry; although, at the head of eighty-six thousand men, partly disciplined in the European manner, they had

obtained numerous successes. Having been four times vanquished, however, by Sir Eyre Coote, they beat a retreat, and evacuated the Carnatic after having plundered all the English possessions.

The British power in the East had never been in greater peril than at this period. The French fleet, the arrival of which had been long announced, appeared at length at the commencement of 1782 on the coast of Coromandel. It was commanded by Suffren, the *bailli* of the Order of Malta, one of the greatest seamen of whom France can boast. Suffren had already rapidly provided for the defence of the Dutch colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and three glorious although indecisive battles which he fought with his worthy rival, Sir Edward Hughes, had made his name famous. His presence reanimated the hopes of Haïder Ali, who still meditated, by means of a league between all the native princes, the expulsion of the English from Hindustan. His death put a sudden end to these projects; the formidable Sultan of Mysore expired at the close of the year (1782), leaving to his son, Tippoo Sahib, his throne, his army, his courage—everything except his genius.

Suffren, in the meantime, pursued his glorious career on the coast of Coromandel; Tippoo Sahib seconding his operations by land. He vanquished the English general, Matthews, famous for his atrocities, and who had massacred, in the city of Omanpore, the whole of the inhabitants, and the four hundred wives of Haïder and Tippoo. Gondelour, being besieged by the English, Suffren hastened to its relief, and encountered, within sight of this city, the fleet of Sir Edward Hughes. Although the former had but fifteen vessels against eighteen, he gained the advantage, and Gondelour was saved.

The preliminaries of peace were now signed in Europe. The Whigs succeeded the Tories in the English Ministry. Lord North, who had displayed the utmost ardour in carrying on this bloody war, had been succeeded by Rockingham, Charles Fox, and Burke; and a few months afterwards, the son of Lord Chatham, William Pitt, was entrusted with the care of the finances. The new administration urged George III. to make a peace, which was signed at Versailles on the 3rd September, 1783, between England on the one part, and France, Spain, and the United States, whose independence was recognised by it, on the other. France derived little profit for herself from the immense sacrifices she had made. England restored to her,

Peace signed at Versailles, 1783.

in America, the isles of St. Lucia and Tobago; and in India, Pondicherry; and guaranteed to her, in Africa, the possession of the river Senegal and its dependencies; and on the coast of Malabar, Mahé and an establishment at Surat. The two nations signed, moreover, a treaty of commerce. England did not conclude peace with Tippoo Sahib and Holland until the following year. France was indebted for important assistance to the latter power, and especially to its Republican party; and rewarded its services by a shameful abandonment when, in 1788, the ardent Frederic William II., King of Prussia, Frederic the Great's nephew, and brother-in-law of the Prince of Orange, supported the Orange party, and restored the Stadtholder by force of arms. From that time the influence of Prussia and England was substituted in Holland for that of France.

Maurepas died shortly after the disgrace of Necker; and France and her Government then presented a strange spectacle of extraordinary contradictions, and of the most complete disagreement between its laws and its actions. Thus, when the French army went to the assistance of a Republic, the constitution of which was founded on the principle of equality, a rule was made that none should be allowed to obtain the rank of officer but those who could prove four degrees of nobility (1781); and thus, when public opinion was running strongly in favour of the philosopher whose irreligious writings contributed for the most part to the destruction of Christianity, the Government maintained the rigour of a Draconian code against the Protestants, and the latter could not even obtain from the Parliament, in 1778, a legal means of establishing their marriages and securing the social position of their children. The deficit of the Treasury had increased during the war; and it was in vain that, for the purpose of decreasing it, Louis XVI. gave an example by relinquishing a portion of his household and his guard; for no one followed it. Joly de Fleury and D'Ormesson succeeded Necker in turn without being able to discover a remedy for this; and Calonne succeeded them in the management of the finances. This man, who was brilliant and eloquent, and whose character was a combination of frivolity and audacity, adopted a system directly opposed to that of Necker; endeavouring to keep himself in power by the favour of the courtiers, and to strengthen the Government credit by prodigalities. A lavish expenditure of money at first supported his system, and punctuality in payments for a certain time deceived capitalists; but after

Ministry of Calonne, 1783.

the peace he made numerous loans, and exhausted credit; and then, when forced to allow the enormous difference which existed between the expenditure and receipts, he insinuated that the fault was due to the proceedings of his predecessor, Necker. The latter published an energetic reply to these indirect attacks; and Calonne avenged himself by having him exiled. When it was no longer possible to obtain loans, it was necessary to have recourse to new taxes, and these the Parliament refused to register. Upon this Calonne, to enforce its submission, convoked an Assembly of Notables (1787), hoping that, as it would be selected from the higher classes by the Government, from whom it would hold its powers, it would be more docile than the Parliaments and the States-General. He laid before this Assembly a proposition to increase the duty upon stamps, and to convert that of the Vingtième into a territorial tax, which should be levied equally upon all landed property without excepting even that of the clergy. The Minister also submitted to the Notables a plan already presented to them by, and which tended to realize a grand idea of, Fénélon and Turgot. According to this plan, throughout the whole kingdom, with the exception of some ancient *pays d'états*, provincial assemblies were to be convoked, consisting of members elected from amongst the three Orders, whose particular duty it was to superintend taxation, and to discover and express the wishes of their several provinces. Calonne could not conceal from the Notables the fact that the loans had amounted within a few years to an enormous sum, and that there was a deficit of a hundred and fifteen millions in the revenue. This startling revelation excited a general burst of indignation, and Calonne resigned.

First Assembly of Notables, 1787.

He was succeeded by Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Sens, who adopted most of the measures proposed by Calonne to the Notables. This Assembly rejected the edicts respecting the stamp duty and the land-tax, which was to be paid by all the orders indiscriminately; and separated after having approved the creation of provincial assemblies. On establishing the latter, the King abolished the system of forced labour for the roads. The provincial assemblies, elected by the three Orders, but containing a double number of representatives of the Third Estate, devoted their attention to the reform of the taxes, public works, and the improvement of agriculture. They carried on their functions successfully from 1787 to 1790, when the new division of

Ministry of Brienne, 1787.

France into departments took place; and it is to be regretted that they were not continued. The two edicts rejected by the Notables, with respect to the stamp duty and the land-tax, were presented by Brienne to the Parliament, which refused to register them, and declared the States-General alone competent to decide in the matter of taxes. Their registration was enforced at a Bed of Justice held at Versailles; and at the same time Louis XVI. promised the annual publication of an account of the state of the finances, and the convocation of the States-General before five years. The magistrates protested against the violence to which they had been subjected, and the edicts were not executed. The Parliament was exiled to Troyes on the 15th August, and recalled on the 20th September, on the tacit understanding that it would consent to edicts creating a series of gradual and successive loans up to the amount of four hundred millions.

Royal sitting. Enforced registration of edicts for loans, 1787.

A Royal sitting was appointed for the 19th November. The King opened it with a conciliatory speech. The votes were taken, and the oldest magistrates were in favour of the registration of the last edicts. Abbé Sabatier was of a different opinion, and proposed the registration of only the first loan, and that the King should be requested to name an earlier date for the convocation of the States-General. Fréteau supported this view, and D'Eprémesnil appealed to the Monarch's heart. He supported the registration of the edicts, and entreated Louis XVI. to promise the convocation of the States-General. It appeared certain that there would be a majority in favour of the edicts, when the new Keeper of the Seals, Lamoignon, faithful to the principle that when the King was in his Parliament his will should be law, approached the throne. Louis XVI., after having heard him, ordered that the edicts should be registered with the form only used in the Beds of Justice. A murmur of surprise arose from every side, and the Duke of Orleans, rising, said, in a hesitating manner :—" Sire, such a registration appears illegal; it must be recorded that the registration is by the express command of your Majesty." The Prince spoke with much emotion. Louis XVI., equally moved and agitated, replied, after muttering some broken words—" Yes, it is legal, because it is my will." He then had another edict registered, which bestowed upon non-Catholics the power of properly registering their births, marriages, and deaths.

When the King had departed, the agitation of the Assembly became extreme. Malesherbes and the Duke of Nivernois in vain attempted to restore calm, and the sitting was terminated by a decision that the Parliament would take no part in the illegal registration of the edicts relative to the loans. The King ordered that this decision should be erased from the registers; the Duke of Orleans was exiled to one of his estates; the Abbé Sabatier and Fréteau were arrested and lodged in the State prisons. The Parliament protested against the *lettres de cachet*, and demanded the recal of its members and the Prince. This protest was rejected by the King, and reiterated by the Parliament, which was supported by public opinion and the whole of the French magistracy in its imprudent struggle with the Government.

Brienne perceived that it was only possible to overcome the resistance of the Parliament by suppressing it; and in conjunction with M. de Lamoignon, the new Keeper of the Seals, he persuaded the King to agree to a plan which destroyed the political authority of the magistracy. The most profound secrecy was necessary to secure the success of this plan; but it oozed out before it was ripe. One of the most energetic members of the parliamentary Opposition, by means of a lavish expenditure, obtained proofs of the Ministerial project, and immediately communicated it to the Chamber. It appeared that, in accordance with this plan, edicts were to be issued creating an Assembly composed of the princes, peers, and marshals of France, and of a certain number of distinguished persons, chosen from amongst the clergy, the nobility, and the magistracy, which was to be endowed with all the authority enjoyed by the plenary courts in the time of Charlemagne. This Court was to regulate the general police laws, and the edicts, which were no longer to be submitted to the Parliaments, the judicial functions of which were henceforth to be limited. The Parliament of Paris would thus be deprived of its title of a Court of Peers, and four Sovereign Councils, named grand bailliages, were to be established within the district under its authority, and to confine its jurisdiction within very narrow limits. The magistrates heard of this threatening project with the greatest indignation; invoked the fundamental although unwritten laws of the kingdom, demanded the regular convocation of the States-General, protested against arbitrary imprisonments, and decreed their own inviolability. Brienne immediately obtained from the King an order for the arrest of two of the magistrates who were most

prominent in their opposition, Duval d'Eprémesnil and Montsabert. On the 5th August the captain of the guards appeared before the Parliament, and demanded the delivery of these two gentlemen in the name of the King. "We are all of us Montsabert and d'Eprémesnil," replied the indignant magistrates. But then, in order to prevent their colleagues from being compromised, the two Councillors in question arose and surrendered themselves, and were conveyed the one to Pierre-en-Cise, near Lyons, and the other to the isles Ste. Marguerite. The fact of their arrest was soon spread abroad and excited an universal indignation; the populace crowding to the place of sitting and overwhelming the magistrates with acclamations. On the 8th May, however, the edicts in question were registered, and a court possessed of plenary powers was established. But the excitement of public opinion continued to increase, the Châtelet protested, and the populace was in a state of commotion. It was declared that all the members of the new court were connected with the Court, and that to bestow upon it the right of registration was equivalent to placing the public fortunes solely at the mercy of the Ministers.

Disturbances in the provinces, 1788.

The provinces of Brittany, Bearn, and Dauphiny distinguished themselves amongst all by the energy of their resistance. The Parliament of Rennes protested, and was threatened with a forced dissolution. A crowd of gentlemen, followed by the populace, hastened to its defence, and most of the noblemen residing at Rennes signed a declaration in these terms:—"We, members of the nobility of Brittany, denounce as infamous all those who should accept of any place under any new form of judicial administration or new form of government which should not be in accordance with the laws and the provincial constitutions." A denunciation of the Ministers was also drawn up, and the deputies who were charged with its presentation to the King were thrown into the Bastile. Civil war now appeared imminent in Brittany, and the disturbances in Bearn were no less serious. The Mountaineers descended armed into the town of Pau, forced the gates of the Palace of Justice, which had been closed by the King's orders, and, terrified by their threatening cries, the governor himself entreated the Parliament to assemble. The nobility and the magistracy made vehement protests. In Dauphiny the disorders were even greater. The Parliament resisted the new edicts, and the Duke of Clermont-Tonnerre, the governor of the province, exiled the magistrates by the authority of *lettres de cachet*

which had been previously placed in his hands. A furious mob filled the streets of Grenoble, detained the exiled magistrates, rushed to the governor's house at the sound of the tocsin, and holding an axe over his head, forced him to convoke the Parliament. A great number of members of the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Third Estate fixed the 21st July for the meeting of the *états particuliers* of Dauphiny. Marshal de Vaux, the governor of the province, although he had twenty thousand men under his command, did not venture to oppose the popular will, and the States assembled at the Château de Vizille, the ancient residence of the Dauphins. There the three Orders unanimously denounced all who should aid in the execution of the new edicts; determined that the tax substituted for the *corvée* should be paid in Dauphiny by the three Orders indiscriminately, and gave a double representation to the Third Estate. Before separating, they entreated the King to withdraw his edicts, to abolish the *lettres de cachet*, and to convoke the States-General. All the provinces were in a state of agitation, and almost everywhere the privileged classes, for the sake of preserving their own privileges, gave to the masses of the people a dangerous example of resistance and insurrection. It was in this way that through the accumulated faults of the Government the nation became familiarized with inquiring into and resisting the acts of the Government, and became practised, as it were, in civil war. Brienne, not knowing what measures to adopt, convoked an assembly of the clergy, and asked of it a pecuniary assistance, which was refused, with a strongly-worded declaration against the plenary court. Assembly of the Clergy, 1788. Then, perceiving that the deficit in the Treasury increased day by day, and that there were no means of replenishing it, he endeavoured to seduce the nation by promises, and to acquire a right to their gratitude by issuing a decree (8th August, 1788,) directing the assembly of the States-General on the 1st May, 1789, and suspending until then the action of the plenary court.

Brienne obtained no advantage for himself by this decree; for, as is almost always the case when the Government, instead of seizing the opportune moment for reform and popular measures, only consents to them in an incomplete manner, under extreme pressure, his concessions were received without thanks, and only increased the determination with which what he refused was demanded. The Minister, to strengthen his position, now condescended to the lowest expedients. He seized the funds of the

*Invalides*, and the money produced by a charitable lottery set on foot for the benefit of the sufferers by a terrible storm, issued paper money for the State payments, and vainly endeavoured to conceal a bankruptcy by this disastrous measure. Brienne was resolved, at any price, to remain in power; the public burdens, if so greatly increased by his want of skill, had not as yet destroyed his credit; but a Court intrigue overthrew him. Jealous of his influence with the Queen, Madame de Polignac declared herself his enemy, and the Count d'Artois, the King's second brother, demanded his dismissal. Brienne resigned, at the same time advising Louis XVI. to recal Necker, as the only man capable of restoring the finances to a satisfactory state. His retirement was received by the public with enthusiastic delight; but when it was known that it had been accompanied, on the part of the Crown, with the demand for a cardinal's hat for him, and that he had left the Court overwhelmed with favours, no credit was given to the feeble Monarch for the sacrifice he had made, and public opinion was only irritated by the honours which had been granted to a man who was the object of almost universal reprobation. Louis XVI., in accordance with Brienne's advice, recalled Necker; the Parliaments resumed the exercise of their functions, and the edicts were annulled. When informed of these measures the people became wild with joy. A number of young persons burnt the cardinal in effigy in the Place Dauphiné, seized the Pont-Neuf, and compelled all the passers-by to bow before the statue of Henry IV. The multitude then proceeded to the house of the Archbishop's brother, with the intention of burning it; and having been repulsed by the military, turned their fury against the captain of the watch, and marched towards his dwelling with the intention of plundering it and burning it to the ground. A desperate conflict took place; and instead of expressing itself with severity, as it should have done, against the promoters of these outrages, the Parliament passed resolutions condemnatory of the troops which had repressed them.

Fall of Brienne, 1788.

Recal and second Ministry of Necker, 1788.

Necker, having resumed the direction of affairs, was enabled, through the confidence he enjoyed with capitalists, to procure sufficient funds for the opening of the States-General. But, skilful as he was as a financier, this Minister was not equal, as a politician, to the task of grappling with the perilous circumstances by which France was now surrounded. He did not know how to convoke the delegates of the French nation in a way

suited to the existing state of manners and to public opinion; neither did he know how to conceive and announce a plan of indispensable and sufficient reforms. He long hesitated to grant to the Third Estate a double representation—that is to say, a number of deputies equal to those of the two privileged Orders together; and this vast question, being undecided, became in every portion of the kingdom the subject of the most vehement discussions. The mass of the citizens, who had taken but a slight interest in the quarrels between the magistracy and the Court, understood on this occasion that the matter in dispute referred to their own particular interests, and all reforms would be merely illusory if the Third Estate, of which they were a portion, did not have a number of deputies equal to those of the two first Orders. This desire found an echo in the ranks of the noblesse; and thus the question became transformed, not without peril, into a question of figures. It was asked in every direction if twenty-four millions of Frenchmen made exaggerated pretensions when they demanded a number of representatives equal to those of four or five hundred thousand of their compatriots. The uncertainty on this subject became every day more dangerous. It excited universal agitation, inflamed the passions of the middle classes, and enabled those who had the greatest interest in obtaining the double representation of the Third Estate to obtain the greatest influence over public opinion.

Edict of Convocation of the States-General, 27th September, 1788.

Such was the state of things in France when, on the 27th September, 1788, the Parliament registered the edict which convoked the States-General. But as soon as it had done so, it appeared terrified at its own work, and to recoil before a measure which it had itself energetically demanded. It seemed to see the ancient monarchy tottering on its foundations, and thought itself called upon to lend it its support. With this object it decided that the States-General should be convoked according to the form used at the time of their first Assembly in 1614. The deputies at that period were equal in number for each Order; and as they gave their votes, not individually, but by order, the result of the divisions was necessarily always in favour of the privileged classes. Necker's system was to make the latter contribute, in proportion to their fortunes, to the expenses of the State; and to procure the adoption of this system, it was necessary that the deputies of the Third Estate should

be double in number to those of the representatives of the two other Orders, and that the votes should be taken individually. The public had declared almost universally in favour of this opinion; and the clause added by the Parliament to the edict of the 27th September deprived it at once of almost all its popularity. The Parliament now, it was said, egotistically resisted the wishes of the people, after having at first resisted the Court only for the purpose of obtaining power, or retaining that which it had usurped. It was soon deserted by the lawyers who had been its success and had achieved its successes.

The Noblesse itself became divided into two parties, of which one energetically supported the cause of the Third Estate. The latter, which numbered in its ranks the Duke of Orleans and most of the gentlemen who had fought in America, formed in all the principal towns associations for the purpose of securing the triumph of this cause; an immense number of incendiary pamphlets were circulated in the provinces; paid brigands overran the provinces; disorderly mobs were guilty of the greatest excesses in Paris; and some months later filled the capital with terror by the burning and pillaging the Réveillon manufactory. Whilst the secret leaders of a violent and democratic faction endeavoured to arouse the populace, and to subdue the Court by means of threats, the bourgeoisie and a large portion of the young nobility seized every opportunity of applauding the most popular maxims. Many writers, following the example of Condorcet, proposed in their works a state of social order based on an equality of rights and on liberty. A multitude of pamphlets, and amongst them a celebrated one by Abbé Sièyes, entitled "What is the Third Estate?" added to the general excitement. The moment of the crisis drew near when the King convoked the Second Assembly of the Notables, to which was submitted the question as to how the States-General should be convoked. It commenced its sittings on the 9th November, 1788, and, as had been the case with the preceding one, divided itself into six committees, one of which alone — that presided over by Monsieur the King's brother — declared in favour of the double representation of the Third Estate. Necker did not follow the advice of the Notables. He hoped, by exciting a struggle between the privileged classes and the Third Estate, to remain master of the position; and he submitted a report to the Sovereign in accordance with which

Second Assembly of Notables, 1788.

there appeared on the 27th December, 1788, a Royal declaration, entitled the Résultat de Conseil, in which the long-vexed question was but partly solved. Louis XVI. decided that the deputies of the Third Estate should be equal in number to those of the other two Orders together, but left the question of the general method of deliberation in abeyance. This declaration was received with favour, although it left the question of the greatest importance undecided. The Third Estate now perceived its strength; it reckoned with good reason on the support of a portion of the Noblesse and the Clergy, and foresaw that it would be able to control the method of deliberation. From this moment the Revolution was inevitable.

The philosophers of the age had a great share in bringing about this result. The most famous of them, Voltaire, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Diderot, D'Alembert, were no more, but their school still flourished. It effected the suppression of abuses and privileges, but at the same time destroyed, indiscriminately, the most respectable institutions as well as those which were the most justly decried. At this period literature was cultivated with success. The Abbé Barthélemy published his learned "Journey of Anacharsis," and Bernardin de St. Pierre his charming "Studies of Nature;" whilst Lebrun, Roucher, André Chénier (then scarcely known), and Delille maintained the honour of the French school of poetry. Ducis, still more remarkable for his noble character than for his talents, rendered himself famous on the stage, now enriched by the works of Voltaire, on which Marie-Joseph Chénier was already known, and to which Beaumarchais had given his "Mariage de Figaro," a work which gave a powerful and dangerous impulse to the revolutionary tendency of men's minds. The genius of the arts, after having slumbered during the last reign, reawoke under the chisels of Houdon and Chaudet, and the forcible pencils of Vien, of David, and his vigorous school. A greater number of distinguished men had never appeared on the theatrical boards, on which Talma now first made his appearance, and on which Contat, Fleury, Molé, and Brizard carried the art of dramatic diction to its highest point. The ranks of scientific men were adorned by many illustrious names; and foremost amongst them appear those of the mathematicians Monge, Lagrange, and Laplace; the chemists Lavoisier, Fourcroy, Vauquelin, Berthollet, and Guyton de Morveau, who rendered himself one of the benefactors of the human race by

**Philosophy, literature, arts, and sciences.**

his discovery of methods for disinfecting air; of the physicist Coulomb, who immortalized himself by his researches into the qualities of the loadstone; of the naturalist Daubenton, the fellow-labourer and successor of Buffon; of the learned doctor Vicq d'Azyr; and finally, of the astronomer Delambre—one of the men to whom France owes the adoption of the metrical system—and of Silvain Bailly, the author of the "History of Ancient and Modern Astronomy." The public attention was attracted at this period by the voyages and discoveries of the Count de Choiseul in Greece, as well as by those of Bougainville and the unfortunate La Perouse, and indulged in dreams of important advantages to be derived by the human race through the theories of Mesmer with respect to magnetism, and the invention of balloons by Mongolfier. Literary men, learned men, and philosophers, were admitted to intimacy with men of the highest birth, and the latter displayed a great eagerness for general information. The manners of the upper and more enlightened classes had never been more refined than at this period, when French politeness, celebrated throughout Europe, formed the greatest charm of social life, and had acquired a noble and gracious perfection, of which the remembrance only was soon to remain. But a deep gulf was being opened by the deficit in the finances and the faults of the Government beneath the feet of this brilliant society. There was behind it a discontented middle class, whose voice scarcely concealed the sullen murmurs of an ignorant and wretched multitude. From the latter quarter the storm speedily burst forth to overthrow an edifice already mined to its foundations, and which disappeared before the breath of the popular fury.

# FOURTH PERIOD.

## THE FRENCH REVOLUTION FROM 1789 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

# FOURTH PERIOD.

## THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

The history of the French Revolution is the history of France in a state of revolt against a material and traditional system, and endeavouring to establish in the midst of ruins an ideal and rational order of things, a new civil and political system founded on the principles of humanity, liberty, common right, and natural equity.*

In the first we see the struggle maintained by the Third Estate for the abolition of feudal servitudes and the privileges of the two first Orders—an imposing and terrible struggle, the object of which was far more than attained, and which ended in the triumph of the multitude and the fall of the throne. The second presents to us France under the scourge of a foreign war, and the reign of a mob headed by bloodthirsty leaders, to which succeeded a violent and incapable government. It is the period during which France was a prey to terror and anarchy; that of the Convention and the Directorate up to the 18th Brumaire. The Revolution, in its third stage, shows us the nation, exhausted by so many sufferings, weary of so many excesses, seeking, at the feet of a Great Captain, refuge in a military despotism. It seemed then to be transformed into one vast camp, and during twelve years signalized its reaction against Europe by an uninterrupted series of triumphs. This is the period of the Consulate and Empire. Finally, when the application of some of the principles in the name of which the Revolution was effected had received from time a species of consecration, when so many men, agitated by so many contrary ideas, had learned to live together in peace under the iron hand of the conqueror, the latter fell in his turn, and the Bourbons were restored, on the condition that they would endow France with political liberty, and respect the interests inherent to the new order of things. There

* France presents herself to our view, therefore, during half a century, under four principal and very diverse phases.

was ground for the hope that this last period would have resulted in the establishment of a new government, more fitted than any other to secure to France the lasting possession of all the fruits she had gathered after so many storms.

If, at the commencement of the reign of Louis XVI., the counsels of Turgot, of Malesherbes, and of men equally distinguished for their patriotism and enlightenment, had been followed, France would probably have enjoyed from that time all the advantages for which she subsequently paid so much treasure, so much blood, so many tears. But it is, alas! with nations as with individuals; their experience is always dearly bought, and it is not until they have suffered grievous trials that they will consent to follow the advice of the wise. Each party in France was willing to listen only to its own egotistical passions, and each perished in succession, a victim to its own fury and excesses. In the blood-stained period of which we are about to give a rapid sketch, the French nation, by its frightful Saturnalia and astonishing victories, by its increase in population and wealth in the midst of terrible convulsions, and also by the definitive adoption of a portion of the great principles introduced by the Revolution, was by turns an object of horror, envy, terror, and admiration to the universe.

# BOOK I.

## THE STATES-GENERAL.—THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.—THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.—FALL OF THE MONARCHY.

5th MAY, 1789, to 1st SEPTEMBER, 1792.

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### CHAPTER I.

FROM THE OPENING OF THE STATES-GENERAL TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

*5th May*, 1789, *to* 20*th October*, 1791.

THE States-General commenced their sittings on the 5th May, 1789, in the hall of the Menus Plaisirs at Versailles. The deputies were summoned to the Royal Séance, and introduced according to the form established in 1614; but the time had passed when the Third Estate, speaking on its knees and uncovered, acknowledged its humiliating inferiority in the presence of the other Orders. It hastened, on the contrary, to assert its equality, and when, following the King's example, the two other Orders had covered, the deputies of the Third, contrary to custom, immediately did the same. This action was a sufficient indication of the change which had taken place in public feeling and manner. The deputies of the Third Estate would have gained but little, however, by proclaiming their equality with the other Orders, if they had not established it by facts. The first and most important question to be decided was, whether the votes should be received by Orders or individually. By the adoption of the first method, the deputies of the Third Estate would have lost the advantage of their numbers, which were double those of each of the privileged Orders. The Court, the majority of the nobility, and a great number of the clergy considered it of the highest importance that each Order should vote separately on all political questions; but amongst the nobility there were a certain number

Opening of the States-General, 5th May, 1789.

who adopted the popular view; the opinions of the curés, who formed a considerable portion of the deputies of the Clergy, were very similar to those of the Third Estate; and the unanimity of opinion and numerical strength of the latter gave it an immense advantage. The latter proceeded to verify their powers, after having invited the Noblesse and Clergy to verify theirs in common with them; and then, at the instigation of Sièyes, they constituted themselves, on the 17th June, a National Assembly. This important decision was immediately followed by acts of authority. The Assembly, consisting of the deputies of the Third Estate and the dissenting portion of the Nobility and Clergy, sanctioned the temporary levy of the existing taxes, but declared all those which it should not have sanctioned before its dissolution to be null and void. It consolidated the public debt, nominated a committee of "subsistences," and proclaimed the inviolability of its members.

Formation of the National Assembly, 17th June.

The general excitement was extreme when a Royal sitting was announced, and when, under pretence of the necessary preparations, an order was given to close the hall in which the States held their sittings. Bailly, the president of the Assembly, famous for his literary and scientific works, and esteemed for the honesty and firmness of his character, presented himself on the 20th June, 1789, accompanied by a great number of his colleagues, at the door of the hall of meeting, and found it closed. The violent measures proposed by the Court were now evident, and the deputies resolved to prevent their being carried into execution. They followed their president to a neighbouring tennis court, and there, with one exception, unanimously swore, with raised hands, that they would not separate until they had bestowed a constitution upon France. Two days afterwards the majority of the Clergy joined the deputies of the Commons in the church of St. Louis, where they had provisionally assembled. Necker had conceived a plan which would tend to bring the several Orders to amicable terms with each other, and to calm the public excitement. The King had consented to adopt it, and to mention it in his address to the Assembly; but the influence of the Court prevailed over the counsels of Necker. Terrified at the immense power over public opinion acquired by the Third Estate by its first proceedings, the party opposed to Necker, which was that of the Princes, inspired Louis XVI. with its own terrors, and persuaded him

The oath of the Tennis Court, June 20th, 1789.

to annul the decrees of the Assembly, to command the separation of the Orders, and to decide alone upon all the reforms which were to be effected by the States-General.

Such were the preludes to the Royal sitting which took place on the 23rd June. The King proceeded to it with all the outward pomp of majesty, and was received by a portion of the deputies with an icy silence. He only recognised the Assembly as the Order of the Third Estate, and commanded its dissolution. The members of the Nobility and Clergy who were present immediately obeyed after the departure of the King; but those of the Commons retained their seats. The Grand Master of the Ceremonies reminded them of the King's order, when Mirabeau exclaimed, "Go and tell your master that we are here by the order of the people, and we shall not depart unless driven away by bayonets." Sièyes then addressed his colleagues, and calmly said to them, "You are to-day what you were yesterday; let us deliberate." The Assembly persisted in maintaining all its resolutions, and, on the motion of Mirabeau, decreed the inviolability of all its members. From thenceforth the Royal authority was at an end. The greater number of the deputies of the Clergy resumed their seats in the Assembly. The Nobility persisted in their refusal to do so, in spite of the remonstrances of Count Clermont de Tonnerre and the more vigorous exhortations of Lally-Tollendal, the son of the unfortunate General Lally, and already celebrated for the talents he had displayed in vindicating the memory of his father. "Consider, gentlemen," he said, "that in the progress of revolutions there is a force of circumstances which is superior to that of men. There has been a period when it has been necessary that servitude should be abolished, and it has been; another when it has been necessary that the Third Estate should form a portion of the National Assembly, and it has formed a portion of it. In these facts we perceive the progress of reason, which enforces the rights of man, too long neglected, which enforces the respect which an imposing mass of twenty-four millions of men ought to give to the Third Estate, and which demands for them the proportion of rights which justly belongs to them. This third Revolution has commenced, and nothing can prevent its accomplishment. I firmly believe that it now only depends upon the Nobility to clothe itself with honour, and to invest itself with a glory more brilliant than any which it has yet acquired, by now becoming for ever the bene-

Royal sitting, 23rd June.

Resistance of the Nobility.

factors of the nation. It is for this reason, gentlemen, it is for the sake of your own best interests, that I entreat you to acquiesce in the motion of M. Clermont de Tonnerre." These remarks of Lally were energetically replied to by d'Eprémesnil and Cazalès, and the motion was rejected.

Reunion of the Noblesse and Clergy with the Third Estate.

But on the following day 47 members of the Noblesse, with the Duke of Orleans at their head, joined the Third Estate, and the majority of the Clergy, and were received with enthusiasm.

The fusion of the several Orders, however, in a single assembly was not yet complete, and as this circumstance produced an extreme state of agitation, Necker again advised the union of the three Orders, and as the Queen and many influential persons supported his views, Louis XVI. yielded, and annulled his declaration of the 23rd June as readily as he had formerly abandoned the counsels of Necker for those of the courtiers. He sent for the Duke of Luxembourg, president of the Order of the Noblesse, and communicated to him his new wishes. Luxembourg opposed the proposed measure; and pointed out to the Monarch that the disunion between the several Orders was the sole means which remained of preserving the authority of the Crown. "Your faithful nobility," said the Duke in conclusion, "has now the alternative of sharing, as your Majesty invites them to do, with their co-deputies the legislative power, or of dying in defence of the prerogatives of the Crown. There can be no doubt as to its decision." "M. de Luxembourg," the King firmly replied, "my determination is made. I am resolved to submit to every sacrifice. I am unwilling that a single man should perish for my sake. Tell the Order of Noblesse, therefore, that I pray them to join the other two Orders. If this be not sufficient, I will command them to do so as their King. I will it to be so." The King was obeyed, and after the 27th June the Clergy, the Noblesse, and the Third Estate only formed one assembly, which was indiscriminately named the National and Constituent Assembly. The deliberations were henceforth general, and the distinction between the Orders became extinct.

All moral authority having passed from the Monarch to the Assembly, the advisers of Louis XVI. imprudently persuaded him to have recourse, too late, to force. Troops were assembled in large bodies around Versailles; Necker was exiled; Marshal de Broglie, Galissonnière, the Duke of La Vauguyon, Baron de Breteuil, and

Exile of Necker.

the Intendant Foulon were appointed Ministers; and all of them were imbued more or less with the views of the Court. The approach of the troops and the exile of Necker produced a great feeling of excitement in Paris. Camille Desmoulins, a young and ardent demagogue, harangued the populace in the garden of the Palais Royal, and exhorted them to run to arms. Pistol in hand he jumped upon a table and denounced the designs of the Court against the patriots. "This very evening," he said, "Swiss and German battalions are issuing from the Champ de Mars to destroy us. One resource alone remains to us. Let us arm!" The crowd replied with acclamations; and he then proposed that a patriotic colour should be adopted—green, the symbol of hope. The orator tore a leaf from a tree and attached it to his hat; every one followed his example, and the trees of the garden were almost entirely denuded of their foliage. From thence the mob ran to a sculptor's studio to obtain the busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans,* which were veiled with crape and borne through the streets of Paris. The Prince of Lambesc, Colonel of the Royal Allemand, interrupted this oration by charging the mob with his troops; but the French Guards took the part of the people, and the Prince's troops, refusing to fire upon their companions in arms, retreated. In the meantime the tumult and disorder in the capital grew greater and greater; the barriers were set on fire, and many houses were pillaged. The populace was without bread, and there was every prospect of the occurrence of the greatest calamities. To prevent them, a few electors assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, assumed authority, and rendered great services in these first moments of the Revolution by their firmness, activity, and prudence. The National Assembly, after having in vain attempted to bring about an understanding between itself and the Court, unanimously decreed the responsibility of the Ministers and all the King's councillors, of whatever rank they might be; voted expressions of sympathy with Necker and the other disgraced Ministers; placed the public debt under the protection of French honour, and constituted itself a permanent assembly. The Archbishop of Vienne was its president, and Lafayette was elected its vice-president.

Camille Desmoulins at the Palais Royal.

Formation of the Committee of Electors.

The populace of Paris, excited by the hostile attitude of the Court, was eager to follow up its first successes, and demanded arms. The

* At this time it was supposed that the Duke of Orleans had been exiled.

Committee of Electors sitting at the Hôtel de Ville organized the National Guard, which it raised to the number of forty-eight thousand men, and to which, on the proposal of Lafayette, it gave the tricolored cockade.* Each district had its battalion. Fifty thousand pikes were manufactured, and the arsenal of the Invalides was pillaged. "To the Bastile!—to the Bastile!" became the cry of the excited populace; and the siege of the Bastile was immediately commenced. The French Guards revolted, aided the mob with cannon, and secured the capture of the citadel, the feeble garrison of which surrendered. The people, raising in their hands the bleeding trophies of their triumph, returned with immense uproar to the Hôtel de Ville, and speedily signalized their victory by many assassinations. The unfortunate Delaunay, Gôvernor of the Bastile, the prisoner of the multitude, was slain by them. A letter found upon him caused Flesselles, the provost of the merchants, to be accused of treason, and, after having been brought up to trial before the mob, he was killed by a pistol-shot. The excitement was now at its height. The regularly-constituted authorities were everywhere insulted, the law was despised, blood flowed in all directions, and a civil war was imminent.

Taking of the Bastile, 14th July, 1789.

The Court only regarded the insurrection in Paris as a riot. The King proposed to dissolve the Assembly, and gave to Marshal Broglie, the commander of the army, unlimited power. Informed in the middle of the night, by the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, of the capture of the Bastile and the other events of the 14th July, the King exclaimed—"It is a revolt." "It is a Revolution," replied the Duke. The King's resolution gave way before the serious aspect of affairs, and on the following day he proceeded in person to the Assembly. "The silence of the people is a lesson to the King," Mirabeau had said, and the deputies at first remained perfectly mute in the Monarch's presence; but when he had said that he was but one with the nation, that the troops should be withdrawn, and added in a firm voice, "It is to you that I trust myself," loud applauses burst forth, and the Assembly rising, reconducted the King to his palace.

Louis XVI., perceiving the necessity of appeasing the capital himself, announced that Necker should be recalled, and that he would proceed on

* This cockade united white, the ancient colour of the city of France, with red and blue, the colour of the city of Paris.

the following day to Paris, where Bailly had been appointed mayor, and Lafayette commander of the Civic Guard. It was by them that the Monarch was received. "Sire," said the first, as he presented him with the keys of the city, "Henry IV. recovered his people; here the people have recovered their King." Louis entered the Hôtel de Ville unaccompanied by guards, received the tricolored cockade amidst the acclamations of the multitude, and did not return to Versailles until he had sanctioned the acts of the people. But to sanction such acts, and to recognise, as he did, authorities elected without any Royal warrant, whose avowed office it was to limit his own power, was in itself to abdicate.

And now commenced the first emigration. The Count d'Artois, the King's second brother, the Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, and the Polignac family gave the example and quitted France. The return of Necker to Paris was a triumph for him, but it was also the last day of his prosperity. He believed himself to be the ruler of a party which only looked upon him as an instrument, and endeavoured to save Bézenval, the second in command of the troops, and a prisoner in the hands of the people. The Intendant Foulon and his nephew Berthier had already perished, victims of the popular fury. Bézenval was more compromised than they, and Necker, by proposing an amnesty, at once lost all his popularity. From thenceforth he endeavoured, but in vain, to struggle against the Revolution. The insurrectionary movements in Paris extended to the provinces. Everywhere the people formed themselves into municipalities and national guards. Troops of armed men traversed the country, pillaging and burning the châteaux, and giving to the flames the title-deeds of the seigneurs. The Assembly hoped to calm this fury, and in part to remove its cause by abolishing the most detested privileges, and proceeded to effect this reform on the celebrated night of the 4th of August. Vicomte de Noailles gave the signal for sacrifices by proposing the redemption of the feudal rights, and the suppression of villein services. The privileged classes rivalled each other in making liberal proposals, and apparently also in patriotism. But many of the deputies of these Orders, members of the right side of the Assembly, only contributed to destroy everything in the ancient social system in the hope of overthrowing everything, and thus bringing about a reaction which they

First emigration, July, 1789.

Abolition of Privileges, 4th August, 1789.

believed to be inevitable. Abuses and privileges were suppressed; votes were passed for the redemption of the tithes and their conversion into a pecuniary tax, for the suppression of exclusive hunting rights, the abolition of seigneurial justices, the sale of magisterial offices, the inequality of taxation, the annates of the Court of Rome, and of the plurality of benefices. Finally, the wardenships and masterships were suppressed, and the Assembly bestowed upon Louis XVI. the title of the Restorer of French Liberty. On this memorable night all Frenchmen were rendered equal in the eye of the law, and were all declared equally admissible to all offices and employments, without any other distinction than that which might be bestowed by virtue or talent. But whilst the Assembly thus swept away many unreasonable shackles and unjustifiable obstacles in the way of private advancement, it at the same time lighted an unextinguishable flame of ambition in every heart, by setting no bounds to men's hopes but those which they themselves could perceive in the limits of their own merits.

Parties in the Assembly.

The Assembly was divided at this period into three principal parties; that of the Court and the privileged Orders, consisting chiefly of the Clergy and the Noblesse, of which the most prominent orators were the Abbé Maury and Cazalès, a cavalry officer, and which desired a Constitution modelled on that of England. Necker, Mounier, Lally-Tollendal, and Malouet were at the head of the second party, which consisted chiefly of the minority of the Noblesse; and the remainder of the Assembly formed a third party, which was opposed to the existence of any aristocratic distinction between the various classes of the nation. This last party was divided within itself into various factions, between which there was little harmony. In one of them Bailly and Lafayette were prominent; in another the most noticeable were the members of a famous triumvirate, which was always ardent in the support of the most popular propositions, and which consisted of Duport, a councillor of Parliament, of Colonel Alexander de Lameth, and of the eloquent Barnave. Finally, some few of this third party distinguished themselves by their revolutionary violence, but their influence was still weak; and amongst these was one whose name, then obscure, has since become but too famous—Robespierre. A fourth party might be reckoned as existing in the Assembly, that of the Duke of Orleans. But it was vague and undecided in its views, and if it really existed, only

consisted of some individuals greatly attached to the Prince, and who were supposed to wish to transfer the crown to his head. The principal leaders of the Assembly were two men who did not belong to the Third Estate, but were adopted by it, Abbé Sièyes and the Marquis de Mirabeau. The first ruled it by means of his philosophical intellect, abounding in new and seducing but abstract ideas, which were difficult of practical application, sometimes chimerical, and too often suggested by an implacable hatred for the privileged Orders. He was all-influential in the committees. The second was predominant at the tribune. Abandoning himself in early youth to the most unbridled passions, a victim to his own excesses, accustomed to struggle against all restraints, devoured by a constant need for a sphere of activity commensurate with his vast powers, and as bold as he was eloquent, the revolutions were his element. Disowned by the noblesse of Provence, he threw himself into the arms of the people, who received him with transport. For some time his influence was felt by every party, and he exercised over the Assembly the sovereignty of genius.

The Abbé Sièyes and Mirabeau.

Royal power, practically suspended, was at this time exercised by the National Assembly, which appointed various committees to provide for all the branches of the public service. It in the next place adopted, on the motion of Lafayette, a declaration of the rights of man, drawn up in the spirit of the celebrated declaration of the American Congress, which served as the basis of the constitution. Louis XVI. hesitated to accept it, and only did so with regret. The Assembly decreed the permanence of the legislative body, and after a very animated discussion, in which Necker, Mounier, and Lally-Tollendal insisted upon the division of this body into a Senate and a Chamber of Representatives, it was resolved that it should be indivisible and composed of a single chamber.

Acts of Constitutional Assembly. Declaration of Rights.

It then remained to be determined what part in the legislature should be possessed by the King. Some wished that the Monarch should have the power of actually rejecting the resolutions of the Assembly, whilst others were willing that he should have only a suspensive veto. This question was the subject of the most violent debates. Paris was still in a state of great agitation, the natural consequence of the victory of the 14th July. The Assembly of Electors, which had formed a provisional municipality, had been superseded. A hundred and eighty members, nomi-

nated by the districts, had constituted themselves legislators and representatives of the commune, whilst the committees of the sixty districts of Paris, from whom they received their authority, also assumed a legislative power and one superior to that of their proxies. The mania for public discussions had become general; clubs of every description were formed throughout the city; soldiers, tailors, hairdressers, domestics, had all their special places of assembly. The most animated debates took place on the Palais Royal, where the populace controlled those of the National Assembly, and it was there that the discussion on the Royal veto created the most violent excitement. The middle class, which composed the National Guard, did not as yet possess complete control over Paris, and the Ministry, terrified at the menacing demonstration of the multitude, advised the King to abandon the unlimited veto for the suspensive veto. The Assembly then decided that the refusal of the Monarch's sanction should have no effect beyond two sessions, and then despoiled the throne of the little that remained of its former prestige. Those who saw that this was the case wished the King to seek a refuge in the midst of his army; a suggestion to which Louis XVI. refused to listen. Troops, however, were brought up to Versailles; and when the dragoons and the Flanders regiment had arrived there, the adversaries of the new régime felt some return of confidence.

Commune of Paris.

Discussion on the Royal veto.

The officers of the newly-arrived regiments were fêted by their comrades in the Salle de Spectacle of the château, reserved for great solemnities; the King and Queen, the latter holding the Dauphin in her arms, appeared in the midst of this noisy party, and their presence excited the greatest enthusiasm. White cockades were distributed, and the tricolored emblems were trampled under foot. Such was the famous banquent of the 1st October, the consequences of which were to be so fatal to the Royal family. What had occurred at it was speedily known in Paris and created the greatest excitement. The arrival of the regiments, their hostile demonstrations, the dread of conspiracies, and especially famine, created the most formidable rising of the masses. A girl of the town gave the signal, on the 5th October, by traversing the streets with a drum. A mob of women followed her, demanding bread and uttering the most frightful vociferations. A furious multitude soon collected around them from

Banquet of the 1st October.

every direction; it was resolved to march to Versailles, and a man named Maillard offered to conduct them. Withheld from its purpose by Lafayette during seven hours, it set out at length, and filled Versailles with terror. A conflict had already taken place between it and the Royal Body Guard, when Lafayette arrived at the head of the National Guard of Paris, and by his presence restored order. Whilst every one was asleep, however, some of the populace found one of the gates of the palace open, and entered, calling to their comrades to follow. The alarm was given, and a fight took place between the people and the Life Guards, many of whom heroically died at their post, crying, "Save the Queen!" Marie Antoinette, informed of the danger, fled half-dressed to the King. Lafayette hurried to the scene of action. The French Guards had already gone to the assistance of the Life Guards; and Lafayette succeeded, at the peril of his life, in removing the mob from the palace apartments. The multitude demanded with loud cries that the King should appear, and Louis XVI. showed himself on the grand balcony of the château. But it was the Queen especially who was the object of the popular excitement; and Lafayette, appearing with her beside the King, kissed her hand with respect. The crowd applauded, but vehemently demanded that the King should set out for Paris. Louis XVI. yielded to this demand also, and on the very same day proceeded thither with his family, escorted by his Guards, and accompanied by a hideous and blood-stained mob. The principal result of this event was to place the Court at the mercy of the multitude; and it filled with horror and affright all those who dreaded, with good reason, a mob government, and it made many members of the National Assembly resolve to abandon it. Lally-Tollendal and Mounier were of this number, and the latter endeavoured, without success, to raise Dauphiny, his province, against the National Assembly.

The people at Versailles, 5th October.

This attempt by Mounier, although unsuccessful, excited fears of the dangers that might arise from provincial organizations. Several provinces, irritated at having lost, with their privileges, the guarantees which they had possessed, since their union, against the arbitrary power of the Crown and the Central Government, formed, in the opinion of the Assembly, states too vast and independent, and it desired to reduce their extent and to subject them to an uniform mode of administration. With this object it adopted, in December, 1789, a project which,

although serviceable as a preventive of civil war, had very unfortunate results.

Division of France into Departments and New Electoral Systems.

This plan, which was devised by the metaphysician Sièyes, divided France into eighty-three departments, each of almost equal extent. Each department was divided into districts, and each district into cantons. They were to be governed in a hierarchical and uniform manner. Each department and district had an administrative council, and an executive directory, those of the district being subservient to those of the department. The canton, composed of five or six communes, was a simple electoral division. The administration of the commune was confided to a municipality consisting of a number of members proportioned to the population. Everything in this plan had an electoral basis, but it had many degrees. The citizens who paid taxes equal in value to three days' labour were considered active citizens, and formed preliminary assemblies to select the electors; the latter, who were selected from amongst the citizens who paid taxes of the value of ten days' labour, selected the deputies for the National Assembly, the administration of the department those of the district. The municipal elections were conducted on the same principle. This division of France into small portions named departments, contributed eventually more than any acts of the most absolute Kings or Ministers to increase the power which, under the name of central administration, threatens at the present day to subject to itself all rights and to lead the State to interfere in all private matters.* It was this division which broke in France the chain of traditions, which by destroying throughout the kingdom the prestige of a past history and the influences possessed by localities, rendered Paris the burning focus of all ambitions and all intrigues, as it was that of all power. There was no longer any centre of action left to counterpoise the despotism of the capital; the life of the nation was drawn more and more from its extremities, and Paris absorbed France.

Grave consequences of the New Territorial Divisions.

Some large provinces attempted to repel an organization so opposed to their interests and destructive of their privileges; but the provincial States and Parliaments protested in vain, and were suppressed. To the resistance of these was also added that of the clergy, whom the Assembly

* The result was especially manifest after the establishment of the prefectures under the Consulate.

deprived of their property by a measure no less violent and spoliative. To the adoption of this latter measure, however, the Assembly was urged by a necessity which, in times of Revolution, is often considered, in defiance of all moral right, as the supreme law of peoples. The deficit, in fact, was immense, the taxes produced scarcely anything, and it was almost impossible to obtain loans. Necker, after many expedients which were merely unproductive, had suggested to the Assembly an extraordinary tax of a fourth part of every one's income, the amount of which was to be estimated by each person for himself; and Mirabeau, influencing his colleagues by the picture of the frightful bankruptcy by which France was about to be devoured, it was resolved to sanction this useful measure; but this was far from being sufficient to fill the void in the Treasury, and from this time covetous eyes were thrown upon the immense possessions of the clergy as the only resource which could supply the existing necessities. Already the tithes, which had at first been rendered redeemable, had been suppressed, when Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, proposed to the clergy to give up its possessions, valued at many hundreds of millions, for the benefit of the nation, which would employ them in the payment of its debt and the support of religion. The clergy refused, and thereupon the Assembly declared that the clergy were not proprietors, but only trustees of the property consecrated to the service of religion, and that the nation on taking on itself the maintenance of public worship, might repossess itself of what was really its own property. The public expenses required in this first year four hundred millions, State votes were rated to the amount of this sum, the currency of which was enforced by law, and which were mortgages on the gross property of the clergy. Such was the origin of the assignats, which, issued at first with prudence, facilitated the accomplishment of many important matters at the commencement of the Revolution, but afterwards became discredited by the odious abuse which now was made of them.

The clergy deprived of its property.

First assignats.

This violent spoliation of the clergy, contrary to all justice, and speedily followed by the suppression of the religious orders, filled this important body with profound irritation, and the Assembly rendered its opposition more vigorous and inflexible by imprudently attacking its discipline and the conscience of its members by the fatal vote determining the civil

constitution of the clergy. This vote established a bishopric in each department, gave to the people the right of electing bishops and curates, and allotted to ecclesiastics salaries in the room of the property which they had formerly possessed, and which the nation had seized. A schism now took place in this Order; many of its deputies immediately abandoning the Assembly, and joining the dissenting noblemen.

Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 12th July, 1790.

The Assembly continued incessantly to effect changes, and to reorganize the social and political constitution of the kingdom. It drew over the army to the cause of the Revolution by declaring that military rank and promotion should be independent of titles of nobility. It abolished all these titles at the instigation of the popular members of the nobility, and organized the judicial body on a new basis. It established a Criminal Tribunal for each department, a Civil Tribunal for each district, and a "Tribunal de Paix" for each canton; and, following the English example, it introduced juries in the criminal trials. It rendered all magisterial offices temporary and conferable by election, in the same manner as the political and administrative ones; and based its whole legislation, in short, on the principle of the sovereignty of the people. The King was allowed to retain the initiative in respect to questions of peace or war; but the final decision upon them was reserved for the Legislative Council.

Organization of the Judicial Body.

As the anniversary of the capture of the Bastile approached, it was resolved to celebrate it with extraordinary brilliancy. Deputies sent from the eighty-three departments assembled on the Champ de Mars, and there, in their presence, in that of the National Assembly, the Parisian Guard, the deputies from the army, and an immense multitude, Talleyrand, the Bishop of Autun, celebrated a solemn mass on a vast altar, decorated according to ancient usage, and of which the extremities were occupied by four hundred priests clothed in white albs with tricolored girdles. Lafayette, as Commander-in-Chief of the National Guards of the kingdom, advanced first of all to take the civil oath, and was followed by all the deputies, amidst the roar of artillery, and prolonged cries of "Vive le Roi! Vive la Nation!" Louis XVI. then arose, and said, "I, King of the French, swear to use all the power which is delegated to me by the Act of the Constitution of the State, to maintain the Constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted

Fête of the Federation, 14th July.

by me." "Behold my son!" said the Queen with much emotion, as she raised the Dauphin in her arms and showed him to the people, "Behold my son! He joins with me in the same sentiments." The populace again burst forth into enthusiastic acclamations, and a canticle of *actions de grâces* terminated this fête, which was the last day of hope for Louis XVI. and his family, if indeed the King could still hope when all his power was reduced to a shadow.

Party intrigues were renewed on the following day. Necker, whose methodical ideas were in incessant collision with the violent and precipitate measures of the Assembly, sent in his resignation on the 4th of September. A great number of the nobility emigrated at this period, and the spirit of insurrection made each day further progress amongst the people and in the army. Three regiments in garrison at Nancy mutinied, and were with difficulty reduced to submission by General Bouillé, who wished the King to join the army under his command on the northern frontier.

The King had sanctioned, after making a violent effort over himself, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy; but the Pope refused to acknowledge it; and from this time the Archbishops and Bishops formed a league which the Assembly imprudently strengthened by demanding that all the priests in office should take the oath of fidelity to the Nation, the Law, the King, and the Civil Constitution. Those who refused were to be immediately degraded. This fatal measure attacked consciences and created a schism. There were now two classes of clergy in the kingdom, the constitutional and sworn, and the refractory and unsworn. The members of this latter class refused to desist from the performance of their functions, and thundered against those appointed to succeed them. They employed all their influence with the population, who obeyed them as well from habit as from faith, to attach them to their cause, and thus a violent struggle was being prepared in various parts of the kingdom, and every hope of order and conciliation was vanishing under an apparent calm.

The creation of clubs multiplied the seeds of agitation, and precipitated France towards anarchy. The clubs at first were private assemblies, without any political authority, in which the members discussed the affairs of the nation. The first formed with this object was that of the Breton deputies, which was

Foundation of Clubs, 12th July, 1790.

held at the ancient convent of the Jacobins, from whence it received its name; but this club soon extended its views, and desired to exercise an influence over the Assembly, the municipality, and the populace. Its first members abandoned it, and were replaced by violent and ambitious men, the friends of disorder, members of the commune, or simple citizens. They formed alliances with similar associations in the provinces, and raised side by side with the legal power, one which was still more powerful, and which successively overruled and destroyed the other.

The emigration continued. The King's aunts left France; and Louis XVI., who was suspected of wishing to join them, was arrested by the people, and detained in Paris at the moment when he was preparing to quit the capital for Saint Cloud. The Assembly, whilst proclaiming the inviolability of the Monarch, declared that his flight from the kingdom would lead to the forfeiture of his throne. And now the deputies, having destroyed all privileges and completed the Constitution according to their own idea, became terrified at the immense void which they had created around the throne, and manifested a more monarchical tendency.

Mirabeau's return to Court.

This reaction in favour of a chief authority was due in a great measure to Mirabeau, whose support had been purchased by the Court, and who desired at the same time to strengthen the throne and to secure all the valuable results of the Revolution. But in order that his words should be respected, it was necessary that his character should be respectable. The guilty gold which he had received wherewith to supply his dissolute expenses, deprived him of that respect without which politicians are in most cases rendered incapable of exercising any influence. The confidence which was due to his genius was refused to him on account of his character; and the King himself, whilst acknowledging the value of his advice, followed it with terror. No one deplored more than Mirabeau the fatal situation which he had himself created. "I pay very dearly," he often said, "for the faults of my youth! And you, poor Prince, will have to pay dearly for them also!" "Look around you," he one day said to one of the Crillons, in a tone of profound conviction; "it is I, I alone, who am capable of holding in check the anarchy which is about to devour you, your friends, the throne, the Prince. I must be listened to, I must be followed, or we shall all perish." Discoursing on another occasion with Cabanis, he threw a sad

and prophetic glance on the future of the country, and broke a solemn silence with these words, "Oh, if I could have brought into the Revolution such a character as that of Malesherbes, what a destiny might I have secured for my country! How glorious might I have made my name!" In spite of his faults his genius still made him a predominant member of the National Assembly, and he succeeded in procuring the rejection—on the ground that it was an infringement of individual liberty—of a violent decree proposed against the emigrants. This, however, was his last triumph. Although he was only forty years of age his constitution had been destroyed by every species of excess, and he awaited and expected death in the midst of the most frightful sufferings. In his agony he still thought and spoke of France, and of the state in which he left her. "I bear within my heart," he said, "the mourning weeds of the monarchy, the remnants of which are about to be destroyed by the factions." A few minutes after uttering these words he died. The National Assembly attended his funeral in a body, and had his remains conveyed to the new church of St. Geneviève, which was destined, under the name of the Pantheon, to receive the remains of many great men. Mirabeau, after having made the greatest efforts to set in motion the revolutionary torrent, had alone been capable of temporarily moderating its violence, and his death was in this respect a public calamity, and the nation went in mourning for him.

Death of Mirabeau, 1791.

The sullen murmurs of the storm already began to be heard on the frontier. The emigrants petitioned all Europe to assist them against France, and formed two bodies, the one under Condé at Worms, and the other under the Count d'Artois at Coblentz. This Prince went with Calonne, his Minister, to the Emperor Leopold, and the secret declaration of Mantua, signed on the 20th May, 1791, was the result of their deliberations. It promised to Louis XVI. the assistance of a coalition of which Austria, the circles of Germany, Switzerland, and the Kings of Sardinia, Spain, and Prussia were to be members. But Louis was anxious to restore the monarchy by his own exertions, and for this purpose he endeavoured to reach Montmedy, to join this army under the command of Bouillé. He formed his plan of escape in concert with the general, who posted detachments at intervals along the road which the King was to proceed by. On the 20th June, at night time, the Royal family issued forth disguised from the Tuileries,

Declaration of Mantua, 1791.

escaped the notice of the guards, passed the barriers of Paris without interruption, and immediately proceeded by the road leading to Châlons and Montmedy. On first receiving information of this event, Paris and the Assembly were stupefied; but the latter immediately assumed the executive power, assured the various powers of its pacific intentions, and sent commissioners to the troops to receive their oaths of fidelity in its own name. After a short interval news arrived of the King's arrest. The unfortunate Monarch had been recognised and arrested at Varennes. All the National Guards of the neighbourhood ran to arms; the detachments of troops stationed on the road were repulsed or were afraid to act. Bouillé himself hastened up at the head of a regiment, but he was too late, the King having already, many hours since, been on his way back to Paris. The Assembly had sent forward three of its members to secure his return. These were the Count de Latour-Maubourg, Pétion, and the younger Barnave. From this time the latter, touched by the graciousness and the sad fate of the Royal family, resolved to give it his best advice and support.

Flight of the Royal family, 20th June, 1791.

Arrest of the King at Varennes, and his return to Paris.

The King was received in Paris with a sinister silence. The Assembly provisionally suspended its functions; appointed a committee to interrogate him, and subjected him to a rigorous surveillance in his palace. The question then was, whether Louis XVI. should continue to reign or should be declared dethroned. Lameth and Barnave, with the object of defending the Monarch, joined the Moderate party, and established the Club of the Feuillants, for the purpose of counteracting the Jacobin Club, which was under the control of Pétion and Robespierre, the leaders of the Republican party. The Assembly, at the instigation of Barnave, declared that it was not competent to try Louis XVI. or to pronounce his dethronement; but at the same time, for the sake of calming the popular excitement, it decreed that the King would have abdicated *de facto*, and have ceased to be inviolable if he should wage war against the nation or suffer it to be done in his name. This decree of the Assembly irritated the populace. The agitators prepared a petition in which they appealed to the sovereignty of the people, and spoke of Louis XVI. as having ceased to reign since his flight. It was drawn up by Brissot, and was carried on the 17th July to the Champ de Mars, to the "altar of the country," where the demagogues Danton and Camille

Petition of the Champ de Mars, 17th July, 1791.

Desmoulins harangued an immense crowd, and excited them to insurrection. The peril now became imminent, and the Assembly directed the municipality to watch over the public safety. Lafayette and Bailly proceeded to the Champ de Mars at the head of a numerous body of National Guards. Bailly pronounced the legal summons, and had the red flag displayed. The multitude responded by a shower of stones; and then, as all means of conciliation were at an end, and it became necessary to have recourse to force, Lafayette gave orders to the troops to fire. The second discharge was of murderous effect, and dissipated the crowd. The multitude fled, and never forgave either Lafayette or Bailly for having performed their duty on this fatal day.

These deplorable dissensions led the adversaries of the Revolution to the committal of imprudent acts, and the only thought of the emigrants was how to stifle it by the united aid of all Europe. Monsieur assumed at Brussels the title of Regent; Bouillé sent a fierce letter to the Assembly. The Emperor, the King of Prussia, and Count d'Artois met together at Pilnitz, where they signed, at the risk of compromising the King whom they wished to defend, the treaty of the 27th July. In the document they treated the cause of Louis XVI. as their own, demanded that he should be replaced upon the throne, and that the Assembly should be dissolved; threatening that if this were not done, they would inflict the most terrible calamities upon France. The Assembly, greatly irritated, replied to these threats by levying a hundred thousand National Guards, and putting its frontiers in a state of defence. In the meantime the end of its term of office drew near, and the convocation of the electoral colleges was fixed by it for the 5th August. A fatal decree, which had been passed before the departure of the King for Varennes, had interdicted any of the members from forming a portion of the next Assembly. In vain had Duport exclaimed, "Since we are establishing principles, how is it that we do not recognise the fact that stability is also a principle of government?" The decree was passed, and the mania of disinterestedness becoming contagious, Bailly resigned the mayoralty, and Lafayette the command of the National Guards. It was in this way that the guidance of the Revolution was given over to new men who commenced another for the purpose of obtaining for themselves notoriety and fortune.

First coalition, 1791.

Treaty of Pilnitz, 27th July, 1791.

Before dissolving, the Assembly condensed its constitutional decrees

into a single code, declaring that France had a right to review its constitution, but that it would be prudent not to put it in force before thirty years. The King accepted the Constitutional Act without reserve; and on the 29th September he closed the Assembly with some touching words, which were received by it with acclamations, and every testimony of respect and love. Then, Thouret, addressing the people, pronounced these words, "The Constituent Assembly declares that its mission is accomplished, and that at this moment it terminates its sittings."

Closing of the Constituent Assembly, 29th September, 1791.

Thus came to an end this celebrated Assembly, after it had accomplished in two years the most important things both for good and evil. It brought to its work the most praiseworthy intentions, but many illusions, and was not guided by the light of experience or a sufficiently pure moral sense. Led away by the passion of reducing everything to an equality, and for effecting reforms, rather than by a due sense of what was just, it too often confounded rights which were worthy of respect with privileges which were abuses, and necessary guarantees of order with oppressive institutions; it overthrew a traditional and secular past with blind precipitation, and when building on its ruins, had the misfortune to forget or misconceive what was necessary to give vitality and duration to its work. The greatest faults of the constitution which it drew up were the assembly of the members of the Legislative Corps in a single chamber, and the complete subordination of the Royal authority to the popular power. At the same time, whilst recognising the people as the source of power, the Assembly had hoped to save France from the dangerous consequences of this principle by preserving two degrees in the elections, and its work perished less by reason of its defects, which were great and numerous, than through the rage of factions, which raised up the whole of Europe against the Revolution, and admitted the intervention of the multitude in the government of the State.

## CHAPTER II.

### The Legislative Assembly.

*From the 1st October, 1791, to the 20th September, 1792.*

The Court, the Noblesse, and the Clergy, had no influence over the new elections, which were conducted simply in accordance with the popular will, and the Assembly opened its sittings on the 1st October, 1791. It declared itself as soon as it was assembled the Legislative Assembly, and took in accordance with the provisions of the Constitutional Act, amidst the applause of the spectators, the oath either to live free or to die. The minority of the last Assembly was the majority of this, and the parties into which it was divided did not fail to be speedily apparent. The Right, composed of men firmly attached to the Constitution, formed the Feuillant party, which was supported by the club of that name, the National Guard, and the army; but it was no longer dominant in the Assembly, and it speedily yielded the important affairs of the municipality to its adversaries of the Left, which composed the Girondist party, at the head of which shone the celebrated orators of the Gironde, from which it took its name, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, Brissot, Condorcet, and the furious Isnard. This party was disposed to have recourse to the most violent measures, and to appeal to the multitude to aid it in carrying forward the Revolution. The Centre of the Legislative Assembly was attached to the new order of things; but the want of concert amongst its members and their fears rendered them submissive to the violent decisions of the Left. Without the doors of the Assembly the Democratic faction supported the Girondists, and led the clubs and the multitude. Robespierre ruled at the Jacobins; Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, were the leaders at the Cordeliers, which was still

Opening of the Legislative Assembly, 1st October, 1791.

Composition of the Assembly.

more violent than the preceding, and the brewer Santerre was the popular chief in the faubourgs. Such were the principal chiefs of the popular party, and their power was rapidly increased by the audacious and culpable proceedings of the leaders of the Revolution.

The emigration increased day by day. The King's two brothers had protested against the acceptance of the Constitutional Act by Louis XVI., and at their summons nobles had quitted their châteaux, and officers their regiments; distaffs were sent to those who hung back. Hostile gatherings took place in the Austrian Low Countries, and in the neighbouring Electorates. Preparations for the counter revolution were made at Brussels, Worms, and Coblentz, under the protection of foreign Courts. Whilst the emigrant nobility were making every preparation for war without the kingdom, the clergy were doing all they could to influence the people in favour of the Royal cause within it. The Bishops prohibited the people from receiving the sacrament from the Constitutional priests, termed intruders. Thundering circulars against them were spread throughout the country, and meetings took place in Calvados, Gévaudan, and La Vendée. The Assembly, greatly irritated, adopted on the 30th October a decree which declared Louis Stanislaus Xavier, the King's brother, deprived of all right to the Regency unless he should return to France within two months; it next declared that the Frenchmen assembled beyond the frontiers were suspected of conspiring against their country, and that if on the 1st of January, 1792, they were still assembled in that hostile manner they would be treated as conspirators, and punished with death. Finally, it declared that the refractory ecclesiastics should be deprived of their salaries if they refused to take the civil oath, and should be subjected to confinement in case religious troubles should arise in their communes. The King sanctioned the first decree, but placed his veto on the two others. At the same time he expressed himself energetically against the emigration; but the Court placed all its hope in Europe, and was the focus of all the plots contrived against the Assembly. Unfortunately, inspired by its hatred for the Constitution and its principal authors, it committed the fault of withdrawing all its confidence from the Constitutionals when they alone devoted themselves to its defence; and thus it placed the Girondist Pétion in the mayoralty in preference

Schism among the Clergy, 1791.

Decree on the obligation of the civil oath, 30th October, 1791.

to Lafayette, and opened the Commune of Paris to men of the multitude.

The national irritation was at this time greatly excited by the conduct of the Princes of the neighbouring States, who received the emigrants with favour and countenanced their military preparations. It was desired that Louis XVI. should make a solemn declaration against them, and Isnard terminated a speech delivered on this subject at the tribune with these emphatic and fiery words:—"Let us tell Europe that if the monarchs are engaged in a war against the peoples by their ministers, we will engage the peoples in a war to the death against the monarchs. Let us tell them that all the conflicts which take place between the peoples by the orders of despots only resemble the blows which are exchanged between two friends in the dark, at the instigation of some perfidious adviser. As soon as the light appears they throw down their arms, and chastise him who has deceived them; and so, if at the moment when the arms of the enemy were struggling with ours, the light of philosophy should strike their eyes, the people would embrace in the sight of dethroned tyrants of a happy world, a satisfied heaven." The proposed measure was decreed unanimously and enthusiastically; and Louis XVI. approved it. "If my representations are not listened to," he said, "it will only remain for me to declare war." The Assembly voted twenty millions for this object. A hundred and fifty thousand men were raised; three armies were formed, which were posted on the northern and eastern frontiers, under the command of Rochambeau, Luckner, and Lafayette. The emigrant Princes were at the same time impeached, and Monsieur deprived of his rights to the Regency. Austria, then ruled by the Prince Kaunitz, the principal Minister, replied to this decree by ordering Marshal Bender to support the Elector of Trèves if he were attacked, and demanded the reintegration of the German Princes who were formerly possessors in Alsatia. It demanded the re-establishment of the feudality of this province or war.

Preparation for war, and formation of three armies.

The Legislative Assembly now accused the Ministry of weakness and bad faith, and an intrigue having sacrificed Bertrand de Moleville, the Minister for Naval Affairs, who was justly suspected, and Narbonne, the Minister for War, who was sincerely attached to the Constitution,

there followed a total dissolution of the Council. The King, yielding to pressure of circumstances, now formed a Girondist Ministry, the most remarkable members of which were General Dumouriez and Roland. The first, accustomed from his youth to intrigue, was determined to succeed at every cost. He was audacious, fickle, and without any political convictions, but endowed with powers of keen observation, and an intellect which was as active as it was fertile in resources. The second joined to austere morals a great simplicity of manners; but his mind was somewhat narrow, and he allowed himself to be controlled by his wife, who herself yielded to the control of a dangerous enthusiasm, and was the life and soul of the Girondist party.

Girondist Ministry, March, 1792.

The first measure of the new Ministry had reference to war. The Emperor Leopold was dead; Francis II., King of Bohemia and Hungary, succeeded him in the Empire, and his elevation made no change in the Austrian policy in respect to France. The Prince de Kaunitz demanded in the name of his Court, the restoration of the Church property to the clergy, the lands of Alsatia to the German Princes, and Venetia to the Pope. Such was the Austrian ultimatum. Louis XVI. replied by proposing war, and the Assembly so determined. The invasion of Brussels, which was in the occupation of the Prussians, was resolved on, and Rochambeau was ordered to undertake it. The two first invading columns, however, were seized with terror at the sight of the Prussian army, and took flight. Rochambeau resigned the command, and the war assumed a defensive character. Two armies covered the French frontiers on the north and the east, under Lafayette and Luckner. The army of Lafayette extended from the sea to Longwy, and that of Luckner from the Moselle to the Jura.

War declared against Austria, April, 1792.

First reverses.

The first reverse suffered by our troops excited great anxiety and violent discontent. The Court was accused of being in complicity with the enemy, and the Assembly declared its sitting permanent. It ordered the dismissal of the King's constitutional guard, which had been raised by him from eighteen hundred men to six thousand, and passed two decrees contrary to the King's wishes. The one exiled the priests who refused the oath, the other established a camp of twenty thousand men under the walls of Paris. The Ministers entreated the King to deprive the refrac-

tory priests of all hope by receiving himself the sworn priests; but their efforts were useless, and a split took place in the Ministry on the subject. Roland wrote to the King a severe letter on the subject of his constitutional duties, and exhorted him to make himself frankly the King of the Revolution. This letter wounded the King, and determined him to dissolve the Cabinet. The Girondist Ministers were accordingly dismissed; and a few days afterwards the two decrees were rejected by the King. The Assembly immediately declared that the three late Ministers, Roland, Servan, and Clavière, had the sympathy of the nation.

Letter of Roland to the King.

The new Ministry was chosen from amongst the "Feuillants," who only reckoned in their ranks men who were suspected by the multitude on account of the moderation of their principles, and who were odious to the Court on account of their attachment to the Constitution. They were wanting in strength, and the King, who knew their weakness, and who had no hope but in the intervention of Europe, sent Mallet-Dupan on a secret mission to the allied Princes. The partisans of the Constitutional Monarchy, at the head of which were Lally and Malouet, made a final effort to check the tide of revolution. Duport, Lameth, Barnave, and Lafayette endeavoured to re-establish the King's authority. Lafayette wrote to the Assembly denouncing the Jacobins as the fomenters of all kinds of disorders, and conjuring it to adopt only legal measures; but the only effect of this letter was to shake the general's own credit. The various parties became more and more divided; every hope of reconciliation vanished; and each sought to be victorious by the most discreditable means. The Court reckoned upon Europe for the restoration of its power, and the Girondists relied upon the populace to enable them to secure theirs. Chabot, Santerre, and the Marquis de Sainte-Hurugue kept the faubourgs in a state of commotion; and as the anniversary of the "Jeu de Paume" drew near, preparations were made for a formidable insurrection. On that day, the 20th June, thirty thousand men, armed with pikes, descended from the faubourgs, and marched towards the meeting place of the Assembly, where their leader made a threatening speech. His hideous troop then defiled into the hall, singing the sanguinary refrain of "*ça ira*," and crying "Long life to the Sans-culottes! Down with the veto!" Santerre and Sainte-Hurugue then led

"Feuillant" Ministry, June, 1792.

The people at the Tuileries, 20th June, 1792.

it to the Tuileries, the gates of which it shook. The King had them opened, and presented himself alone before the insurgents. Summoned by the mob to sanction the two decrees, he refused with admirable courage; but he dared not decline the red cap which was presented to him at the end of a pike, and he placed it on his head amidst the applause of the populace. Pétion, the Mayor of Paris, had taken no steps to prevent the insurrection; and during several hours he feigned to be ignorant that Louis XVI. and his family were exposed in their own palace to the greatest insults. He arrived at length, and harangued the multitude, which readily dispersed, satisfied for the time with having outraged majesty with impunity.

The Constitutionalists, indignant at this occurrence, entreated the King to grant them his confidence, and to accept their support. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt proposed to escort him to Rouen, where he was in command, and Lafayette besought him to place himself at the head of his army. But a fatality blinded the unfortunate Monarch, and he refused. Lafayette hastened to Paris and demanded of the Assembly the destruction of the Jacobin sect, and the punishment of the leaders in the affair of the 20th June. But the Assembly did not even invite him to attend their deliberations until they had debated whether they should not try him as a deserter from his post. Lafayette relied upon being able to close the Club by the aid of the National Guards, but the National Guards did not respond to his appeal; and he then returned to his army, having lost all his influence and popularity.

The foreign sovereigns continued to concentrate formidable masses of troops on the French frontiers; and the divisions in the interior of the kingdom rendered its position more and more alarming. The King was the object, in the debates of the Assembly, of the most violent invectives, and the question of his dethronement was already discussed, when, on the 5th July, the Assembly declared the country in danger. All the citizens capable of bearing arms were summoned to enrol themselves; pikes were distributed; a camp was formed at Soissons; the revolutionary excitement was at its height, and was still further increased by the arrival of the Fédérés Marseillais in Paris. Pétion became the object of the people's adoration, and on the anniversary of the 14th July the only cry of the Federation was "Pétion or death!" The Club of the Feuillants was

closed; the companies of grenadiers and chasseurs of the National Guard, which formed the strength of the bourgeoisie, were dissolved; the troops of the line and the Swiss were removed from the capital, and everything betokened some catastrophe.

Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick.

The Duke of Brunswick, preceded by a fiery manifesto, was now advancing at the head of seventy thousand Prussians and sixty-eight thousand Austrians, Hessians, and emigrants. The manifesto contained the most terrible threats against Paris, and against all the cities which should venture to defend themselves, and its effect was to produce a general rising of the whole French people. In Paris the popular party wished to annul the King's authority at once. Robespierre, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, and the infamous Marat harangued the people and excited them to a state of delirium. On the 3rd August, Pétion appeared before the Assembly and demanded the dethronement of the King in the name of the commune and the sections. This petition was referred to a committee of twelve members. A few days afterwards a discussion took place as to whether Lafayette should be put upon his trial. It was decided in the negative by a small majority. The people insulted those who had voted in his favour; the scenes of disorder grew more frequent day by day, and the insurgents fixed the morning of the 10th August for the attack on the Tuileries.

Popular agitation. Attack on the Tuileries. Fall of the Monarchy, 10th August, 1792.

The Faubourg Saint-Antoine, whither the Jacobins proceeded in procession, was the centre of the insurrection; and it was there determined that Pétion and the Council of the Commune should be relieved of all responsibility by being replaced by an insurrectional municipality. The agitators at the same time proceeded to the barracks of the Fédérés Marseillais and the Bretons. Informed of these threatening demonstrations, the Court had put the Tuileries in a state of defence; the interior was guarded by from eight to nine hundred Swiss, and a body of gentlemen armed with swords and pistols. Several battalions of National Guards, and amongst others, those of the quarter of Filles Saint Thomas and Petits-Pères, which were distinguished for their Royalist sentiments, occupied the court-yard and the exterior posts, but an unfortunate blow shook their resolution. Mandat, their commander-in-chief, was summoned

before the new Council of the Commune to render an account of his conduct, and the mob murdered him on the steps of the Hôtel de Ville. Santerre, the brewer, immediately succeeded him in his command, and the Court thus found itself deprived of one of its most reliable defences. The insurgents, aroused in every direction by the terrible Danton, advanced in several columns, and pointed their guns against the Tuileries. The King, with grief imprinted on his countenance, reviewed the troops, but in the ranks of the National Guard the cries of "Long live the King" were drowned by those of "Long live Pétion! Down with the veto! Down with the traitor!" The procureur syndic, Rœderer, then went to meet the insurgents, and read to them the article of the law which enjoins that force should be repelled by force. The National Guards supported him but feebly, and the insurgents became inspired with fresh audacity. Rœderer returned to the palace and declared to the Royal family that its only place of safety was in the bosom of the Legislative Assembly. "Let us go, sir," said the Queen to the King, as she offered him a pistol; "this is the moment for us to show ourselves." Louis XVI. remained silent for a few moments, and then gave the signal for departure, and proceeded to the hall of the Assembly amidst the vociferations of the populace. Vergniaud presided, and the King took his seat beside him; but Chabot having reminded the Assembly that it could not deliberate in the presence of the King, Louis XVI. and all his family passed behind the president into the dark box of the *Logographe*.

After the departure of the King for the Assembly there was no cause for a conflict, but a furious one nevertheless took place between the Swiss and the assailants, of whom the Marseillais and the Bretons formed the advanced guard. A desperate man named Westermann, who had formerly been an officer in the army, directed the attack, and the Swiss, whom a first volley had made master of the Carrousel, were driven back by the multitude, dispersed, and exterminated. This was the last day of the Monarchy. The new municipality proceeded to the Assembly to obtain a recognition of its powers, and terminated its address to that body by demanding the dethronement of the King and the establishment of a National Convention. Vergniaud replied by proposing the convention of an Extraordinary Assembly, the dismissal of the Ministers, and the suspension of the King's authority. These measures were approved of, and the Girondist Ministers were re-estab-

lished in power. The unfortunate Louis XVI. was taken to the Temple with his family, and the 20th September was appointed as the day for the opening of the Assembly which was to decide the destinies of the nation.

The Royal family in the Temple.

The enemy's army continued to approach, and there was reason to fear a civil war. Lafayette, preferring to resign his command to engaging in such a war, left his army and crossed the frontier with Bureau de Pusy, Latour-Maubourg, and Alexander de Lameth. Being recognised by the Austrian outposts, he was arrested, and the Emperor had him first confined at Magdeburg, and then at Olmutz, in defiance of the law of nations. During four years of a cruel captivity he displayed the most noble courage. He was offered his liberty on the condition of making certain retractations; but he remained in chains rather than deny the principles to the triumph of which he had devoted his fortune and his life.

Captivity of Lafayette at Olmutz.

On the 10th of August the victorious party proceeded to establish its power in Paris by the most violent methods. It had all the statues of Kings pulled down, abolished the departmental directory, and abolished the conditions demanded by the law to render a man an active citizen. Finally, it demanded of the Assembly the establishment of an extraordinary tribunal for the trial of those whom it termed the conspirators of the 10th of August. This tribunal was established, but its proceedings appeared too dilatory to the terrible Commune, which was under the influence of Marat, Panis, Sergent, Jourdeuil, Collot-d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, and Tallien, and especially under the control of the fiery and formidable Danton, who had been recently appointed Minister of Justice, and was surnamed the Mirabeau of the populace.

The Prussians, supported by thirty-six thousand Austrians and ten thousand Hessians, threatened the frontier of the north, and six thousand French emigrants, under the command of the Prince of Condé, marched against France in concert with them. The army of Sedan was without a chief, and the advance of the enemy was rapid. Longwy, being invested by them, capitulated; Verdun was bombarded; and thenceforth the road to Paris was open. Terror reigned throughout Paris, and it was already a question with the Executive Council whether it should not retire behind the Loire; Danton maintained with good reason that Paris is France, and that the Govern-

Foreign invasion, August, 1792.

ment must maintain its position there at any price, and he ended his speech with these sinister words:—"My opinion is, that to confound the agitators and to check the progress of the enemy, we must terrify the Royalists."

Numerous arrests were immediately made by order of the Commune. The prisoners were selected from the ranks of the dissenting noblesse and the clergy. Troops marched towards the frontier. Ill-omened rumours chilled every soul; the Commune exerted itself, and measures were taken for a general levy of the citizens. Vergniaud appeared before the Commune and made the following speech:—"It appears that it is the plan of the enemy to march directly upon the capital, leaving the strong places behind him. Well! this plan will lead to our safety and his own destruction. He will find the Parisian army in order of battle under the walls of the capital, and then, surrounded in every direction, he will be devoured by this land which he has profaned. Parisians, it is to-day that you must display all your energy! Why are not the entrenchments in a more forward state? Where are the spade and the pick which raised the altar of the Federation and levelled the Champ de Mars? You have sung and celebrated liberty, and now it is necessary to defend it. We have not now to overthrow kings of bronze, but living Monarchs armed with all their power. I demand, then, that the National Assembly should give the first example, and send twelve deputies, not to make addresses, but to work with their own hands in the sight of all." This proposition was unanimously adopted. Danton followed Vergniaud, and proposed fresh measures; whilst he was speaking the *générale* was heard, and the firing of cannon. "That cannon which you hear," exclaimed the fiery orator, "is not the cannon of alarm; it is the signal to charge the enemy! and what is necessary to enable us to vanquish and to crush them? Courage! still courage! always courage!"

The news of the capture of Verdun reached Paris on the night of the 1st September, and filled it with a species of stupefaction. The Commune seized that moment to execute its execrable projects. The tocsin was sounded, the barriers were closed, and the massacres of the prisons commenced. During three days the nobles and the priests who had been imprisoned at l'Abbaye, the Conciergerie, Carmes, and Laforce, were murdered by a band of three hundred ruffians in the midst of a hideous parody of judicial forms.

Massacre in the prisons, 2nd September, 1792.

On the part of the victims there were displayed almost innumerable instances of noble resignation and heroic devotion, and on the part of the executioners the most atrocious acts of delirious cruelty. Skilful in the invention of moral tortures for those whom their hands could not reach, they made horrible saturnalia around the Temple, and displayed under the windows of that Royal prison, in the sight of the Queen, the head of her friend, the unfortunate Princess Lamballe. The Assembly wished to check the massacres, but found itself unable to do so. The mayor, Pétion, was suspended from his functions; the better class of citizens groaned in terror; and the Commune reigned alone in Paris. These horrible scenes did immense injury to the cause of the Revolution; the chastisement of them fell after a time upon their ferocious authors, and amongst them was perceived with horror the special guardian of justice and the laws, the demagogue Danton.

The Prussians continued to advance. Dumouriez, who had been appointed to the command of the army of the Moselle, threw his troops, by an inspiration of genius, into the forest of Argonne, the only position in which he could check the progress of the enemy, posted his principal forces at Grand-Pré and Islettes, and wrote to the Assembly:—"I await the Prussians; the camp of Grand-Pré and that of Islettes are the Thermopyles of France; but I shall be more fortunate than Leonidas." The Prussians were, in fact, compelled to halt; but an error committed by Dumouriez forced him to abandon his position, and to fall back upon the camp of Sainte-Menehould, where he concentrated his forces, and received reinforcements under the command of Beurnonville and Kellermann, which raised his army to seventy thousand men. On the 20th September the Prussian army attacked Kellermann at Valmy, with the intention of cutting off the retreat of the French army, the warlike aspect of which terrified the Duke of Brunswick. The action consisted only in a lively cannonade which lasted till the evening, and the honour of the day remained with the French. This first success, although of little real importance, encouraged the French army, and gave it confidence in itself; whilst it astonished the enemy, to whom the French emigrants had declared that the campaign would be a mere military promenade. The Duke of Brunswick was without magazines, the season was beginning bad, and he offered to withdraw from France

Dumouriez checks the Prussians at Argonne.

Battle of Valmy, 20th September, 1792.

if the French would replace the constitutional King upon the throne. The Executive Council replied that it could not listen to any proposals before the Prussian troops had withdrawn from French soil, and the Duke of Brunswick then ordered a retreat, which was begun on the 30th September. The French resumed possession of Verdun and Longwy, and the enemy repassed the Rhine at Coblentz. Other successes attended the French arms in the course of this campaign. Custine, on the Rhine, took possession of Trèves, Spire, and Mayence; Montesquiou invaded Savoy, and Anselme the county of Nice. Our armies everywhere assumed the offensive, and were victorious.

Retreat of the Prussian army, 30th September, 1792.

# BOOK II.

## THE FRENCH REPUBLIC TO THE CONSULATE.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION—THE REIGN OF TERROR—VICTORIES OF THE FRENCH ARMIES—CONQUEST OF BELGIUM, HOLLAND, SWITZERLAND, AND ITALY—REACTION OF THE MODERATE AND ROYALIST PARTY—THE DIRECTORIAL GOVERNMENT — ANARCHY—DEFEATS—EXPEDITION TO EGYPT—FALL OF THE DIRECTORY.

*20th September*, 1792, *to* 10*th November*, 1799 (19*th Brumaire*, *Year VIII.*)

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### CHAPTER I.

FROM THE OPENING OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION TO THE FALL OF THE GIRONDISTS.

*20th September*, 1792, *to 2nd June*, 1793.

THE Legislative Assembly had dissolved itself, and that which succeeded it commenced its sittings on the 20th September, 1792, and took the name of the National Convention. Its first act was to abolish Royalty, and to proclaim a Republic; and it then declared that it would date its proceedings from the first year of the French Republic. These measures were decreed unanimously, but the two sections into which the Legislative Assembly was divided at its close, speedily commenced a desperate war against each other, the issue of which was fatal to both of them. These parties were that of the Girondists, which sat on the right in the Assembly, and that of the Mountain, which occupied the upper benches on the left, from whence they derived their name. The first party desired a legal and constitutional form of government in the Republic, which was the object of their wishes, and which they had

Opening of the National Convention.

The Republic proclaimed, 20th September, 1792. Factions in the Assembly.

themselves assisted to establish. They looked with anxiety on the abyss which was open before them, and after having themselves unloosed the populace against the throne, they endeavoured to hold it in check. They wished in vain that it should disarm and resign its power into their hands. The Mountain, less enlightened and less eloquent than the Girondists, were more audacious and less scrupulous as to the means by which they attained their ends. The most extreme democracy seemed to them to be the best form of government, and they had for their principal leaders, Danton, Robespierre, and Marat. The two latter were, with good reason, held in especial horror by the Girondists. Robespierre, a man of moderate talents but full of envy and ambition, had until now held aloof, pronouncing, whether it were in the Constituent Assembly or in the Jacobin Club, where he was supreme, or in the Convention, against all who by turns were in the ascendant. He aspired to the first rank, and associating the cause of his personal vanity with the popular passions, he triumphed over all superiority by branding it with the then odious name of aristocracy. He distinguished himself in the eyes of the multitude by a show of austere patriotism, and captivated it by lavishing upon it the property and blood of the vanquished. Marat, a furious fanatic, had rendered himself the apostle of murder by his discourses, and in his infamous journal—the *Friend of the People*—he advocated recourse to a dictatorship for the purpose of subduing the enemies of the people, and exterminating them in a body. These two leaders, worthy of each other, had already left far behind them Danton and his partisans, who would have preferred in the career of murder to have stopped short at the massacres of September. The Girondists were stronger in the Assembly than their rivals, and the departments were favourable to them, but the Commune of Paris was devoted to the Mountain, which ruled by its aid and that of the Jacobins the sections and the faubourgs. A third party, with no decided opinions and no systematic action, hesitated between the two others. This party was that of the plain or the marsh, and was composed of men who were for the most part well-intentioned, but had no strength of character. They voted for the Girondists, and gave them the majority as long as they were without fears for themselves; but fear at length threw them into the opposite ranks.

The Girondists, and amongst others the Marseillais Barbaroux, accused Robespierre of seeking to establish a tyranny. This accusation, ill supported, fell also upon Marat, who every day advocated fresh massacres.

He attempted to justify himself. His appearance at the tribune excited a feeling of horror; and when this atrocious man, remaining perfectly unmoved, said, "I have a great number of personal enemies in this Assembly," there was a general cry of "All! all!" and yet this attack upon him had no result. It was resumed some days later against Robespierre. "No one," he said, "will dare to accuse me to my face." "Yes; I do!" cried Louvet; and running to the tribune, he overwhelmed Robespierre by a most eloquent and improvised denunciation, prefacing each new series of accusations by the terrible formula, "Robespierre, I accuse you!" The future tyrant would have been crushed on this occasion, but he demanded and obtained a week for the preparation of his defence, and the order of the day put an end to the struggle. It was thus that the Girondists, by their attacks, themselves increased the importance of their adversaries; failing to perceive that they must vanquish and crush them, or perish themselves. Powerless against the Commune, they yielded also to their enemies the Club of the Jacobins, and irritated the populace of Paris by demanding that the protection of the Assembly should be confided to troops drawn from the departments. From thence they obtained the name of Federalists, and were accused of wishing to excite the provinces against the capital, whilst the Mountain had proclaimed the unity and indivisibility of the Republic.

The French arms triumphed in Belgium. General Clairfait had joined the Archduke Albert before Mons, and their united armies covered the heights on which are situated the villages of Jemappes, Cuesmes, and Berlaimont. The position of the Austrians, defended by numerous *abatis*, steep slopes, woods, fourteen redoubts, and a powerful artillery, seemed impregnable. Their cavalry, posted in the hollow between the hills, especially between Jemappes and Cuesmes, held itself in readiness to sweep away our columns as soon as the artillery should have broken them. Dumouriez drew up his army in a semicircle parallel to that of the enemy; and the Generals Ferrand and Beurnonville commenced the attack at the wings. The French left drove back the enemy, and Dumouriez then immediately carried the centre against Jemappes. His infantry advanced in close columns under a murderous fire; but then the Austrian cavalry advanced, and at this movement a French brigade gave way, and laid open the flank of our columns on the right. The attack was on the point of fail-

Victory of Dumouriez, at Jemappes, 6th November, 1792.

ing when young Baptiste Renard, simply a servant to Dumouriez, hastened to point out the danger, and led back the brigade against the enemy. The alarm had already spread to the attacking battalion of the centre, and they were shaken by the fire from the batteries. But the Duke de Chartres, the eldest son of the Duke of Orleans, rallied them, gathered a body of picked troops around him, and resumed the conflict. Dumouriez hastened to the right at the moment when the intrepid Dampierre was leaping into an enemy's redoubt. He assembled some scattered battalions, repulsed the enemy's cavalry, and chanting the "Marseillaise" at the head of his battalions, threw himself upon the Austrian entrenchments, forced them, and took the village of Cuesmes. The battle was now won; the Austrians were driven beyond the Roër, and the victorious general entered Brussels on the 14th, whilst his lieutenants took Namur and Antwerp. The whole of Belgium was subdued.

Conquest of Belgium.

From this time began the dissensions between the victorious Dumouriez and the Jacobins. The latter threw themselves upon the conquered provinces as their prey. The Flemings, weary of the Austrian yoke, had received the French with enthusiasm, and as liberators. But the Jacobins speedily alienated them by demanding heavy contributions, and gave them up to a frightful anarchy. Dumouriez, indignant, returned to Paris with the double object of repressing their violence and saving Louis XVI.; but his efforts were vain.

The unfortunate Monarch languished during four months in the Tower of the Temple, with the Queen, his two children, and his virtuous sister Elizabeth; passing his time in reading and the education of the young Dauphin. The Commune exercised a cruel surveillance over its captives, and made them drink deep of bitterness. The debate on the King's trial commenced on the 23rd November. The principal charges against him were founded on the documents found in the Tuileries, in an iron chest, the secret of which had been pointed out to the Minister Roland. By means of these were discovered the counter-plots of the Court against the Revolution, as well as the arrangements made with Mirabeau and General Bouillé. Other papers found in the offices of the civil list, seemed to prove that Louis had not always been a stranger to the efforts made by Europe in his favour. But, as King, the Constitution declared him inviolable; moreover, he was dethroned, and could not be condemned, save in defiance of all the principles of law, for

acts committed before his dethronement. The Mountain themselves perceived the illegality of the proceedings directed against him. Robespierre, in demanding his death, rejected all forms of law as illusions, and with St. Just, relied solely on reasons of policy. "What would not the good citizens, the friends of liberty," said the latter, "have to fear, if they saw the axe trembling in your hands, and a people, on the first day of its liberty, respecting the memory of its chains!"

The Mountain, urging with the utmost energy the condemnation of the King, wished to crush the Girondists, who had openly expressed their desire to save him. The great majority of the Assembly persisted in conducting this great trial according to judicial forms; and Louis XVI., already separated from his family, appeared as a prisoner before the Convention, whose jurisdiction he did not deny. His bearing was firm and noble, his replies precise, touching, and almost always victorious. On being reconducted to the Temple, he requested to be allowed counsel, and named Target and Tronchet. The first declined to act, but the venerable Malesherbes offered to take his place, and wrote to the Convention these memorable words: "I have been twice summoned to the councils of him who was my master in the times when to be so was an object of ambition to all the world; and I owe him the same service when it is an office which most persons would consider dangerous." The Convention granted his request, by which Louis XVI. was deeply touched; when he saw him he pressed him in his arms, and said with tears in his eyes, "You are risking your own life and will not save mine." Malesherbes, holding the King's hand pressed to his lips, said that he was happy thus to bestow the remainder of his days. He then endeavoured to inspire the august captive with hope in the justice of his judges and the confusion of his persecutors; "No! no!" replied the King, "they will kill me, I am sure; they have both the power and the will; but never mind, let us consider the subject of my defence as though it were certain to be successful—and in fact it will be successful, since it will leave my character without a stain."

Trial of Louis XVI.

Tronchet and Malesherbes immediately commenced the preparation of the King's defence, and took counsel with Desèze, an advocate of Bordeaux, established in Paris.

Since the commencement of his trial, Louis XVI., separated from his family by the orders of the Convention, and kept a close prisoner, was

not able to communicate with any of those who were so dear to him. Their sufferings, their perils, and their love were ever present to his thoughts. On the 19th December he said, at breakfast time, to Cléry, his single servant, in the presence of the four municipal guards, "Fourteen years ago you were earlier than you are to-day." A sad smile revealed to Cléry the meaning of these words. "It is the day," continued the King, "on which my daughter was born. And to think that I should not be able to see her!" Tears filled his eyes. The municipal guards seemed silently to respect this remembrance of happy days which entered his prison but to render it more sombre.

On the following day Louis XVI. wrote his will, the sublime testament of a Christian soul ready to appear before its God. He left his grateful remembrances to his attendants, his pardon to his enemies. "I pardon," he said in it, "with all my heart those who have become my enemies without my having given any cause to be so, and I pray God to pardon them, as well as those who from a mistaken zeal have done me so much harm. I beseech Him to look with compassionate eyes on my wife, my children, and my sister, who have so long suffered with me, and to support them by His grace if they should lose me, so long as they shall remain in this perishable world. I recommend to my son, if he should ever have the misfortune to become a King, to remember that he ought to devote himself entirely to the welfare of his co-citizens, that he ought to banish from his mind every feeling of hatred or resentment, and especially to do so with respect to any miseries I may myself have suffered. I conclude by declaring before God, and as ready to appear before Him, that I do not reproach myself with any of the crimes laid to my charge."

The King was taken a second time before the Convention, and appeared at the bar accompanied by his counsel. Desèze read the defence, and concluded his pathetic address with these solemn and true words: "Louis, ascending a throne at the age of twenty years, sat there an example of morals, justice, and economy. He carried to it no weakness, no corrupt passion, and was the constant friend of the people. The people wished that a disastrous tax should be abolished, and Louis abolished it; the people desired the abolition of servitude, and Louis abolished it; the people solicited reforms, and he made them; the people wished to change its laws, and he consented to the change; the people wished that millions

of Frenchmen should recover their rights, and he restored them; the people wished for liberty, and he bestowed it on them. It is impossible to deny to Louis the glory of having anticipated the wishes of the people by his sacrifices; and it is he that it is proposed to you to——But, citizens, I will not complete what I was about to say. I pause in the presence of history. Remember that it will judge your judgment, and that its verdict will be that of all ages to come."

Louis XVI. left the hall with his counsel, and a violent storm immediately arose in the Assembly. Lanjuinais, in a state of great indignation, rushed to the tribune, and demanded that the whole proceedings should be annulled. He exclaimed that the time for ferocious men had gone by; that to make the Assembly try Louis XVI. was to dishonour it; that no one in France had the right to do so; that if the Assembly desired to act as a political body it should only take measures of precaution against the late King; and that if it were to act as his tribunal it would do so in disregard of all principles, for in that case the vanquished would be judged by the vanquisher, since most of the members present were the declared conspirators of the 10th August. These words were followed by a terrible tumult, and from all sides arose the cry, "Order! To the Abbaye with him!" Lanjuinais, calm and intrepid, added, "I would rather die a thousand deaths than condemn, contrary to law, the most abominable tyrant." A crowd of speakers succeeded Lanjuinais. Saint-Just influenced the hatred of the unfortunate Prince's enemies by representing him, with an air of hypocritical gentleness, under the most abominable colours. Rabaud-Saint-Etienne, a Protestant minister who had already honourably distinguished himself as a member of the Constituent Assembly, expressed himself, on the other hand, as indignant at the accumulation of powers exercised by the Convention. "As for myself," he said, "I am weary of my share in despotism; I am tormented at the idea of the tyranny of which I form a portion, and I sigh for the moment when you shall have established a tribunal which shall relieve me of the appearance of being a tyrant. If you seek for political reasons, they are to be found in history. The citizens of London, after having so earnestly sought for the punishment of their King, were the first to curse his judges and to prostrate themselves before his successor. People of Paris, Parliament of Paris, have you heard what I have said?" Sullen Robespierre then arose and said, with an accent of

the deepest wrath and malice, "The chief proof of devotion which we owe to our country is, to stifle in our hearts every sentiment of compassion." He then broke forth into invectives and perfidious insinuations against the deputies of the Gironde, who at this critical moment preserved a prudent silence, whilst Robespierre expressed himself without reserve, demanded that Louis XVI. should be condemned, and did not conceal his desire that his blood should be shed.

These stormy debates were prolonged during three days, and at length Vergniaud, the greatest orator of the Girondist party, arose to speak, and was listened to in profound silence. He declared in favour of an appeal to the people, repelled the perfidious insinuations of Robespierre, and predicted all the dangers which must result to France from a precipitate condemnation. "The European powers," he said, "but await this pretext to throw themselves in a body upon France; we should doubtless be able to vanquish them, but victory itself would demand an increase of efforts and expenses. What gratitude would the country owe to you should you cause its blood to flow in torrents on the Continent and on the ocean, and should exact an act of vengeance in its name which should overwhelm it with calamities? The social system, wearied by the assaults of enemies from without and factions within, will fall into a mortal languor. Beware lest in the midst of her triumph France should come to resemble those famed Egyptian monuments which have subdued time; the passing stranger is astounded by their grandeur, but if he penetrate within them, what does he find?—lifeless ashes and the silence of the tomb." Vergniaud then demanded whether "it were not to be feared that the people would attribute all its miseries to the Convention. Who will guarantee," he said, "that at the sound of the seditious cries of a turbulent anarchy, the aristocracy eager for vengeance, wretchedness eager for change, and the compassion which indomitable prejudices will have excited for the fate of Louis XVI., will not be banded together against us? Who will guarantee that, in the midst of this coming storm, we shall not see the murderers of the 2nd September emerging from their haunts, to present to you that protector, that chief, who is said to be so necessary? A chief! Ah! if their audacity were so great, he would appear only to be pierced on the instant by a thousand swords. But to what horrors would not Paris be surrendered? Who could dwell in a city in which terror and death should be kings? What

hands could wipe away our tears and succour our despairing families? Would you then go to those false friends, those perfidious flatterers who had cast you into the abyss? And if you did, what would be their reply? If you asked of them bread they would say, 'Go to the quarries to dispute with the earth some gay fragments of the victims whom you have slain!' Or will you have blood? See here, take it. Blood and dead bodies; we have no other nourishment to offer you!' "

The impression produced by this discourse was profound, and the Assembly, divided into two parties, hesitated. Brissot, Gensonné, Pétion, advised an appeal to the people; Barrère opposed this course, and his cat-like cunning, his cold and cruel logic, triumphed over the eloquence of Vergniaud. The conclusion of the discussion was declared, and a decree fixed the nominal vote for the 14th of January. Three questions were then submitted to the decision of the Assembly:—"Was the King guilty? Should there be an appeal to the people? And if guilty, what should be the King's punishment?" The Assembly was blinded by passion, and implacable, and Louis was unanimously declared guilty. The appeal to the people was rejected, and it remained to determine what punishment Louis should suffer. The excitement was at its height in Paris, and a furious multitude, collected at the doors of the Assembly, hurled terrible menaces against those who were inclined to clemency. A large number of the deputies appeared to be intimidated, and Vergniaud himself, who presided, lost the courage which he had displayed during the preceding days, and in a cowardly manner declared for death. At length, after forty hours of a nominal collection of votes, he declared the result of the division. Of seven hundred and one voters, the sentence of death was pronounced by a majority of twenty-six. The counsel of Louis XVI., Desèze and Tronchet, protested against the decree; Malesherbes endeavoured to speak, but sobs choked his voice. A motion for reprieval and delay was negatived two days later by a majority of three hundred and ninety against three hundred and ten, and the execution was fixed for the 21st of January.

Louis had requested the services of a priest, and had named the Abbé Edgeworth de Firmont. The request was granted. M. Edgeworth proceeded to the Temple, and as soon as he saw the King, threw himself at his feet. Louis raised him and clasped him in his arms. A last interview with his family had been permitted to the unfortunate Prince; and

the municipal officers, unwilling to lose sight of him for an instant, determined that the interview should take place in a room to which was a glass door, through which everything could be seen that took place within. At eight o'clock Louis entered this room, and for some time walked up and down, anxiously expecting the arrival of those who were so dear to him. At half-past eight the door opened, and the Queen appeared, leading the Dauphin by the hand; his daughter and Madame Elizabeth followed; and all four threw themselves simultaneously into the King's arms, with the most bitter sobs. After a long and painful interview, the King rose and put an end to this cruel scene by promising to see his family on the morrow. In spite of this promise, which could not be fulfilled, the farewells consisted only of sobs and lamentations. Louis XVI. tore himself at length from these agonizing emotions, and in the company of Abbé Edgeworth found resignation and calm. His only thought now was how best to prepare himself for death. About midnight he went to bed and slept. Cléry, his sole and faithful servitor, remained by him, watching the peaceful slumbers of his master on the eve of his execution. At five in the morning the King awoke. Cléry lit a fire and made an altar of a chest of drawers. The Abbé Edgeworth said mass. Louis XVI. received the communion on his knees from the priest's hands, and rose with the courage of the Christian and the just man.

Last interview of Louis XVI. with his family.

The drums were already beating in the streets of Paris, and the sections were assuming their arms. At eight o'clock Santerre, accompanied by a deputation from the commune, the department, and the criminal tribunal, proceeded to the Temple. The King prepared to depart. He spared himself and his family a fresh separation, which would have been more painful than that of the previous day, and charged Cléry to give his last farewell to his wife, his sister, and his children. He sent to them some locks of his hair and a few jewels, and handed his will to a municipal officer. He then gave the signal for departure. Two rows of armed men lined the road as far as the Place de la Révolution, and a profound silence accompanied the passage of the fatal carriage. At half-past ten Louis XVI. arrived at the Place de la Révolution; a vast space had been kept vacant round the scaffold, cannon were planted in every direction, and armed troops kept back the populace which, at the sight of their victim,

Death of Louis XVI., 21st January, 1793.

uttered the most ferocious cries. The King undressed himself, and when he refused to allow the executioner to bind his hands, the Abbé Edgeworth said to him, "Suffer this outrage, which is but a final point of resemblance between your fate and that of the God who will be your recompense." Louis submitted, and allowed himself to be bound and led upon the scaffold. When there, he suddenly stepped aside from the executioners, and, addressing the multitude, said, "I die innocent; I pardon my enemies, and you, unhappy people. . . . ." The rolling of drums then drowned his voice, and the executioner seized him. "Son of Saint Louis, ascend to heaven!" said Abbé Edgeworth; and Louis XVI. had already ceased to live.

General Reflections on the death of the King.

Thus perished, on the 21st of January, after a reign of eighteen years' duration, one of the Monarchs who have most honoured the throne by their virtues. He had every disposition to introduce useful reforms, but he had not sufficient strength of character to maintain them, to direct the course of the Revolution, and to lead it into a safe haven. His execution was a great crime, of which France was not guilty, but of which she bore the punishment. It rendered the perils of the Revolution manifold, excited the mutual hatred of parties, and the first punishment fell upon its principal authors. The Girondists, on the 10th of August, had hurled the King from the throne; they would have been glad to save his life, but the greater number did not venture to undertake his defence; they feared to be accused of being counter-revolutionists and the accomplices of tyrants; and many, even, among whom was Vergniaud, in spite of themselves, gave a pledge of their devotion to the Revolution by voting for the death of the King. Eventually they became the victims of their own cowardice. The iniquity of the execution of Louis XVI., whilst it multiplied the dangers which surrounded the Convention, also had the effect of leading it into a course of violence in which it at length found it impossible to check its own progress. We shall see that each fresh crime committed by this famous Assembly created fresh enemies around it, and forced it to have recourse to cruel and tyrannical measures to hold them in check. It is only in this way that can be understood the fatal narrative of the events of the Revolution. If, after the battle of Jemappes, the life of Louis XVI. had been the pledge of peace between France and Europe, who would venture to say that the atrocious dictatorship of the

Committee of Public Safety would have become indispensable for the public safety?

After what occurred on the 21st January, indignant Europe flew to arms with one accord. Thenceforth the Revolution had for its declared enemies England, Holland, Spain, the whole German Confederation, Naples, the Holy See, and Russia; whilst almost at the same time La Vendée arose in formidable revolt. The French Government had now to contend with, beside the domestic enemy, three hundred and fifty thousand of the best troops in Europe, who were moving upon the frontiers in every direction. To meet such a combination of perils, Danton and the Mountain, who had chosen him for their leader, at first made every effort to excite the enthusiasm and fanaticism of the people in the name of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity; and strove to keep them in a state of violent agitation, so as to be the better able to turn their unbridled passions to the furtherance of their own ends. It was Danton who established the despotism of the multitude under the name of a Revolutionary Government. A levy of 300,000 men was ordered, and an extraordinary and revolutionary tribunal of nine members, whose decrees were to be without appeal, was established for the purpose of punishing the members of the Counter-Revolution. The Girondists resisted the establishment of a tribunal so arbitrary and formidable, but their resistance was useless. Branded by the name of intriguers and enemies of the people, their destruction was already resolved on. Marat and Robespierre made the greatest efforts to direct the popular feeling against them, and a plan for assassinating the whole of them by night was formed at the Jacobin and Cordelier Clubs, but was never carried into execution. On the following day Vergniaud ascended the tribune and denounced such murderous projects. "We advance," he said, "from amnesties to crimes, and from crimes to amnesties. Many citizens have come at length to confound seditious insurrections with the great insurrection in favour of liberty, to regard the provocations of brigands as the generous expressions of energetic souls! Citizens, it is to be feared that the Revolution will, even as Saturn did, devour successively all its children, and will finally produce despotism with all its customary calamities." Prophetic but useless words!

General rising of Europe against France, 1793.

Creation of a revolutionary tribunal, 20th March, 1793.

The insurrection in La Vendée redoubled the fury of the Jacobins.

Partial disturbances had already burst forth in that portion of Brittany, Anjou, and Poitou, which, being densely wooded, and almost without roads or commerce, possessed a middle class only partially developed, and without access to new ideas. There the manners of old times were maintained together with the feudal customs; there the country populations remained submissive to the priests and nobles, the latter of whom had not emigrated. The call for three hundred thousand men excited a general insurrection in Vendée, the chief leaders being a waggoner named Cathelineau, a naval officer named Charette, and Stofflet, a gamekeeper. Nine hundred communes rose at the sound of the tocsin, and the nobles Bonchamps, Lescure, La Rochejaquelin, d'Elbée, and Talmont joined and supported the movement with the utmost energy. They vanquished the troops of the line, and the battalions of the National Guard which were sent against them. Everything gave way before the fiery courage of the Vendean peasants; and, unarmed, they even seized artillery, by throwing themselves upon the cannon which were mowing down their ranks. The Republican Generals Marcé, Gauvilliers, Quétineau, and Ligonnier were beaten by them one after the other. The Vendeans, victorious and masters of many strong places, formed three corps of from ten to twelve thousand men each. The first, under Bonchamps, occupied the banks of the Loire, and was called the army of Anjou; the second, commanded by Elbée, being in the centre, was named the grand army; and the third, called the Marais, was under Charette, and occupied Lower Vendée. A council was appointed to direct the operations of the war, and Cathelineau was made generalissimo. This formidable insurrection provoked the Convention to still more cruel measures against the priests and nobles; every one who took part in any riot was put beyond the pale of the law; the property of the emigrants was confiscated, and the Revolutionary tribunal commenced its frightful functions.

War in La Vendée, 1792-1794.

Another enemy now appeared. Dumouriez, after an unsuccessful invasion of Holland, had been vanquished at the battle of Nerwinde by the Prince of Coburg, the Austrian commander-in-chief, and had been compelled to evacuate Belgium. Long since at open war with the Jacobins, he had meditated their overthrow, and the re-establishment of the constitutional monarchy. When, after the defeat of Nerwinde, he had become more than ever the object of

Battle of Nerwinde, 18th March, 1794.

their furious animadversions, he resolved to desert from the existing government, and to march upon Paris in concert with the Austrians, with the intention, it was supposed, of crowning in the capital the young Duke de Chartres, who was then in his camp, and had distinguished himself in the battles of Valmy and Jemappes. He promised the Austrians the possession of many fortified places as a guarantee of his good faith; but he failed in his attempts to gain possession of them, and at length made his projects visible to the Convention. The latter immediately summoned him to appear at its bar, and on his refusal to do so, sent the Minister for War, Beurnonville, and four deputies, Camus, Quinette, Lamarque and Bancal, to bring him before it, or to arrest him in the midst of his army. When they arrived Dumouriez gave them up to the Austrians; but he had relied too much on the affection of his soldiers; for they had caught the Revolutionary fever, and Dumouriez, abandoned by them, found himself compelled to pass over to the enemy's camp.

Defection of Dumouriez, April, 1793.

The Girondists made as severe animadversions on his conduct as did the Mountain, but they were nevertheless accused of being in complicity with him. Vergniaud, Brissot, Guadet, Gensonnée, and Pétion were more especially denounced by Robespierre and Marat. For a moment they displayed some vigour, and brought Marat before the Revolutionary tribunal; but he was acquitted and borne in triumph to the Assembly. From this time the Sans-culottes took possession of the avenues leading to the Chamber and the Tribunes. Guadet, with the object of freeing the Assembly from the tyranny of the Jacobins and the Commune, proposed bold measures, such as the dissolution of the municipality, and the assembling of the Convention at Bourges. Barrère, however, procured the adoption of another measure, according to which the Assembly established a committee of twelve members, entrusted with the duty of watching over the safety of the Commune, and arresting all who should form any plots against the national representatives.

A war to the death, fatal to the Gironde, soon took place between itself and the municipality. The Committee of Twelve terrified its enemies at once by arresting the infamous Hébert, the deputy of the procureur-general of the Commune, and the editor of the execrable paper, *Père Duchesne*. The Jacobin and Cordelier Clubs and the sections declared their sittings permanent, and organized a formidable insurrection under

the direction of Danton. The Girondists resisted, but the Mountain and the Sans-culottes burst forth into vociferations and menaces against them. The sitting was continued in a state of the most frightful disorder; and at length toward midnight, the petitioners, mixed on the same benches with the Mountain, voted for the dissolution of the Committee of Twelve, and the freedom of the prisoners.

This decree was revoked on the following day. The Commune, the Jacobins, the sections, again began to agitate; Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Chaumette, and Pache, the Mayor of Paris, leagued themselves together for the purpose of carrying out a second insurrection more formidable than the previous one. Henriot was appointed to the command of the armed force. Forty sous per day were promised to the Sans-culottes as long as they should be under arms. The alarm gun was fired, the tocsin was sounded, and the armed mob was led towards the Convention. The Tuileries, where it sat, was besieged, and its deliberations were interrupted. Barrère and the Committee of Public Safety then demanded the suppression of the Committee of Twelve, and it was definitely resolved on. This was sufficient for Danton, but it did not satisfy Robespierre, Marat, and the Commune. "We must not," said a deputy of the Jacobin Club, "allow the people to grow lukewarm." Henriot placed the armed force at the disposal of the club, and the arrest of the Girondist deputies was resolved on. Marat himself sounded the tocsin, and Henriot took the general direction of the movement. On the 2nd June, sixty thousand armed men surrounded the Convention. The intrepid Lanjuinais ran to the tribune, and there, in the midst of the most furious denunciations, he denounced the projects of the factions. "Paris is pure," he said; "Paris is good, but Paris is oppressed by tyrants who thirst after blood and power." He concluded by moving that all the Revolutionary authorities in the capital should be deposed. The insurgent petitioners entered at that moment, and demanded his arrest and that of his colleagues in the Committee of Twelve. A violent debate took place, in the midst of which Lacroix rushed into the hall, complaining of outrages to which he had been subjected by the mob, and declaring that the Convention was not free. The Mountain itself was indignant; Danton exclaimed that the national majesty must be avenged. The whole of the Convention arose, and set forth with the president at its head. On

Insurrection against the Girondists, 31st May, 1793.

Fall of the Girondists, 2nd June.

the Place du Carrousel it met Henriot on horseback, sword in hand. "What does the people require?" said to him the President Hérault de Séchelles; "the Convention only desires to promote its happiness." "The people has not arisen to listen to mere phrases," replied Henriot. "It demands that twenty-four criminals should be delivered up to it." "We will all be delivered up, rather!" cried the deputies. Henriot had his cannon pointed against them, and the Convention fell back. Surrounded on every side, it re-entered the Hall of Assembly in a state of profound discouragement, where it no longer opposed the arrest of the proscribed deputies, and Marat constituted himself dictator as to the fate of its members. Twenty-four Girondists were arrested in the midst of the Assembly, and the satisfied multitude dispersed. From this day the Girondist party was crushed, and the Convention was no longer free.

## CHAPTER II.

### FROM THE FALL OF THE GIRONDISTS TO THAT OF ROBESPIERRE.

*2nd June*, 1793, *to 27th July*, 1794 (*9th Thermidor, Year III.*)

The Girondists Pétion, Barbaroux, Guadet, Louvet, Buzot, and Lanjuinais succeeded in escaping, and took advantage of the indignation excited throughout France by the events of the 31st May and the 2nd June to arouse the departments to arms. Brittany took part in the movement, and the insurgents, under the name of the Assembly of the Departments, assembled at Caen, formed an army commanded by General Wimpfen, and made preparations for marching upon Paris. It is from thence that set out the heroic Charlotte Corday, a young girl endowed with an ardent soul, as courageous as it was enthusiastic. Indignant at the misfortunes inflicted by a few monsters on France and the cause of liberty, she had conceived the idea that she would render an immense service to her country by delivering it from Marat, the most atrocious of all; she killed him with a dagger in his bath, and died on the scaffold with exemplary courage. But the horrible system introduced by Marat did not perish with him; the violent situation of the Republic had set the sanguinary passions of the multitude in a ferment; Marat, slain, became their idol; his remains were borne in triumph to the Pantheon, and in every popular assembly his bust was placed side by side with that of the Deputy Lepelletier Saint-Fargeau, whom a soldier of the Guard, named Pâris, had punished for his regicide vote by assassinating him.

Death of Marat, July 13th, 1793.

In the meantime the dangers by which the Convention was surrounded become greater every day; the principal cities of the kingdom and more than sixty departments were in a state of revolt. A wretched fanatic, named Châlier, emulous of Marat, endeavoured to renew at Lyons the proscription of the Commune of Paris; a conflict took place; the municipality was taken

Insurrection of Lyons and the principal towns of the interior, June, 1793.

by assault by the sections, and Châlier was beheaded. Lyons, however, still acknowledged the authority of the Convention, till the 2nd June, when it declared itself against it, and twenty thousand men took up arms within its walls. Marseilles rose at the same time; Toulon, Nîmes, and Montauban followed this example, and in all those cities the Royalists headed the movement. They summoned the English to Toulon to their aid, and Admiral Hood entered that place to proclaim the young Dauphin, son of Louis XVI., King, by the name of Louis XVII. Bordeaux, equally in a state of revolt, declared in favour of the deputies proscribed on the 2nd June. The insurrection extended to the West; the Vendeans became masters of Bressuire, Argenton, and Thouars; forty thousand men under Cathelineau, Lescure, Stofflet, and La Rochejaquelin, took Saumur and Angers, and threw themselves upon Nantes. The position of the Republic was no more happy abroad. There was a complete want of harmony between the generals, who were for the most part Girondists, and the Mountain which was victorious in the Convention. It was in vain that Custine was appointed to the command of the army of the North; Mayence capitulated after a splendid resistance, which obtained for its defenders the title of the Mayençais; the enemy took Valenciennes and Condé; the frontier was entered, and the French army, greatly discouraged, retired behind the Scarpe, the last defensive position between the enemy and Paris.

**Progress of the revolt in La Vendée.**

**Success of the Allies.**

**Retreat of the French army on the Scarpe.**

The Convention resolved boldly to face all these perils which it had itself excited. It voted within the space of a few hours the establishment of a constitution which placed the power of the State in the hands of the multitude, but which, as its impracticability was evident even to its own concoctors, in a time of general war was suspended till the resumption of peace. It renewed at the same time a formidable committee, of recent creation, the aim of whose members was power, to meet the necessities of the moment. This committee, exclusively composed, since the 2nd June, of the most violent members of the Mountain, is famous in history by the name of the Committee of Public Safety. Its principal members were Robespierre, Saint-Just, Couthon, Collot-d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, Carnot, Cambon, and Barrère. The latter was the official mouthpiece of the

**Constitution of the Year II., 1793.**

committee; Cambon watched over the finances, and Carnot was Minister for War.

The excitement of the people was now extreme. The deputies of the municipalities demanded at the bar of the Convention the arrest of al suspected persons, and a levy-en-masse of the whole nation. "Let us grant what they desire!" exclaimed Danton; "it is by the cannon's roar that we must proclaim our constitution to our enemies. This, this is the moment when we should swear to devote the last drop of our blood to the annihilation of tyrants!" The oath was taken, and Barrère then, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, proposed urgent measures which were to be carried into execution by the most odious methods. All the young men of from eighteen to twenty years of age were summoned to join the army, and France speedily had at her command fourteen armies and twelve hundred thousand soldiers. But terror was employed to obtain means for their support. Violent and incessant requisitions were made upon the middle classes; and two abominable laws were passed, the law of the maximum, which compelled, on pain of death, all proprietors and merchants to furnish at a certain price all the provisions which the Government might require, and the law of suspected persons, which authorized the preliminary and unlimited imprisonment of every person suspected of conspiracy against the Revolution. France, transformed into a camp for one portion of its population, became a prison for another. The men of commercial pursuits and the bourgeoisie furnished the prisoners, and were placed, as well as the authorities, under the surveillance of the mob, as represented by the Club, which the Convention desired at any price to attach to itself. Every poor person received forty sous a day to be present at the Assemblies of his section; certificates of citizenship were given out, and each section had its Revolutionary committee.

The odious laws of maximum and suspected persons.

Revolutionary organization of the country.

By these violent methods the Convention obtained temporary resources sufficient to enable it to triumph over its enemies. The army under Calvados was put to flight at Vernon, and a solemn retractation was made by the insurgents at Caen. Bordeaux submitted; and Toulon and Lyons, after a desperate struggle, fell in succession before the Republican arms. La Vendée alone, long continued, in the name of the altar and the

Military success of the Convention in the interior.

War in Vendée, 1793.

throne, an heroic and terrible contest. Repulsed in an attack on Nantes, in which they lost the intrepid Cathelineau, the Vendeans fell back behind the Loire, and vanquished in succession the Republican Generals Biron, Rossignol, and Canclaux. At length, seventeen thousand men of the old garrison of Mayence, reputed the best troops in France, were sent into Vendée, commanded by Kléber, under the nominal command of the incapable Léchelle, who had been made generalissimo of the Republican armies. The Royalists vanquished Kléber and the Mayençais in one battle, but suffered four consecutive defeats at Châtillon and Chollet, in which their leaders Lescure, Bonchamps, and Elbée received mortal wounds. Surrounded on every side in La Vendée, the insurgents now demanded aid of England, which, before acceding to their request, made it a condition that they should first seize some sea-port. Eighty thousand Vendeans marched from their devastated country upon Granville; but they were repulsed from before this place from the want of artillery, were routed at Mans, and destroyed as they attempted to cross the Loire at Savenay. Charette continued the war, but lost the island of Noirmoutiers. The Achilles of La Vendée, the heroic Henri De la Rochejacquelin, was killed by a soldier whom he had spared. His death had the result of rendering the Republicans masters of the country, and the latter immediately commenced there a frightful system of extermination. La Vendée vanquished, was surrounded by General Thureau by sixteen entrenched camps, and twelve flying columns, known by the name of the infernal columns, traversed this unfortunate land, carrying everywhere death and fire.

Disastrous enterprise of the Vendeans against Granville.

Their defeat at Mans and Savenay, 1793.

The Republic was at the same time victorious on the frontiers. That of the North was the most seriously threatened. The Duke of York besieged Dunkirk with thirty-three thousand men; Freytag covered the siege with another army posted on the Yser; the Prince of Orange commanded fifteen thousand Dutch at Menin; and a hundred thousand soldiers of the allied armies, extending from Quesnoy to the Moselle, besieged the strong places which defended the passes. To prevent the invasion of France, it was necessary to cut this formidable line and to raise the siege of Dunkirk. Houchard, in command of the army of the North, suddenly

Campaign of 1793.

Operations of the Army of the North.

marched from this place with very inferior forces, and after a sanguinary attack on Menin, advanced in the first place against the corps of observation under Freytag. At the first encounter Freytag gave way, and his centre repassed the Yser; after which he returned to the charge for the purpose of disengaging his right wing. A second and desperate conflict took place, and the enemy retired in a body upon the Furnes road, where were the head quarters of the Duke of York, and halted at the village of Hondschoote, where he occupied a formidable position. Houchard followed him, and on the following day an attack took place along the whole line. Some dense thickets which covered the enemy became the central point of the action, and at length, the enemy's positions being taken, Freytag fell back in disorder upon Furnes. The raising of the siege of Dunkirk was one of the fruits of this victory, the news of which was received with enthusiasm.

Victory of Houchard at Hondschoote.

The siege of Dunkirk raised, September, 1793.

In the meantime the allies had fallen back upon their line of operations, and were posted in imposing masses on the Scheldt and the Meuse. Valenciennes, Condé, and Le Quesnoy having fallen into their power, gave them an important position on the Scheldt; and they desired to obtain one also on the Sambre, for the purpose of enabling them to advance with safety. The capture of Maubeuge would render them masters not only of the basin of the Sambre, but also of all the space between that river and the Meuse; and they accordingly invested that place. The Prince of Coburg, Commander-in-Chief, divided his army into two corps; the one, consisting of thirty-five thousand men, surrounded Maubeuge, whilst with the other corps, of almost equal strength, Coburg covered the siege by occupying the positions of Dourlens and Wattignies. Houchard, the victor at Hondschoote, had been superseded in command of the army of the North by Jourdan; and Carnot, in concert with that general, directed the operations. An attack on Wattignies was resolved on, and after a vigorous resistance that village was carried. This success led to the raising of the siege of Maubeuge, concentrated the allied army between the Scheldt and the Sambre, and enabled Jourdan to resume the offensive. Kellermann at the same time drove the Pied-

Maubeuge invested by the Austrians.

Victory of Jourdan at Wattignies.

The siege of Maubeuge raised, October, 1793.

montese beyond the Alps. France lost on the Pyrenees the lines of the Tech, and its army was forced to fall back in front of Perpignan. The lines of Weissemburg were also forced by the Prussians, in conjunction with the Austrians under Brunswick and Wurmser. But the young and intrepid Hoche, at the head of the army of the Moselle, arrived by a skilful march on Wurmser's flank, and having driven him back, effected his junction with the army of the Rhine. Brunswick followed Wurmser's retrograde movement; and from thenceforth the two French armies, combined, advanced and encamped in the Palatinate. France, in its struggle with Europe, recovered all that it had lost, with the exception of Condé, Valenciennes, and a few strong places in Roussillon. The allied princes obtained nothing, and reciprocally accused each other of being the cause of their mutual defeats.

France loses the lines of the Tech in the south, and of Weissemburg in the east.

Junction of the armies of the Rhine and Moselle. Retreat of the allies, 1793.

The glory of France at this time consisted entirely in its armies; which seemed to rival each other in their efforts to efface the opprobrium with which an atrocious government had branded the Republic in the eyes of Europe. The Committee of Public Safety followed its pitiless career of murder. "It is necessary," said the execrable Saint-Just, when procuring a decree for the continuance of the decemviral power until the conclusion of peace—"it is necessary that the sword of the law should fall in every direction as rapidly as possible, and that the weight of your arm should be everywhere felt." And thus was created that terrible power which ended by destroying itself. The executive authority was concentrated in the hands of this committee, which held the lives and fortunes of every one in its power; and which was supported by the populace, whom it bribed by means of the maximum, and who governed its action by means of the Revolutionary committees. After each victory obtained over its enemies within by the Republic, it ordered frightful executions or horrible massacres. Barrère announced a frightful anathema against the city of Lyons, the very name of which he declared should be annihilated, and replaced by that of the Commune Affranchie. Collot d'Herbois, Fouché, and Couthon were the barbarous executors of the decrees of the committee against this unfortunate city. The scaffold was too slow an instrument

The Committee of Public Safety, March, 1793.

The Reign of Terror, 1793-1794.

Atrocious vengeance of the Convention.

for their vengeance, and the vanquished insurgents were mowed down by musquetry in the public places.

Toulon, Caen, Marseilles, and Bordeaux became the theatre of horrible scenes. At Paris the most illustrious men and the leaders of all parties were dragged to the scaffold; the Queen, the noble Marie-Antoinette, and Bailly, perished thus within a few days of each other; and abominable circumstances were added to the horror of their condemnation and punishment. The Girondists who were proscribed on the 2nd June soon followed them, and walked to their death with the most stoical courage. The Duke of Orleans was not spared; Barnave and Duport-Dutertre were immolated, and with them the Generals Houchard, Custine, Biron, Beauharnais, and many others. Pétion and Buzot destroyed themselves, and their dead bodies were found half eaten by wolves. Madame Roland died on the scaffold, and when her husband heard of it he killed himself on the highway. All the fugitive Girondists were put beyond the pale of the law. Two hundred thousand suspected persons were imprisoned; blood flowed in all the cities; country mansions, convents, and churches were destroyed; monuments of art were broken in pieces; there were no hands left to cultivate the earth, and famine was added to the scourges which desolated France. The public credit was annihilated; and the expenses of the Government were supplied by the sale of the property of the proscribed persons, and by despotic measures which were enforced by threats. It was desired to consecrate, by the establishment of a new era, a revolution unexampled in history, and the divisions of the year, the names of the months and days, were changed, and the Christian calendar was replaced by a Republican calendar. The new era was dated from the 22nd September, 1792, the period at which the Republic was founded. According to this new arrangement the year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each—Vendémiaire, brumaire, and frimaire, for the autumn; nivôse, pluviôse, ventôse, for the winter; germinal, floréal, prairial, for the spring; and finally, messidor, thermidor, and fructidor, for the summer. The five supplementary days of the year received the odious name of the Sans-culottides. But this was not enough for the Commune of Paris, then under the direction of the infamous Chaumette, of his still more infamous substitute Hébert, of Ronsin, a general of the Revolutionary army, and of the

Execution of the Queen Marie-Antoinette, 10th October, 1793.

Punishment of the Girondists.

The Republican calendar.

atheist, Anacharsis Clootz. It demanded that the Constitutional bishop of Paris and his vicar-general should abjure Christianity at the bar of the Convention, decreed the worship of Reason, and established fêtes which became scandalous scenes of debauchery and atheism. It was only when its career of crime and folly had reached its height that the Revolutionary movement of the Commune received a check. When its madness had reached a certain point the Committee of Public Safety declared itself against it, and Robespierre was prohibited by the Convention from taking any measures against freedom of worship.

The worship of Reason. Impious festivals.

Danton and his friends, Camille Desmoulins, Philippeaux, Lacroix, Fabre d'Eglantine, and Westermann demanded much more. They wished to establish a legal system of order, and for the better accomplishment of this purpose desired to suspend the functions of the Revolutionary tribunal, to empty the prisons of the suspected persons, and to dissolve the committees. Camille Desmoulins published, with a view to this end, a journal which bore the name of the *Old Cordelier*, devoted to denunciations of the despotism of the dictators. Robespierre was the most formidable amongst them, and Camille and his friends endeavoured to gain him over to their views; but Robespierre played with them, and whilst affecting to be neutral towards the various antagonistic parties, really plotted the destruction of their chiefs one after the other. His colleagues in the Committee of Public Safety were furious against Camille and the Dantonists. He delivered the latter into their power, and obtained in return the heads of Hébert, Clootz, Chaumette, Ronsin, and the principal anarchists of the Commune. When this compact had been concluded, he ascended the tribune and denounced to the Convention as enemies of the Republic, in the first place the ultra-Revolutionists, and in the second the Dantonists, whom he called the Moderates. Saint-Just supported him, thundering against those whom he styled the enemies of virtue and terror, and demanding that the Government should be endowed with the most extensive powers for the purpose of punishing them. The anarchists of the Commune, Hébert, Clootz, Ronsin, and their accomplices, were the first of all seized and condemned; and most of them died as cowards (24th March, 1794.) The Revolutionary army was dissolved; and the

Fall of the Commune, March 24, 1794.

Convention compelled the Commune to appear at its bar to thank it for the very acts which destroyed its power.

The turn of Danton and his friends had now come. As famous representatives of the old Mountain, their names, and especially that of the leader, appeared to be all-powerful. Informed of the projected attacks of his enemies, Danton replied, as the Duke of Guise had formerly done, "They will not dare!" But the Committee reckoned with good reason on the fears of the Assembly. The Dantonists were arrested on the 10th Germinal, and Robespierre prevented their being heard in the Assembly. "We shall see to-day," he said, "whether the Convention will know how to break a pretended idol which has too long been in a state of decay, or whether this idol will crush the Convention and the people in its fall." Saint-Just read the accusation against the accused, and the Assembly, a prey to a stupor of fear, decreed their trial. On being brought before the Revolutionary tribunal, they distinguished themselves by their openly expressed contempt for their judges. When they had been condemned, Danton exclaimed, "They immolate us to the ambition of a few villanous brigands, but they will not long enjoy their success. . . . I drag Robespierre along with me. . . . Robespierre follows me. . . . ." They walked boldly to their punishment through the midst of a silent crowd. From that time no voice was raised for some time against the Decemvirs, and the Convention decreed that "Terror and all the virtues were the order of the day."

Arrest of the Dantonists.

Their execution, April 5, 1795.

During four months the power of the two formidable Committees, that of the Public Safety, and that of the General Security, continued to be unlimited, and death became the only instrument of Government. The agents of the Committee of Public Safety were substituted for those of the Mountain in the departments; and it was then that the proconsuls Carrier, in the city of Nantes, Joseph Lebon, in that of Arras, and Maignet, at Orange, distinguished themselves by their atrocities. At Orleans, the principal inhabitants were slain; at Verdun, seventeen young girls, accused of having danced at a ball given by the Prussians, perished on the scaffold on the same day; at Paris, amongst the most illustrious victims of this period may be mentioned the octogenarian Marshals Noailles and

Sanguinary frenzy of the envoys of the Committee of Public Safety in the departments, 1794.

Maillé, the ministers Machault and Laverdi, the learned Lavoisier, the venerable Lamoignon de Malesherbes, three members of the Constituent Assembly, D'Eprémesnil, Thouret, and Chapelier; and finally, the angelic Princess Elizabeth, whose blood was demanded by Billaud-Varennes. "It is only the dead who never come back," said Barrère. "The more the social body perspires," added Collot-d'Herbois, "the better is its health." It was by means of this system that the infernal Robespierre and the fanatic Saint-Just declared that they desired to establish the reign of virtue. They associated with themselves the paralytic and pitiless Couthon, and formed together, even within the committee itself, a formidable triumvirate, which, by isolating, destroyed itself. But before they became disunited, the Decemvirs endeavoured to lay the foundations of a new code of morals and new institutions. Robespierre, whilst reigning by means of murder, nevertheless perceived that it was necessary to the existence of society that it should have a religious basis; and he consequently caused the Convention to decree, that the French people acknowledged the existence of a God and the immortality of the soul. He then had fêtes dedicated to the Supreme Being, to truth, justice, virtue, friendship, frugality, good faith, and misery. Regarded by his fanatical admirers as the chief founder of a moral democracy and as the new pontiff of the Eternal, he now attained the height of his power.

The fête of the Supreme Being, the 20th Prairial (June 8th, 1794.)

The 20th Prairial, the day consecrated to the fête of the Supreme Being, was the culminating point of Robespierre's triumph. As president of the Convention he walked at its head alone, and twenty paces in advance of the other members. He was the object of general attention, his countenance was radiant with pride and delight; he bore flowers and ears of corn in his hands, and advanced to the altar, from whence he addressed the people in the character of their high-priest. It was hoped that from thenceforth the Government would be of a gentle character, but he concluded his address with these words: "People, let us surrender ourselves to-day to the transports of an unmixed joy; to-morrow we will renew our conflict with vices and tyrants." On the following day, the 21st Prairial, the executions were recommenced, and Robespierre caused Couthon to propose an execrable law, the sanguinary purport of

which might be applied at pleasure to every French subject. According to this law, accused persons were to be refused the advice of counsel, and to be tried in batches, while the juries were to be bound by no other rule than that of their own consciences. It was adopted; and now Fouquier-Tinville, the public accuser, and the judges, his accomplices, members of the Revolutionary tribunal, scarcely sufficed for the condemnation of those who were proscribed. In Paris alone fifty victims a day were dragged off to punishment. The scaffold was transferred to the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, and an aqueduct was constructed to receive and carry off the blood that was shed on it.

The immortal campaign of 1794 was commenced under this execrable Government; and the northern frontier was still, in this year, the chief theatre of the war. The principal positions occupied by the French were Lille, Guise, and Maubeuge; and they were under the command of Pichegru, Jourdan having left the command in chief of the army of the North for that of the army of the Moselle. The Prince of Coburg, the Commander-in-Chief of the allied armies, commenced operations by the blockade of Landrecies with an army of about a hundred thousand men. The English, under the Duke of York, covered the blockade on the side of Cambrai, and Coburg himself, with a numerous corps, posted himself on the side of Guise, whilst the Austrian general, Clairfait, extended his forces in front of Menin and Courtray. Such were the positions of the two armies when the invasion of Flanders by the left wing of the French army was resolved on. General Souham and Moreau marched rapidly from Lille towards the enemy's right, and obtained at Mouscron a first victory over Clairfait. Jourdan then received orders to detach forty-five thousand men from the army of the Moselle, and to advance by forced marches on the Sambre and the Meuse, for the purpose of crushing the allied left. The adoption of this plan secured the success of the campaign. The allies in vain endeavoured to cut the French forces in twain by a bold march upon Turcoing, which lies between Lille and Courtray, General Souham obtaining a complete victory over the Duke of York at Turcoing. The enemy, how-

The campaign of 1794.

Operations in Flanders.

The blockade of Landrecies.

Victories of Souham and Moreau at Mouscron and Turcoing.

ever, rallied before Tournay, and held our victorious army in check, whereupon Landrecies fell. Jourdan now came up with the army of the Moselle and effected a junction with the army of the North. The victory of Turcoing was a presage of others, and our two wings threatened to envelope the enemy. Pichegru advanced upon the Austrian left, and besieged Ypres, with the design of inducing Clairfait to advance to its succour; the plan succeeded, and he vanquished the latter at Hooglede, whilst Jourdan invested Charleroi and occupied the banks of the Sambre.

Junction of a portion of the army of the Moselle with the army of the North.

Pichegru triumphant at Hooglede.

The Prince of Orange and Coburg marched successively to the relief of this important place. Jourdan, after having been frequently repulsed, again crossed the river, and seized the heights bordering the plains of Fleurus, which had already become associated with the glory of the French arms in the reign of Louis XIV. In this position a battle took place between the opposed forces on the 16th June, 1794. The two armies were almost equal, and eighty thousand men on either side took part in the action. Charleroi fell into the power of the French, and the enemy, ignorant of this reverse, threw the combined forces of the Prince of Orange and Coburg upon those of Jourdan, with the object of delivering it. Kléber, Championnet, Lefebvre, and Marceau commanded our divisions. Kléber, by a vigorous charge, repulsed the allies' right, and Jourdan drove back their centre and left. The enemy, already broken, having discovered at length that Charleroi, which it was endeavouring to save, had fallen, hesitated, and then gave way, and the victory was won. Coburg ordered a retreat, and determined to concentrate all his forces in the direction of Brussels for the purpose of covering that capital, but Pichegru advanced more quickly than he, and Brussels was speedily occupied by the army of the North under himself, and the army under Jourdan, which received the name of the army of the Sambre and Meuse. The enemy, dispersed, fell back towards the Meuse and the Rhine; and France not only recovered all the places she had lost, but made new conquests.

The battle of Fleurus. Victory of Jourdan, 16th June, 1794.

Invasion of Belgium by Pichegru and Jourdan. Retreat of the enemy.

Our armies in Belgium had never been more numerous or formidable. Pichegru had seventy thousand men under his command, and Jourd

a hundred and sixteen thousand. The administration, exhausted by such efforts, could neither properly support the troops, nor supply them with sufficient equipments; but the soldiers managed to dispense with what are generally considered the greatest necessaries. They no longer encamped in tents, but bivouacked beneath the branches of trees. The officers, left without pay, lived as did the private soldiers, ate the same kind of bread, and marched on foot as they did, with their knapsacks on their backs. The enthusiasm of victory was the support of these immortal armies.

Pichegru continued his march towards the mouth of the Scheldt and the Meuse, driving back the English towards the sea, whilst Jourdan occupied the Meuse between Liége and Maëstricht, in front of Clairfait and the Austrians. To enable Jourdan to reach the bank of the Rhine, it was necessary that he should cross the Meuse, and before he could do this it was necessary that he should force the enemy's lines on the Ourthe and the Roër, tributaries of the Meuse. He fought two battles in succession on these two streams, and was victorious in each, pursued Clairfait as far as the Rhine, took Cologne, and besieged Maëstricht. The army of the North thus obtained possession of the line of that river, and Bois-le-Duc and Venloo fell before it. The Duke of York, unskilful and unsuccessful in all his tactics, evacuated the district between the Meuse and the Wahal, one of the branches of the Rhine, and fell back towards Nimeguen on the Wahal, where Pichegru speedily arrived to engage him. On the 8th November, this place fell into the hands of the French; and with this last and brilliant success terminated this glorious campaign in the north. The army went into cantonments, and the overflowing of the waters at the approach of winter compelled the suspension of the invasion of Holland till the spring.

Victories of Jourdan on the Ourthe and the Roër. Conquest of the bank of the Rhine.

Evacuation of left bank of the Rhine by the Duke of York. Pichegru captures Nimeguen.

The effect of these successes was felt by the armies of the Moselle and the Upper Rhine, commanded by General Michaud. The Prussians, whom they faced, being no longer supported by the Austrians on the north, did not venture to make head against these armies in the Vosges, and recrossed the Rhine; where there only remained in the possession of the allies on the left bank of that river, Luxemburg and Mayence, the blockade of

Success of Michaud in the east, of Dugomier and Moncey in the south.

which was immediately ordered by the Committee of Public Safety. The French arms triumphed simultaneously in the north, the east, and the south. Dugommier and Moncey promptly repaired the first reverses on the frontiers of Spain, and having driven the Spaniards out of France, invaded the peninsula, where Moncey took Saint Sebastian and Fontarabia.

Such was the prosperous state of France abroad, when, weary and disgusted at the atrocities which disgraced the country at home, a certain number of members of the Mountain resolved to put an end to them, and to avenge Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and their other murdered friends. At the head of this party were the Conventionalists Tallien, Bourdon de l'Oise, and Legendre; and they were supported, in the Committee of Public Safety, by Billaud-Varennes, and Collot-d'Herbois, who were both jealous of the power of the triumvirate, and in that of the General Security by Vadier, Voulant, and Amar, who belonged to the overthrown faction of the Commune. Robespierre, irritated at their sullen resistance to his views, was resolved to crush and destroy them, and they perceived that they must either anticipate his designs or be his victims. They first accused him of tyranny in the committees, and spoke of him under the name of Pisistratus; they then reproached him with intending to make himself pass as an apostle sent by God by favouring the meetings held by the old Chartreuse dom Guerle and a ridiculous fanatic named Catherine Théot, whom they sent to the scaffold in spite of him. From this time Robespierre appeared but rarely in the Committees, and making the Jacobin Club the central point of his sway, denounced there those whom he termed the Dantonists. All-powerful in this club, master of the mob, and supported by the Mayor Fleuriot, by Henriot, the commander of the armed force, and by the Revolutionary tribunal, all the members of which were his creatures, he believed himself to be powerful enough to attack his enemies in the very midst of the Convention, and on the 18th Thermidor denounced there the committees. He was listened to in silence, and then received a first repulse; his address being referred for examination to the very committees whom he accused. He went on the same evening to the Jacobin Club, where he gave way to his rage, and where he was received with enthusiasm. Every preparation was made at this club during the night for an insurrection; and at the same time a league was formed between the Conventionalists, the Dantonists, the Right, and the Marais.

Conspiracy against Robespierre.

The sitting of the 9th Thermidor (27th July, 1794) opened under the most threatening auspices. Saint-Just ascended the tribune, and opposite him was seated Robespierre; Tallien and Billaud interrupted Saint-Just and commenced the attack. Robespierre jumped forward to reply to them, when a cry arose from every side of "Down with the tyrant!" Tallien brandished a dagger, and threatened to plunge it into the heart of him whom he designated as the modern Cromwell, and persuaded the Assembly to order the arrest of Henriot, and to declare its sitting a permanent one. "Let us now consider the conduct of the tyrant," continued Tallien. A thousand threatening cries prevented Robespierre from being heard, when he made a final effort, and exclaimed, "President of assassins! For the last time, will you obtain me a hearing?" Finding that he could not obtain it, he ran amidst the benches of the Assembly like a madman, addressing supplications to the members of the Right, who repulsed him with horror, till at length he fell back into his seat exhausted and speechless. "Miserable wretch!" said a member, "it is the blood of Danton that stifles you!" His arrest was immediately proposed. His brother and Lebas requested to be allowed to share his fate, and the Assembly unanimously ordered that they should be arrested along with Robespierre, Couthon, and Saint-Just. "The Republic is lost," said Robespierre; "the brigands are triumphant."

Fall of Robespierre, 9th Thermidor (July 27, 1794).

The victory, however, was still uncertain. The Jacobins had also declared their sitting permanent, and had sworn to die, according to their own expression, rather than live under a criminal government. The municipal deputies proceeded to their club, and Henriot ran through the streets with a drawn sabre in his hand, crying "To arms!" But he was arrested, together with the national agent Payan, and loaded with chains. The sections took up arms, and the Convention summoned them to its defence. During the day they were successful, and during the hours of darkness the insurgents obtained the advantage. The latter marched in a body to the prisons, and set free Robespierre, Henriot, and their accomplices. Henriot immediately had the Convention surrounded, and cannon pointed against it. Terror reigned in the Assembly, but the imminence of the danger gave it courage; Henriot was put beyond the pale of the law; his gunners refused to fire, and retreated with him to the Hôtel de Ville. This refusal decided the fate of the contest. The

Convention, in its turn, assumed the offensive, attacked the Commune, and put its members beyond the pale of the law. Barré was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the armed force; the battalions of the sections swore to defend the Assembly, and marched through its midst, whilst they were addressed by the President, who said to them, "Go; and take care that the day does not break before the head of the conspiracy has fallen!" It was midnight when the sections marched upon the Commune, to which Robespierre had been carried in triumph, and where he now sat motionless, and as though paralysed by terror. The proclamation of the Assembly, which placed the Commune beyond the pale of the law, was posted up in the Place de Grève, and the groups collected there immediately dispersed and left it empty. The Hôtel de Ville was surrounded by cries of "Long live the Convention!" Despair and rage took possession of those who had been proscribed. Lebas killed himself; young Robespierre threw himself from a third floor window and survived his fall; Couthon struck himself with a trembling hand; Coffinhal overwhelmed Henriot with execrations, and threw him from a window into a sewer; and Robespierre remained motionless, and as though petrified by irresolution and terror. The assailants forced the doors and rapidly ascended the stairs. A gendarme fired a pistol at Robespierre and broke his jaw-bone.* He was seized, together with his colleagues and the principal members of the Commune; and on the following day they were tried by the same Revolutionary tribunal which they had so long fed with victims, and which now sent them in their turn to the scaffold. An immense crowd collected round the car in which Robespierre, his head enveloped in a bloody cloth, sat, between Henriot and Couthon, who were as mutilated as himself. The spectators cursed him, and congratulated each other at the approaching end of the tyrant before his eyes; and at the moment when his head fell beneath the knife, prolonged shouts of applause filled the air. France once more breathed freely, and the Reign of Terror was at an end.

* It has been very generally believed that Robespierre made an attempt to commit suicide; this, however, is an error which M. de Lamartine ("Hist. of the Girondists") has done much to dissipate.

## CHAPTER III.

### FROM THE FALL OF ROBESPIERRE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY.

### *27th July*, 1794 (*9th Thermidor, Year III.*), *to* *26th October*, 1795 (*4th Brumaire, Year IV.*).

Reaction against the Terrorists.

The Revolutionary movement attained its greatest power on the 9th Thermidor, and on the same day the reaction against it set in. The committees had overcome themselves when they overcame Robespierre. Two new parties were now formed: that of the Committees, and that of the Mountain, which had contributed with Tallien to the victory of the 19th Thermidor, and which hence was called the Thermidorians. The first party relied on the Jacobin Club and the faubourgs, and the second on the majority of the Convention and the National Guard, or armed sections.

A great number of prisoners were set free during the days which followed the 9th Thermidor, and seventy-two members of the Commune perished on the scaffold. The members of the Revolutionary tribunal were replaced, and the powers of the committees were diminished. The odious law of the 22nd Prairial, relative to the criminal procedure, was abolished. Only three assemblies of the sections were allowed a month, and the gratuity of forty sous a day given to the poor citizens who attended them was suppressed. Finally, the affiliation of the parent-society of the Jacobins with all the other Jacobin Clubs in France was prohibited. At the same time Fréron summoned the young men to arms against the Terrorists in the columns of his journal, *The Orator of the People;* and in answer to his appeal a crowd of young men belonging to the wealthier and middle classes, who received the name of the "Gilded Youth," traversed the streets in numerous bands, armed with loaded clubs, and waging desperate war against the Jacobins. The club of the latter was attacked and taken after an energetic resistance, and all Paris

became but one field of battle. The Convention supported all these reactionary proceedings, and sent for trial the atrocious Fouquier-Tinville, the public accuser, as well as Joseph Lebon and Carrier, who had fulfilled their missions, the one at Arras and the other at Nantes, as demoniacal exterminators. All three paid the penalty of their crimes on the scaffold, and their atrocities being publicly revealed, added still more to the horror inspired by their late accomplices. The Convention recalled to its Assembly seventy-three deputies who had been proscribed for having protested against the condemnation of the Girondists; revoked the decrees of expulsion issued against the priests and nobles; re-established public worship; suppressed the maximum; and had the bust of Marat in its own hall broken. A new crop of evils, however, was produced by the sudden reaction. Eight millions of assignats had been sent into circulation, and when there were no longer any violent laws to enforce their currency, they immediately fell fifteen times below their first value; cash disappeared from circulation, and the prodigious fall in the value of the assignats was followed by a wild system of speculation which ruined a multitude of families. Monopoly succeeded the terrible law of the maximum, and the farmers avenged themselves for their long and cruel oppression by holding back all species of provisions. Famine now made its appearance, and the lower orders of the faubourgs regretted the time when the system of government gave them bread and power, and once more had recourse to tumults.

**Recall of the proscribed Girondists.**

**Bankruptcy of the assignats.**

**Stock-jobbing.**

**Famine.**

Several of the most famous Terrorists, Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, Barrère, and Vadier, were condemned to transportation, and were taken to the fortress of Ham, together with seventeen members of the Crête, who had supported a first insurrection, the object of which was to save them. A second insurrection, which took place on the 12th Germinal, had no better success; but at length on the 1st Prairial, a third was organized on a very formidable plan. On that day the conspirators declared that "In the name of the insurgent people they would obtain bread and resume their rights—the re-establishment of the Constitution of '93; the release of the patriots; and the suspension of all authority which did not emanate from the people." They resolved to create a new municipality; to seize the

**The people and the Convention. 1st Prairial, (April 20, 1795.)**

barriers, the telegraph, and the tocsin; and never to pause in their work until they should have procured for every inhabitant of France food, security, and happiness. They invited all the troops to join their ranks, and marched rapidly upon the Convention, which, taken by surprise, called the sections to arms. The doors of the Hall of Assembly were broken through, and the multitude, accompanied by a furious mob of women, invaded the tribunes, crying out, "Bread! and the Constitution of '93!" The hall of the Assembly speedily became a field of battle. The deputy Auguis, sword in hand, at the head of the veterans and the gendarmes, at first repulsed the assailants, but they returned to the charge. The president, Boissy d'Anglas, was aimed at, and deputy Féraud, who rushed forward to protect him, was himself wounded, dragged away by the crowd and beheaded. The greater number of the deputies took to flight, but Boissy d'Anglas remained calmly seated, protesting against the outrages committed by the mob. The insurgents thrust their weapons against his breast and demanded that he should put their propositions to the vote. When he refused, they presented to him on a pike the bleeding head of Féraud, and he uncovered and bowed before it. The deputies of the Crête, who were favourable to the insurrectionary movement, put an end to this terrible scene by seizing the bureaux, and decreeing by themselves alone the articles contained in the insurgents' manifesto. But the battalions of the sections now arrived, possessed themselves of the Carrousel, entered the Hall of Assembly with fixed bayonets, and drove the crowd before them. The members returned in a body, annulled the votes which had been passed during the tumult, and ordered the arrest of fourteen of their number who had been accomplices of the insurgents. On the following day the armed faubourgs made a vain attempt at a fresh attack, and at length, on the 4th Prairial, after a tumult of which the object was to set free the murderer of the deputy Féraud, the faubourgs were surrounded and disarmed. The Convention then suppressed the Revolutionary Committee, and abolished the Constitution of '93. Thus ended the rule of the People, and from this time the Girondist party became predominant in the Assembly.

The courage of Boissy d'Anglas.

Abolition of the Constitution of 1793.

The reaction which commenced in Thermidor did not check the success of our troops, whose audacity was seconded by a severe winter. During the last days of 1794 the cold became

Campaigns of 1794 and 1795.

excessive, and the ice rendered the Meuse and the Wahal, which were the enemy's defences, passable at several points. The French troops, destitute of clothes and shoes, and worn out by the fatigues attendant on their brilliant feats of arms, had scarcely been a month in their winter cantonments, when, at the sight of the rivers enchained in ice, their ardour, excited as much by the consternation of the enemy as by the wishes of the Dutch patriots, acknowledged no obstacles. Under Pichegru's command they entered Holland at several points, upon which the Duke of York and his army retreated in disorder upon Deventer; whilst the Prince of Orange, stupified by dismay, remained immovable at Gorcum. The patriots who were hostile to the Stadtholder supported the efforts of the French army, and within a short time the whole of Holland was conquered. The Stadtholder fled to England, and the States-General governed the Republic, which formed a close alliance with France. Prussia, being now threatened, concluded a peace at Basle, and Spain, in which country the French were in possession of many places, speedily followed the example of Prussia by signing a treaty, the principal condition of which was that the French conquests in the Peninsula should be exchanged for the Spanish portion of St. Domingo.

Conquest of Holland by Pichegru, January, 1795.

Peace of Basle, April 5, 1795.

France was less fortunate in the course of this year on her eastern frontier. Pichegru had resigned the command of the army of the North to take that of the army of the Rhine; he occupied the left bank of that river from Mayence to Strasburg; whilst Jourdan, with the army of Sambre and Meuse, was cantoned on the Rhine, in the direction of Cologne. The allies had lost the whole of the left bank, with the exception of Luxemburg and Mayence. The first of these places was reduced by famine on the 24th June, and thenceforth it was the object of the French to cross the river, the right bank of which was defended by the Austrians, under Clairfait and Wurmser. But their armies were not only in want of absolute necessaries, but of war *matériel* and the means of constructing bridges. It was necessary, therefore, to delay this operation many months, and at length, on the 6th September, Jourdan effected the passage at three points, in the environs of Dusseldorf; whilst Pichegru crossed it almost at the same time above the strong fortress of Manheim, which immediately surren-

Passage of the Rhine by the army of the Sambre and Meuse under Jourdan, and by the army of the Rhine under Pichegru, September, 1795.

dered. Had the two armies now acted in concert and effected a junction in the valley of the Main, they would have been able to repulse Clairfait and Wurmser, and to have vanquished them in succession; but this plan was not followed. Pichegru had an understanding with the Prince of Condé, the leader of the emigrant party; he already plotted the betrayal of the Republic, and compromised his own army and that of Jourdan by the weakness of his movements. He allowed Clairfait time to concentrate superior forces against him, to allow himself to be beaten disgracefully, and then shut himself up in Manheim. Clairfait now marched against Jourdan, who, separated from Pichegru, shut in between the Rhine and the neutral ground of Prussia, and in want of the means of supporting his troops, was forced to retreat and recross the river. Thirty thousand French troops continued to invest Mayence; but Clairfait by a skilful manœuvre forced their lines and drove them to the foot of the Vosges, on the left bank of the Rhine. Manheim, Dusseldorf, and Neuwied now alone remained in the possession of the French on the right bank, and after the conclusion of an armistice, which was the necessary consequence of this reverse, the French troops went into cantonments.

**Defeat of Pichegru at Heidelberg.**

**Retreat of the armies of the Rhine and of Sambre and Meuse. Loss of the lines of Mayence, 1795.**

Brilliant successes counterbalanced this check suffered by the armies of the Rhine. The important treaty concluded with Spain enabled the armies of the Pyrenees and of the Maritime Alps commanded by Kellerman to effect a junction; and when these forces were united they were enabled to assume the offensive. The object now was by a decisive victory to force the passes of the Apennines and to force Piedmont to be neutral. Kellerman was superseded by Scherer, whose army, shut in between the sea and the chain of the Apennines, was faced by the Piedmontese army under Colli, and the Austrian army. The former extended from the crest of the Apennines to the basin of Loano, as far as the sea, whilst the latter occupied the opposite side of the mountains towards the Po, and was strongly entrenched in the camp of the Ceva. Scherer now attempted a bold stroke. Massena, by his orders, crossed the crest of the Apennines and divided the two hostile armies, whilst Serrurier deceived Colli by a feigned attack and drove the Austrians into the basin of the Loano. A complete victory was the result

**Junction of the armies of the Pyrenees and Maritime Alps.**

**Victory of Scherer at Loano, November, 1795.**

of this skilful manœuvre; and although a tempest accompanied by a dense fall of snow covered their precipitate retreat, twenty pieces of cannon and immense magazines fell into the hands of the victors, and Italy lay open before them.

The Republican arms were no less successful in Vendée, where the want of harmony between the two principal leaders, Charette and Stofflet, enfeebled the insurgent forces. The Marquis de Puisaye, the active agent of the Royalist party in Brittany, requested and obtained the aid of England, and Admiral Bridport set sail with the two first divisions of emigrants, commanded by Count d'Hervilly and M. de Sombreuil; a third following under the orders of Count d'Artois. An engagement took place off Belle-Isle between the fleet of Admiral Bridport and that of the Republican Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse. Bridport having gained the victory, effected the disembarkation of the two divisions in the Bay of Quiberon, near Vannes. One of them immediately took possession of Fort Penthièvre, which commanded the narrow peninsula, almost island, of Quiberon, on which the disembarkation had taken place. The emigrants immediately marched against the Republican army, in the absence of Hoche who commanded it. On being informed of this sudden attack he immediately hastened up, and the Royalists were repulsed, and mowed down by artillery. Sombreuil arrived too late with his division to support so unequal a fight; a storm had driven away the fleet, and retreat was impossible. The Republican troops had obtained possession of Fort Penthièvre by the aid of treason; the night came on, and a frightful massacre took place. D'Hervilly was slain, and Sombreuil and eight hundred of his troops were compelled, after an heroic resistance, to capitulate. But the representative, Tallien, having arrived on the field of battle and assumed the chief command, would not recognise capitulation, and the vanquished emigrants, after having been thrown into prison, in defiance of all the engagements entered into with them, were tried by military law, and shot.

**The Quiberon Expedition. Destruction of the Royalist army, June, 1795.**

England made a fresh effort to support the civil war in the west, and an English fleet carried thither a French prince, the Count d'Artois, and several regiments. At the summons of the intrepid Charette all the coast line of Brittany took up arms in the expectation of the Prince's disembarkation, and it seemed probable that this great movement might change

in that part of the kingdom the fate of the war. But after having remained for some weeks at Isle-Dieu, Count d'Artois returned to England without having set foot on the Continent. The English fleet, driven about by contrary winds, could afford no assistance to the Chouans,* and none of the hopes inspired by this expedition were realized.

The Count d'Artois at Isle-Dieu, 1795.

Thus, then, with the exception of the check suffered by our arms in the East, the Republican armies were everywhere successful in the course of 1795. They had conquered, in the north, the whole of Holland, and in the south the passage of the Apennines, the Gate of Italy. The hopes which Brittany and La Vendée had founded on the assistance of England had vanished at Quiberon; and three powers had laid down their arms—Prussia, Holland, and Spain. The Royal cause seemed desperate, and in this year it had also lost the Dauphin, the son of Louis XVI., who had been proclaimed King of France by the Royalists after the 21st of January, by the title of Louis XVII. This Prince, aged only eight years at the death of his father, had been torn from the arms of his mother, his aunt, and his sister, and confided to the care of a wretch named Simon, a shoemaker by trade, and an outrageous Republican, who, under the pretext of giving the Royal child a Republican education, treated him with outrageous and brutal violence. The early death of this young prince was attributed to the cruel treatment he had suffered at the hands of this frightful man, and took place in June, 1795. His right to the throne passed to his uncle, Louis-Stanislas-Xavier, Count de Provence, whom the emigrants and foreign powers thenceforth recognised as King of France, under the title of Louis XVIII.

Death of Louis XVII., June, 1795.

After the failure at Quiberon all the hopes of the Royalists depended on the reactionary movement taking place in the interior of the kingdom. This movement, at first guided by the moderate Republicans, soon became so violent as to bear comparison with the Revolutionary fury. Too many crimes had been committed in the name of the Convention for that body, in spite of its late proceedings,

Reaction against the Convention.

* The name of *Chouans* was given to those peasants who formed the principal Royalist forces in Anjou and Lower Brittany. The origin of this name has given rise to various suppositions, but the most probable is that it is derived from a family of that name which was the first to rise in Anjou.

not to be the object of the indignation and hatred of a multitude of generous spirits. This feeling was warmly cherished by the journalists, who formed a powerful confederacy against it, and whose principal members were Charles Lacretelle, La Harpe, Richer de Sérisy, and Tronçon du Coudray. The Gilded Youth abandoned the Convention, and the bourgeoisie displayed an equally hostile spirit; crowds collected on the Boulevards, singing the "Reveil du Peuple," and pursued the Jacobins with furious cries of "Hunt the Terrorists!" and great excesses were committed. The Convention put a stop to this vengeance in the capital, but in the provinces its authority was powerless to prevent its being exacted. In the South, especially, its enemies committed frightful acts of violence. Associations were formed under the names of Jesus and The Sun, which devoted themselves to the most sanguinary reprisals. The prisons were filled with men accused of having taken an active part in the Reign of Terror, and at Lyons, at Aix, at Tarascon, and Marseilles, such were pitilessly destroyed. This Revolutionary movement produced serious disturbances, and placed the Convention in peril within the kingdom, whilst it was so triumphant abroad. The Emigrant party, having lost all hope of being able to overthrow it by force, now had recourse to the sections of Paris, and endeavoured to bring about a counter-revolution by means of the Constitution of the Year III.

Constitution of the Year III. (1795.)

This Constitution was less defective than those which had been established or projected in 1789. It placed the Legislative power in two councils, that of the Five Hundred, and that of the Ancients; whilst the executive power was entrusted to a Directory of five members. It re-established the two degrees of election, and made it necessary for a man to possess a certain amount of property before he could become a member either of the primary or electoral Assemblies. The initiative in the proposal of laws was given to the Five Hundred; and the power of either passing or rejecting them resided in the Council of the Ancients. The first consisted of five hundred members, who were thirty years old at least, and the second of two hundred and fifty, who were over forty years of age. The five Directors were chosen by the two Councils. Each of the directors was President for three months, during which he possessed the seals. Each year the Directory

was renewed by a new member. It had a guard, and was lodged in the Palace of the Luxembourg. The frightful memories of the Reign of Terror, which inflamed the reactionary feelings of the middle classes, and drove the Convention to the necessity of defending itself, became fatal to the new Constitution, which perished chiefly through the hatred and detestation felt for those by whom it had been drawn up. The latter perceived the danger of their position if the new Councils should be chosen in accordance with the prevailing opinions, and in order therefore to secure for themselves a majority in the choice of the Directors, they determined, by the decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor, that two-thirds of the members of the Convention should be members of the new Councils.

Decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor. (August, 1795.)

These decrees, as well as the scheme of the Constitution, were submitted to the primary Assemblies, and were approved by the departments. Paris, however, being under the direct influence of the Journalists, accepted the new Constitution, but rejected the decrees, the adoption of which by the majority of the primary Assemblies of the Republic was proclaimed on the 1st Vendémiaire. This was the signal for a serious commotion. The Journalists and the Royalist chiefs of the sections loudly exclaimed against the Convention's tyranny; the burgesses composing the National Guard nominated a College of Electors, and swore to defend it to the death. The Convention, justly alarmed, declared its sitting permanent, summoned the troops encamped on the plain of Sablons to its aid, armed eighteen hundred patriots, and dissolved the College of Electors. The section Lepelletier was the first to declare itself opposed to these measures, and to excite the other sections against the Convention by inspiring them with fears of a return of the Reign of Terror; a first attack upon them was ill managed by the Convention's officer, General Menou, and the insurgents regarded themselves as victors, and forty thousand burgesses were soon under arms, ready to march against the Convention. The latter made Barras Commander-in-Chief, and Barras requested and obtained the assistance of a young general who had particularly distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon—Napoleon Bonaparte. It was he who in Vendémiaire (October) made all the preparations for the defence of the Convention. He extended his line of defence from the Pont Louis XV. to the Pont

Revolt of the Paris Sections.

Neuf, and posted cannon at all the principal points of attack. The insurgents advanced in several columns, under the command of Generals Danican, Duhoux, and the ex-guardsman Lafon. General Danican summoned the Convention to make its troops retire, and to disarm the Terrorists. It was still deliberating on this demand when the sound of musketry and cannon was heard, and the Convention, putting an end to its debate, had seven hundred muskets brought, and formed themselves into a corps of reserve. The most murderous conflict took place at the Pont Royal and in the Rue St. Honoré; the artillery at these two principal points broke the lines of the insurgents, and put them to flight. At seven o'clock in the evening the troops of the Convention assumed the offensive, and were victorious in every direction. On the following day they disarmed the section Lepelletier, and reduced the rest to order.

**The Convention victorious over the Sections, 13th Vendémiaire, October 5, 1795.**

Such was the conflict of the 13th Vendémiaire, the whole success of which, on the part of the Convention, was attributed to Bonaparte. This victory enabled the Convention immediately to devote its attention to the formation of the Councils proposed by it, two-thirds of which were to consist of its own members. The first third, which was freely elected, had already been nominated by the Reactionary party. The members of the Directory were chosen, and the deputies of the Convention, believing that for their own interests the regicides should be at the head of the Government, nominated La Réveillère-Lepeaux, Sieyès, Rewbel, Le Tourneur, and Barras. Sièyes refused to act, and Carnot was elected in his place. Immediately after this, the Convention declared its session at an end, after it had had three years of existence, from the 21st September, 1792, to the 28th October, 1795 (4th Brumaire, Year IV.). Those who endeavour to justify this Assembly, allege in its defence the dangers to which the country was exposed and the stern necessities of the moment; but when it commenced its sittings the campaign of Argonne and the cannonade of Valmy had saved the Republic; the Prussians had been put to flight, and the French arms were victorious on all the frontiers; and the battle of Jemappes preceded by two months the 21st January. The Convention was the most cruel and tyrannical of all the governments

**Election of the Directory.**

**Closing of the Convention, October 26, 1795.**

which had crushed France. It had, no doubt, to contend with innumerable enemies, but it had aroused them against itself by its misgovernment, and if it found itself compelled to have recourse to terrorism for the purpose of holding their enemies in check, it was only because the criminal deeds which it had permitted had excited universal indignation, and compromised the cause of the Revolution even in the eyes of its most enthusiastic partisans.

## CHAPTER IV.

### FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIRECTORY TO THE PEACE OF CAMPO-FORMIO.

### 27*th October*, 1795 (*4th Brumaire, Year IV.*), *to* 17*th October*, 1797 (*26th Vendémiaire, Year VI.*).

Installation of the Directory, October 27, 1795. Distress of the Government.

THE Directors were all, with the exception of Carnot, of moderate capacity, and concurred in rendering their own position the more difficult. At this period there was no element of order or good government in the Republic; anarchy and uneasiness everywhere prevailed, famine had become chronic, the troops were without clothes, provisions, or horses; the Convention had spent an immense capital represented by assignats, and had sold almost half of the Republican territory, belonging to the proscribed classes, for the purpose of providing for the support of the people and the armies; the excessive degree of discredit to which paper money had fallen, after the issue of thirty-eight thousand millions, had destroyed all confidence and all legitimate commerce; the treasury was empty, the Government couriers were frequently unable to go on their missions for want of money, and finally, such was the general poverty, that when the Directors entered the palace which had been assigned to them as a dwelling, they found no furniture there, and were compelled to borrow of the porter a few straw chairs and a wooden table, on the latter of which they drew up the decree by which they were appointed to office.

First acts of the Directors.

Their first care was to establish their power, and they succeeded in doing this by frankly following at first the rules laid down by the Constitution. In a short time industry and commerce began to raise their heads, the supply of provisions became tolerably abundant, and the clubs were abandoned for the workshops and the fields. The Directory exerted itself to revive agriculture, industry,

and the arts, re-established the public exhibitions, and founded primary, central, and normal schools. One of its members, Réveillère-Lepaux, entrusted with that portion of the government of the nation which related to morality, attempted to found a distinct worship under the name of "Theophilanthropy," but his efforts in this direction were ridiculed and fell to the ground. This period was distinguished by a great licentiousness in manners. The wealthy classes who had been so long forced into retirement by the Reign of Terror, now gave themselves up to the pursuit of pleasure without stint, and indulged in a course of unbridled luxury, which was outwardly displayed in balls, festivities, rich costumes, and sumptuous equipages. Barras, who was a man of pleasure, favoured this dangerous sign of the reaction, and his palace soon became the rendezvous of the most frivolous and corrupt society. In spite of this, however, the wealthy classes were still the victims, under the government of the Directory, of violent and spoliative measures. The necessities of the Republic were so vast and imperious, that to meet them the Government had recourse to forced loans, and to Territorial edicts, the latter of which were to be employed for the purpose of withdrawing the assignats from circulation on the scale of thirty to one, and to bring cash into circulation. They possessed the advantage of being immediately exchangeable for the national domains which they represented, and furnished the Government with a temporary resource. But they subsequently fell into discredit, and conduced to a prodigious bankruptcy of thirty-three thousand millions.

Theophilanthropy.

Forced loans.

The war in the West was now only carried on by a few leaders, the chief of whom, Charette and Stofflet, were weakened by their want of harmony. In this new campaign Hoche displayed a great amount of ability. Separating the Royalist from the religious cause, he neutralized the influence of the priests, and the masses of the population no longer responded to the appeals of their military chiefs. Hoche vanquished Charette, and took him prisoner; and Stofflet was soon after given up to the Republicans by treachery. The heroism of each of them was maintained at the hour of death, which took place in the case of Charette at Nantes, and in that of Stofflet at Angers. Georges Cadoudal still kept the field in Morbihan, but Hoche soon crushed this

The second war of La Vendée, 1795, 1796.

Success of Hoche. Death of Charette and Stofflet.

new focus of insurrection by directing against it all his forces; and after this most of the insurrectionary leaders laid down their arms and sought a refuge in England.

The Directory in Paris was now the object of the most violent democratic androyalist attacks. Its members, who had taken a part in all the excesses of the Convention and the events of the month of Thermidor, were held in equal horror by the two opposed parties, and by all those who shared in the reactionary sentiments which were now everywhere becoming predominant. The Directory in the first place took proceedings against the Democrats, who had opened a club in the Pantheon. A fanatic, emulous of Robespierre, named Gracchus Babeuf, and who proclaimed himself tribune of the people, endeavoured to excite the populace by demanding an agrarian law, and promising to establish universal happiness by means of liberty, equality, and the Constitution of 1793. The conspirators gained over to their side the police, tampered with the troops in the camp of Grenelle, and were on the point of marching against the Councils and the Directory, when they were betrayed and seized in their place of meeting; Gracchus Babeuf paying the penalty of his life for this desperate enterprise. A disturbance took place at the same time in the camp of Grenelle, which was checked by Malo, the officer in command. His dragoons sabred the insurgents, and the Directory had the ringleaders tried by a military commission. A Royalist conspiracy was at the same time formed by the Abbé Brothier and Lavilleheurnois; but that likewise failed, and its authors, on being found guilty, were leniently dealt with by their judges, who had been elected under the influence of the insurrectionary movement of Vendémiaire. A struggle then took place between the Directory and the authorities who had been freely nominated by the sections; and the former, finding themselves overcome by the electoral power, had recourse to military force, and gave the dangerous example of allowing it to interfere in State politics.

**The plot of Babeuf.**

**Royalist conspiracy.**

In this year, again, the glory of France was solely supported by its armies: Carnot had formed a plan of campaign in accordance with which the armies of the Rhine, of the Sambre and Meuse, and of Italy, might march upon Vienna in concert, and afford each other mutual support. The two first were

**The immortal campaigns of 1796 and 1797: Carnot's plan.**

commanded by generals who were already celebrated — Moreau and Jourdan. The third was entrusted to the young hero of Toulon and defender of the Convention in Vendémiaire—Napoleon Bonaparte. This latter army, devoid as it was of *matériel* of war, food, and raiment, had not been able to take advantage of its victory of Loano, and found itself, in the spring of 1796, in front of the Austrians under Beaulieu, and the Piedmontese under Colli, in a situation similar to that which it had occupied in the previous year before its victory. Colli occupied, in the entrenched camp of Ceva, the side of the Apennines in the direction of the Po; and Beaulieu's troops, extended from the valley of the Bormida and the hill of Montenotte to the sea, intercepted the road to Genoa.

Arrival of Bonaparte at the Italian army, 27th March, 1796.

Bonaparte arrived on the 27th March at his head-quarters at Nice, where he found the army destitute of every necessary, but strong in its courage and experience. The soldiers of this army had become hardened in the gigantic conflicts which had taken place in the Alps and Pyrenees, and they were commanded by Massena, Augereau, La Harpe, Serrurier, Murat, and Joubert. The first words which the young general addressed to them were a presage of victory. "Soldiers," he said, "you are ill fed and almost naked. The Government owes you much, but can do nothing for you. Your patience and courage do you honour, but obtain for you neither advantage nor glory. I will now lead you to the most fertile fields in the world; where you will find great cities, rich provinces, honour, glory, and riches. Soldiers of Italy! have you the courage to follow me?" Bonaparte, who had but thirty-six thousand men with which to meet sixty thousand, perceived, as his predecessor had, that it was first of all necessary to separate the Piedmontese from the Austrians, and to crush them one after the other. He carried his head-quarters to Savona, and threw the division La Harpe upon the sea-coast, for the purpose of directing the enemy's efforts on that side; but whilst the Austrian left advanced against La Harpe, their centre advanced against the French army by the hill of Montenotte. Twelve hundred men only, under Colonel Rampon, occupied the pass there; Rampon saw the peril to which the army would be exposed if that position were forced, and, throwing himself with his brave comrades into an old redoubt, made them swear that they would die rather than surrender, and thrice re-

pulsed the whole force of the Austrian infantry; thus affording time to the French divisions to arrive. Bonaparte immediately threw back his right, which he marched upon Montenotte in front of the enemy, whilst the division Massena, by turning the crest of the Apennines, might surprise them in the rear. His orders were executed; the Austrians, attacked and surprised, fell back in disorder, and Bonaparte, master of the pass and the crest of the Apennines, now had in front of him the Austrians, who rallied at Dego and guarded the road to Lombardy, and on his left the Piedmontese, who occupied the formidable gorges of Millesimo, the valley of the Bormida, and intercepted the road to Piedmont. Unless some decisive blow could be inflicted on the two armies the fruits of the victory of Montenotte would be lost, and on the morrow the conflict was resumed. La Harpe and Massena attacked the Austrians at Dego, whilst Augereau impetuously penetrated the gorges of Millesimo. The latter separated Provera, who defended them, from the Piedmontese army, and drove him back into a fort, in which after a desperate conflict of two days, he and fifteen hundred men were forced to lay down their arms. The defile was now carried, the Austrian army was in flight on the road to Milan, and the Piedmontese retreated upon Mondovi.

**Bonaparte's victories at Montenotte, Dego, Millesimo, and Mondovi, 1796.**

Bonaparte, victorious at every point, had gained three victories in three days, and filled his army with astonishment and admiration. From the heights of the Apennines he contemplated with emotion the rich plains of Piedmont and Italy, watered by so many beautiful rivers. He pointed them out to his soldiers as another promised land, and cried "Hannibal crossed the Alps; and we, we have turned them!" The whole plan of the campaign is compressed in these words. The victor now went in pursuit of the Piedmontese, and was again victorious at Mondovi, after which he reached Cherasia, an important position at the confluence of the Tanaro and the Stura, and threatened Turin, from which he was only distant ten leagues. King Victor Amadeus, in fear for his capital and his crown, now made offers of peace, and Bonaparte signed an armistice by which he was put in possession of Coni, Tortona, and Alexandria, with the immense magazines which they contained, whilst he preserved his communications with France. Numerous flags, fifty-five pieces of artillery, five victories, fifteen thousand prisoners, ten

**The Armistice of Turin. Neutrality of Piedmont, 1796.**

thousand of the enemy killed or wounded, and peace with Piedmont, were the results of a campaign of fifteen days. Paris was enthusiastic at the news, and the two Councils voted that the army of Italy had deserved well of its country.

Bonaparte followed up his success. He deceived Beaulieu by feigned manœuvres, crossed the Po, and laid the Duke of Parma under contribution. Lombardy was before him and could not but submit, but it was first necessary to complete the defeat of Beaulieu, and for this purpose he endeavoured to cut in two his army, a portion of which occupied Lodi on the Adda. He marched rapidly against this place and took it. The Austrians fell back upon the opposite bank, and defended the bridge which they had crossed, with twelve thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry, and a formidable artillery. Such an obstacle as this appeared to be insurmountable, but the young General inspired with his own ardour six thousand grenadiers whom he formed into a column and threw upon the bridge, through a storm of round shot and musketry, whilst the cavalry forded the river above Lodi and attacked the Austrians in the rear. The latter fled in disorder, and thenceforth the army of Italy was invincible. Beaulieu retreated, leaving behind him Cremona, Milan, Pavia, Como, and Cassano, which the French entered. Bonaparte immediately seized the important line of the Adige, a river which issues from the Rhetian Alps, falls into the Adriatic, and protects Lombardy against Austria; and then retraced his steps to receive submission of Genoa and of Hercules d'Este, Duke of Modena, who gave him ten millions, and withdrew to Venice. General Vaubois took Leghorn, in which were six hundred Corsican fugitives, whom Bonaparte sent to their own island to make it revolt against the English. They did so, and the English were driven away.

**Bonaparte victor at the bridge of Lodi**

**Conquest of Lombardy and the line of the Adige, 1796.**

**Submission of Genoa, Modena, Naples, and Rome. Revolt in Corsica.**

The Court of Naples, ruled by Queen Caroline, the sister of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, and inspired with the most bitter hatred against France, had commenced formidable preparations for war, but it trembled at the news of Bonaparte's victories, and resigned itself to neutrality. The Pope himself was compelled to submit, and Bonaparte levied upon him, as a contribution of peace, twenty-one millions, and a hundred of the most famous works of art in his museums.

In the meantime the Austrians had made a fresh effort, and the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's brother, marched towards the Rhine at the head of seventy thousand men. Upon this, in accordance with Carnot's plan, the armies of the Rhine and Sambre and Meuse, commanded by Moreau and Jourdan, moved forward in concert, and crossed the river with the object of surrounding the enemy, and then marching in concert with the army of Italy upon the centre of the Austrian monarchy. The enormous distance which separated the two armies, of which the one effected the passage of the river at Dusseldorf, and the other at Strasburg, the immense space which would separate each of them from its basis of operations, and the obstacles which they could not fail to encounter in a difficult and hostile country, rendered this plan an extremely hazardous one, and yet at first it appeared to succeed. Moreau gave battle to the Archduke Charles at Rastadt, between the Rhine and the Black Mountains. The victory was staunchly disputed on either side, but at length the French having obtained possession of the heights and the passes into the valley of the Necker, the Archduke feared lest he should be separated from the hereditary States of the Austrian monarchy, and for the purpose of covering them fell back hastily upon the Danube between Ulm and Ratisbon, allowing Moreau to march against him by the valley of the Necker, and Jourdan by that of the Main, and then, towards the middle of the year 1796, the French armies, masters of Italy, and of half of Germany as far as the Danube, threatened to invade the rest.

Movements of the armies of the Rhine and the Sambre and Meuse in Germany, 1796.

Victory of Moreau at Rastadt.

Re-entry of the Archduke Charles to the line of the Danube.

The old Austrian General Wurmser now re-entered the Tyrol at the head of a new and formidable army of sixty thousand men, and prepared to force the lines of the Adige, to raise the blockade of Mantua, and to crush the French army of Italy, which was only half as strong as his own, and which was shut up in a narrow space between the Lake of Garda on the north, the Adige on the east, and the Po on the south. Wurmser had the choice of three routes. The first crossed the Adige at Roveredo, above the Lake of Garda, and turning behind that lake followed its western shore, where the only obstacle he would have to overcome would be the military position of Salo. The second route passed between the lake and the Adige, along the heights of Montebaldo, which separated them and defended

Re-entry of the Austrians under Wurmser into the Tyrol and Lombardy, 1796.

the important positions of Corona and Rivoli ; and the third, following the left bank of the Adige, ran into the plain in the direction of Verona, and led to our line of defences. The army of Italy had never found itself in such imminent peril, and the partisans and subjects of Venetia and Austria, who had been so deeply grieved at the sight of our national flag in Lombardy, repeated the old and formidable proverb—Italy is the tomb of the French.

Wurmser divides his army into two columns of attack : their respective routes.

Wurmser sent twenty thousand men, under Quasdanovitch, to operate in the rear of the Lake of Garda, whilst he himself advanced with forty thousand men between the lake and the Adige. Bonaparte, whose head-quarters were at Castel-Nuovo, at the southern end of the lake, soon learned that the positions of Salo, Corona, and Rivoli, which defend its two shores, had been taken, and that he was on the point of being surrounded. All the generals, with the exception of Augereau, were in favour of a prompt retreat, but Bonaparte resisted this advice, and, inspired by his genius, saw that it would be possible to strike a decisive blow before the two hostile columns had had time to effect a junction. To do this, however, it was necessary that he should act without delay, and with all his strength. He gave up, therefore, the siege of Mantua, which was on the point of surrendering under the compulsion of famine, and recalled in all haste the division Serrurier, which was employed in its blockade. It was first of all important to check the progress of Quasdanovitch, who was on the point of entering the plain to the west of the lake, for the purpose of closing against us the road to Milan. Bonaparte, therefore, proceeded in this direction, crossed the Mincio, and marched with the bulk of his forces to Lonato, where were gathered the Austrian columns. A sanguinary conflict ensued; the enemy was repulsed, and the French resumed possession of the important position of Salo on the west of the lake. Quasdanovitch halted, and a division sufficed to hold him in check. Bonaparte immediately changed the front of his army, and, falling back upon the divisions which had turned the lake by the other shore, fell upon them like lightning and dispersed them. But, although victorious, his task was not yet accomplished. Wurmser, who with twenty thousand men had raised the blockade of Mantua, rallied his soldiers and prepared to crush us. Each of the two armies rested, one wing on the Lake of Garda, and another on the heights of Castiglione; and it was on the celebrated

Victory of Bonaparte at Lonato and at Castiglione.

plains of the latter name that was now to be decided the fate of Italy. Bonaparte guessed that Wurmser, whose right rested on the lake, would endeavour to effect a junction on this side with Quasdanovitch, who was still held in check at Salo, and he ordered, therefore, the division Serrurier to make a détour and attack the enemy in the rear. The action commenced at daybreak on the 4th August. Bonaparte allowed Wurmser to enfeeble his line by extending his right, and as soon as he heard Serrurier's cannon in the rear of the Austrians he launched the divisions Augereau and Massena against their centre. The enemy, caught between two fires, recoiled, and Wurmser having ordered a retreat, re-entered the Tyrol, after having lost twenty thousand men and Italy.

**Retreat of the Austrians.**

Not satisfied with having vanquished Wurmser, Bonaparte resolved to destroy him. Twenty days' repose were sufficient for his army, and it then entered the mountains of the Tyrol. But Wurmser had received reinforcements, and resumed the offensive. The two armies met at Roveredo, and Bonaparte was again victorious, taking the whole of the Austrian artillery and four thousand prisoners. Wurmser stole away with thirty thousand men, and descended the Valley of the Brenta to force the Adige, and throw himself between the French army in the Tyrol and Mantua, which had been again blockaded. Bonaparte saw through his plan, and leaving ten thousand men under Vaubois to guard the Tyrol, he went with twenty thousand men in pursuit of the enemy, followed him into the basin of the Brenta, attacked him unexpectedly, and obtained another victory at Bassano with the divisions Augereau and Massena. Wurmser, whom he hoped to reduce to extremities between the Brenta and Adige, crossed that river at Legnago, forced the lines of the blockading division in front of Mantua, and shut himself up in that city with fifteen thousand men. Bonaparte had now again taken or slain twenty thousand Austrian troops within a few days, and destroyed a third army. Colli, Beaulieu, and Wurmser had one after the other been vanquished by him within four months. An immense amount of baggage had fallen into his hands, and his name was everywhere repeated with admiration and terror.

**Bonaparte victorious at Roveredo and Bassano.**

**Wurmser shuts himself up in Mantua.**

Bonaparte, inspired with a presentiment of the extraordinary prosperity which awaited him, neglected no means by which he might achieve success and renown. In the intervals which

**Political conduct of Bonaparte.**

elapsed between his battles he discoursed with men celebrated in literature and the arts, devoted his attention to the details of politics and government, developed profound views on all subjects, and already gave promise of his future power. Affable with his subordinate officers and his soldiers, he treated the Directory with haughty reserve, and triumphed over their jealousy by rendering himself indispensable to them, at the head of his victorious army. Relying upon the popular hatred for despotic governments, he imposed a Republican form of government on all his conquests. He declared the Duke of Modena, who had allied himself with Austria, deprived of his sovereignty; and uniting his States with the territories of Reggio and the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, formed with them on the south of the Po a Cispadane Republic, whilst on the north of that river he made of Lombardy a Transpadane Republic. These two Republics formed in the following year but one Republic, under the name of the Cisalpine Republic. All Italy trembled before the vanquisher of Austria. Its princes, despite their just grounds of complaint, scrupulously observed the treaties which they had made with the French Republic, and at the conclusion of the last campaign the Court of Naples tremblingly signed a treaty which was too soon to be broken (October, 1796).

**Foundation of Cispadane and Transpadane Republics.**

Germany was at this time the scene of events which were almost as important as those above narrated, but which were adverse to our arms, and there seemed reason to fear that the reverses suffered by the armies of the Sambre and Meuse would make France lose all the unexpected advantages which she had derived from the campaign in Italy.

Moreau reached the banks of the Danube at the beginning of August, and Jourdan followed the course of the Naab, one of its tributaries. The Archduke Charles, after having been vanquished by Moreau at Neresheim, concentrated all his forces on the Danube, and formed a plan which ended the campaign in his favour. He resolved to prevent the junction of Jourdan and Moreau, and to defeat them one after the other with superior forces. The army of Sambre and Meuse, under Jourdan, being the feeblest, the Archduke advanced against that. He first repulsed its advanced guard, commanded by Bernadotte,

**Splendid manœuvre of the Archduke Charles. Check of the armies of the Rhine and Sambre and Meuse in Germany, 1796.**

and compelled him to retreat. Jourdan halted to give battle at Wurtzburg, but he was vanquished, and driven in disorder upon the Rhine, his point of departure. In the meantime Moreau had skilfully conducted his troops towards the Danube, and was approaching Munich, when he heard of the reverses suffered by Jourdan, by whose aid alone he could have maintained his position there. The Archduke returned against him by forced marches, and the army of the Rhine, put in peril in its turn, had to fall back. Moreau ordered the retreat, and gained great glory to himself by the manner in which he had executed it. He traversed more than a hundred leagues of ground in the presence of a formidable army, in the midst of a hostile population, and re-entered France, after having gained in the Black Mountains the battle of Biberach, and without having allowed himself to be once outmanœuvred.

Defeat of Jourdan at Wurtzburg.

Celebrated retreat of Moreau.

This retreat left the army of Italy exposed alone to the attacks of the Austrians, and consequently to great danger. Davidovitch had assembled about twenty thousand men in the Tyrol, and Alvinzi was advancing with forty thousand on the Piave. To resist their sixty thousand troops, Bonaparte had only thirty-six thousand, of which twelve thousand were in the Tyrol, under Vaubois, ten thousand on the Brenta and Adige, under Massena and Augereau, and the rest around Mantua. All these corps, overwhelmed with the fatigues of so laborious a campaign, were to a certain extent exhausted by their own victories. The reinforcements promised by the Directory, and eagerly expected, did not arrive, and Alvinzi was approaching.

The plan of the Austrians was to attack simultaneously the mountains of the Tyrol and the plain. Davidovitch was ordered to drive Vaubois from his position, and to descend along the two banks of the Adige as far as Verona, whilst Alvinzi on his side was to cross the Piave and the Brenta, and then effect a junction at Verona with Davidovitch, that they might march in concert to the deliverance of Wurmser and Mantua. This plan was at first successful; for Vaubois, vanquished by Davidovitch, fell back as far as Corona and Rivoli, and this reverse forced Bonaparte, although victorious over Alvinzi on the Brenta, to retreat to Verona. Alvinzi hastened to occupy a formidable position in front of Caldiero, which Bonaparte endeavoured in vain to carry by fighting the unfortunate battle of Caldiero, after which,

New plan of campaign of the Austrians, 1796.

his army being now only fourteen thousand against forty thousand, he was again compelled to retreat to Verona. His brave soldiers now began to murmur, and to ask what advantage they had derived from all their victories—what prospects they had but to be driven as fugitives upon the Alps? Bonaparte shared in their disappointment, and wrote to the Directory:—"All our superior officers, all our best generals, are disabled; the army of Italy, reduced to a handful of men, is exhausted. The heroes of Millesimo, of Lodi, of Castiglione, and Bassano, have died for their country, or are in hospital. All that still belongs to it is its reputation and its pride. Joubert, Lannes, Victor, Murat, and Rampon, are wounded. We are abandoned in the heart of Italy; and for the brave remnant of our army in its present weakened state there is no prospect but death. Perhaps the hour of the courageous Augereau, of the intrepid Massena, is on the point of striking; and then, what will become of these brave people? This idea renders me reserved; I do not venture to speak of death, lest it should discourage those who are the objects of my solicitude. . . ." Bonaparte again demanded reinforcements, and finished with these words, "To-day let our troops repose; to-morrow we shall act!"

Check of the French at Caldiero.

Whilst he was looking upon his position as desperate, a sudden inspiration of genius suggested to him one of the great ideas which govern the results of campaigns and the fate of kingdoms. Marshes surround the district of Verona beyond the Adige, and they are traversed by two causeways which lead from Ronco, some leagues south of Verona, to the positions then occupied by the enemy. In the case of a conflict taking place on these causeways, numbers could be of no avail, whilst courage and audacity would be everything; such a field of battle is the only one on which a handful of brave men can vanquish an army, and it was chosen by Bonaparte. He issued forth from Verona on the 14th of November by the southern gate, crossed the Adige at Ronco, returned to the north by the causeways, and was on the point of making his troops defile by the enemy's rear, when they were checked at the bridge of Arcole, on the Alpone, and Bonaparte perceived with terror that a portion of the results of his skilful manœuvre had escaped him. The enemy, aroused by the sound of sharp firing, had hastened up from Caldiero, and a formidable array of artillery defended the opposite bank. Augereau seized a flag, and rushed with it on to the bridge at the head of his brave

troops, but a storm of shots drove them back. Bonaparte saw that the whole of the enemy's line was on the move, and that now or never the passage must be effected. Galloping up to the front he threw himself from his horse, and addressing the soldiers crouched on the edge of the causeway, he cried, "Are you still the victors of Lodi?" Then seizing a flag he exclaimed, "Follow your general!" and threw himself upon the bridge in the midst of a shower of balls and bullets. His generals surrounded him. Lannes received his third wound whilst covering him with his body, and Muiron, Bonaparte's aide-de-camp, fell dead at his feet. A fresh discharge swept the bridge; the soldiers carried back their general in their arms, and it was hopeless to endeavour to surprise the enemy before they should be entirely drawn up in line on the plain. In the meantime, however, General Guyeux had found a ford below Arcole, and having crossed the Alpone took the village on the opposite bank. The bridge was now carried, and a terrible battle commenced, which lasted two days. Massena, Augereau, and the immortal thirty-second demi-brigade, rivalled each other in courage and energy; and the Austrians, half destroyed, were put to flight. Bonaparte then re-entered Verona in triumph, and immediately marched against Quasdanovitch, who had taken the positions of Corona and Rivoli, and had driven Vaubois as far as Castel-Nuovo. He attacked him on all sides, and compelled him to retreat in disorder into the gorges of the Tyrol. France and Italy were again filled with admiration at these almost fabulous exploits, and the two Councils, on declaring, according to custom, that the army of Italy had deserved well of its country, decreed to Bonaparte and Augereau a reward worthy of an heroic age, bestowing upon them as heirlooms the flags which they had carried at the bridge of Arcole.

Bonaparte's victory at Arcole.

This wonderful campaign, which in fact comprised four, if we reckon the number of armies destroyed in it, was not yet ended. Austria knew that Wurmser was without resources in Mantua, and that to lose this city was to give up Lombardy to France. Emboldened by the success achieved by Prince Charles against the armies of the Rhine and Sambre and Meuse, she resolved yet once more to dispute with Bonaparte the possession of Italy. With this object she entrusted another army to Alvinzi, and urged the Pope to send his own to the aid of Mantua, with Colli for its general. Bonaparte had, therefore, towards the end of 1796

to defend himself at once against the army of the Pope, the ill-will of Venetia, which was only neutral perforce, and sixty-five thousand men under Alvinzi and Provera. In the meantime, however, he had himself received the reinforcements which he had so long expected, and had about forty-five thousand men at his command. He marched in the first place in person to Bologna, and took measures for holding the troops of the Roman States in check. He then hastened towards the Adige, and re-entered that theatre of a desperate struggle which he was soon about to terminate by the most decisive measures. Twenty thousand men advanced under Provera by the Lower Adige, with the purpose of forming communications with the army of the Pope and with Mantua; whilst Alvinzi, with forty-five thousand troops descended from the Tyrol by the route which runs along the foot of Montebaldo, which separates the Lake of Garda from the Adige, and a small body of troops marched along the opposite shore. The famous military position of Rivoli was the only one at which the enemy could be held in check between the lake and the river. This position, consisting of a semi-circular plateau which commanded the road, was itself commanded by the heights of Montebaldo, which spread around it in the form of an amphitheatre, but were inaccessible to artillery. The Adige re-entered the foot of the plateau, and the road traversed it, rising and turning frequently on itself.

March of Alvinzi with a new army on the Adige. The situation at Rivoli.

Bonaparte perceiving the importance of this position, posted Joubert there, who bore the first shock of the Austrian army, and made an heroic resistance with ten thousand men against forty-five thousand. Swarms of enemies climbed the heights of Montebaldo, which commands the plateau in a semicircle, and descended from this amphitheatre in close columns. A formidable mass of cavalry and artillery advanced by the road on the plateau; another corps, under the orders of Lusignan, turned it for the purpose of falling upon the rear of the French army; and Vukassovitch poured upon it a stream of fire. But this plateau was the only point at which Bonaparte could prevent the junction of the various corps of the enemy's army. He re-animated therefore, by his own presence, Joubert's soldiers, who were exhausted by forty-eight hours' fighting, and directed his cannon against the columns which from the Montebaldo heights over-

Bonaparte's victories at Rivoli and Saint George, January, 1797.

threw them. Our left gave way, but the 14th demi-brigade and the invincible 32nd, with Massena at their head, drove back the enemy in their turn. Leclerc and Lasalle threw themselves with their squadrons upon the formidable column of artillery and cavalry which was already defiling by the road on the right of the plateau; a brigade of light artillery directed against it a shower of grape, which speedily covered the slope with wounded men and horses. Bonaparte and Joubert then fell upon the semicircle of Austrian infantry, the gathered masses of which were rushing on to the invaded plateau, and after a fierce conflict forced it to fly into the mountains. The Austrian corps under Lusignan, which was intended to cut the French in two, was itself treated in this way, and was compelled to lay down its arms. The victory was now won; and Bonaparte and Massena immediately hastened towards Provera, who with his twenty thousand men had crossed the Adige and marched to the relief of Mantua. A second battle took place opposite the Faubourg Saint-George, whilst Serrurier repulsed a furious attempt made by Wurmser to force his lines, and drove him back into Mantua. Provera, surrounded by Victor and Massena, surrendered with six thousand men. These prodigious battles, together with the prodigies already performed by the French, decided the fate of Italy, and Wurmser, reduced to extremities in Mantua, gave up the city and his sword to the young victor.*

Capitulation of Mantua, 1797.

In the meantime the Pope had broken the armistice concluded in the previous year with France, and had sent a division of his army to Mantua. Bonaparte marched against it, encountered it near Imla, at Castel-Bolognese, and, after a brief conflict, put it to flight. The remainder of the small pontifical army, commanded by the Austrian General Colli, defended, but immediately surrendered on the approach of a French division under General Victor. Ancona opened its gates, and the capital and its arsenal fell into the power of the French. Bonaparte and his army marched against Rome, and had already reached Tolentino, when the Pope offered to negotiate, and a treaty of peace was signed in that city between the Holy Father and the French Republic. By this treaty, the Pope surrendered to France Avig-

Treaty of Tolentino between France and the Pope, 1797.

* Bonaparte would not take Wurmser's sword, and in drawing up the articles of capitulation of Mantua showed every courtesy towards that officer.

non, the Comitat Venaissin, and the territory known by the name of the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna. He also engaged to pay a fresh war-contribution of fifteen millions, and to abstain from entering into any alliance with the enemies of the Republic.

Bonaparte now proceeded to form the conquests which he had made in the South and the North, and of which he had already made the Cispadane and Transpadane Republics into one State, consisting of Lombardy and the territories of Modena, Reggio, and the Legations. He called this new State the Cisalpine Republic, and made Milan its capital. Relieved from other cares, he now projected the subjection of Archduke Charles, the generalissimo of the imperial armies. He had received numerous reinforcements from France, and marched against the Austrian capital, having the Archduke in front of him. Massena was in command of his vanguard, and immortalized himself by his victories on the Piave and Tagliamento. Carinthia, Styria, and Friuli were rapidly subdued, terror reigned at Vienna, and Bonaparte only awaited the movements of the other armies to march directly against it. Hoche was in command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, Moreau in that of the army of the Rhine, and their advance was tardy; whilst Joubert, left in the rear by Bonaparte for the purpose of defending the Tyrol, was vanquished by Prince Charles and compelled to retreat. Bonaparte, upon being informed of this reverse, sent to Vienna to make offers of peace, and an armistice was concluded at Leoben. The French General restored to Austria Mantua and a portion of Venetian Lombardy which he had conquered, in exchange for the Cisalpine Republic which he had founded.

Formation of the Cisalpine Republic, 1797.

Armistice of Leoben, April, 1797.

The Directory refused to sanction these arrangements, and Bonaparte pointed out Venice to Austria as a recompense for Mantua. The fate of that Republic was decided. French emissaries aroused the people against the Venetian senate. But at Verona, a town independent of Venice, the French garrison was slain in a popular revolt. Bonaparte, who only sought a pretext for an act of spoliation, burst upon the Venetian Republic with fury, and demanded vengeance for the massacre of Verona. General Baraguay d'Hilliers was deputed to march upon Venice; the Senate, terrified at his approach, voted a constitution for the purpose of

pacifying France, and then dissolved, whereupon the French took possession of this famous city, to deliver it to Austria in exchange for the Belgian and Lombard States. Bonaparte signed, at length, with that power (17th October, 1797), at Campo Formio, an advantageous and famous peace, of which he dictated the principal conditions. In accordance with this treaty, the Emperor surrendered to France Belgium and Mayence, and consented that she should take possession of the Ionian Islands, ancient dependencies of Venice. It also recognised the Cisalpine Republic, to which were added the Valteline in the North, and a part of the Lombardo-Venetian territory in the East. France, in return, gave up to Austria, on the east of the Adige, Venice, with several of the Venetian possessions, Istria, Dalmatia, and the mouths of the Cattaro. The release of General Lafayette and his three companions in misfortune was also demanded by Bonaparte as one of the conditions of the peace of Campo-Formio. All the allied powers, with the exception of England, had now laid down their arms, France had extended its own system of government over a large portion of Europe, and a large extent of its frontiers, from the North Sea to the Gulf of Genoa, was bordered by Republican States. Immediately after the signature of the peace with Austria, a Congress was opened at Rastadt, to negotiate another with the German Empire.

Fall of Venice : ceded to Austria, 1797.

Peace of Campo-Formio, 1797.

France received with enthusiasm the news of the glorious treaty of Campo-Formio; but the inevitable dissension between the executive power and the electoral power had already displayed itself at the conclusion of the elections of the Year V. The elections were made for the most part under the influence of the reactionary party, which, whilst it refrained from conspiring for the overthrow of the new Constitution, saw with terror that the executive power was in the hands of men who had taken part in the excesses and crimes of the Convention. Pichegru, whose intrigues with the princes of the House of Bourbon were not yet known, was enthusiastically made President of the Council of Five Hundred, and Barbé-Marbois was made president of the Ancients. Le Tourneur having become, by lot, the retiring member of the Directory, Barthélemy, an upright and moderate man, was chosen in his place. He, as well as his colleague, Carnot, were

Elections of the Year V. (1797.)

opposed to violent measures; but they only formed in the Directorate a minority which was powerless against the Triumvirs Barras, Rewbel, and La Réveillère, who soon entered upon a struggle with the two Councils. The latter voted pardons for many classes of proscribed persons; and a deputy of Lyons, named Camille Jordan, pleaded with great eloquence in the Council of Five Hundred for freedom of worship, and its re-establishment in the Republic. His proposal was entertained, and a vote was passed in its favour in spite of the energetic opposition of the Revolutionary party. The same deputy demanded the abolition of the Civic Oath, which a fatal law had demanded from the priests; and although his motion was lost, it was by a very small majority. This latter question was, in the eyes of the Directorate, of very great importance, and it saw that the new elections would inevitably give the majority to their opponents. There were, doubtless, amongst the latter, in the two Councils, some Royalists, and ardent reactionists, who desired with all their hearts the restoration of the Bourbons; but according to the very best testimony, the majority of the names which were drawn from the electoral urn since the promulgation of the Constitution of the Year III., were strangers to the Royalist party. "They did not desire," to use the words of an eminent and impartial historian of our own day, "a counter-revolution, but the abolition of the revolutionary laws which were still in force. They wished for peace and true liberty, and the successive purification of a Directorate which was the direct heir of the Convention. . . . . But the Directorate was as much opposed to the Moderates as to the Royalists."* It pretended to regard these two parties as one, and falsely represented them as conspiring in common for the overthrow of the Republic and the re-establishment of monarchy. It represented itself as the defender and avenger of the principles of 1789, and the interests born of the Revolution, whilst it was in reality only anxious to defend itself in defiance of all law and justice, and to retain the chief power in the hands of the members of the Convention and the heirs of their violent and revolutionary policy.

Struggle of the Councils and the Directory.

If there were few Royalists in the two Councils, there were also few men determined to provoke on the part of the Directors a recourse to violence against their colleagues. But as a great number of their

* De Barante, "Life of Royer-Collard."

members had sat in the Convention, they naturally feared a too complete reaction, and, affecting a great zeal for the Constitution, they founded at the Hotel Salm, under the name of the Constitutional Club, an association which was widely opposed in its spirit and tendency to that of the Hotel Clichy, in which were assembled the most ardent members of the reactionary party. The latter were the proposers of a few bold resolutions which were as displeasing to the Directors as to the generals of the armies, and especially so to the young conqueror of Italy.

Club of Salm. Association of Clichy.

The Councils saw with anxiety their generals revolutionizing Europe, exciting in the neighbouring kingdoms the democratic class against the upper classes, founding Republics, and creating abroad a state of things incompatible with the spirit of the old monarchies, and which threatened to lead to a perpetual state of war between the Republic and the other European Powers. The Council of Five Hundred, on the motion of a member of the Clichy Club, energetically demanded that the Legislative power should have a share in determining questions of peace or war. No general had exercised, in this respect, a more arbitrary power than had Bonaparte, who had negotiated of his own mere authority several treaties, and the preliminaries of the peace of Campo-Formio. He was offended at these pretensions on the part of the Council of Five Hundred, and entreated the Government to look to the army for support against the Councils and the reactionary press. He even sent to Paris, as a support to the policy of the Directors, General Augereau, one of the bravest men of his army, but by no means scrupulous as to the employment of violent means, and disposed to regard the sword as the supreme argument in politics, whether at home or abroad. The Directory gave him the command of the military division of Paris. The crisis was now approaching. A few influential members of the two Councils, Portalis, Siméon, and Matthieu Dumas, endeavoured to obtain some changes in the Ministry, as a guarantee that the Directory would pursue a line of conduct more in conformity with the wishes of the majority; but the Directory, on the contrary, summoned to the Ministry men who were hostile to the Moderate party; and henceforth a *coup d'état* appeared inevitable.

Interference of the army in Domestic Politics.

The Directors now marched some regiments upon the capital, in defiance of a clause of the Constitution which prohibited the presence of

troops within a distance of twelve leagues of Paris, unless in accordance with a special law passed in or near Paris itself. The Councils burst forth into reproaches and threats against the Directors, to which the latter replied by fiery addresses to the armies, and to the Councils themselves. It was in vain that the Directors Carnot and Barthélemy endeavoured to quell the rising storm; their three colleagues refused to listen to them, and fixed the 18th Fructidor for the execution of their criminal projects. During the night preceding that day Augereau marched twelve thousand men into Paris, and in the morning these troops, under his own command, supported by forty pieces of cannon, surrounded the Tuileries, in which the Councils held their sittings. The grenadiers of the Councils' guard joined Augereau, who arrested with his own hand the brave Ramel, who commanded that guard, and General Pichegru, the President of the Council of Five Hundred. Many of the members of the Councils were driven away or taken prisoners just as they were on their way to the Tuileries. The Directors appointed the Odéon and the School of Medicine as the places of meeting for the now mutilated Councils; published a letter written by Moreau, which revealed Pichegru's treason; and at the same time nominated a Committee for the purpose of watching over the public safety. In accordance with this law, which was declared to be one of public necessity, forty-two members of the Council of Five Hundred, eleven members of that of the Ancients, and two of the Directors, Carnot and Barthélemy, were condemned to be transported to the fatal district of Sinnamari. Amongst those who were the victims of this cruel measure, were Pichegru, Boissy d'Anglas, Camille Jordan, Pastoret, Siméon, Barbé-Marbois, Lafon-Ladebat, Portalis, and Tronçon du Coudray.* The Directors also made the editors of thirty-five journals the victims of their resentment. They had the laws passed in favour of the priests and emigrants reversed, and annulled the elections of forty-eight departments. Merlin de Douai and François de Neufchâteau were chosen as successors to Carnot and Barthélemy, who had been banished and proscribed by their colleagues.

Coup d'état of the 18th Fructidor, Year V.) (1797.)

Proscriptions.

* It was evident, from the instructions which the Directors gave to the officers who arrested these prisoners, or to those who received them, that when they transported them they intended to destroy them. See De Barante, "History of the Directory."

Considerations on the 18th Fructidor.

That which took place on the 18th Fructidor ruined the Constitutional and Moderate party, whilst it resuscitated that of the Revolution. It long frustrated the hopes which had been formed of a return to the regular forms of a representative government; it re-established a dictatorship, and armed the dictators with absolute power, and at the same time made them rely on brute force, and deprived them of the moral authority of right and justice. This odious proceeding was in reality a revolution; it led the army to interfere with violence in the internal affairs of the kingdom, and it established a formidable precedent against the Directors by preparing public opinion to sanction at a future period the employment against themselves of the violent measures to which they had now had recourse to strengthen their authority. The 18th Fructidor was pregnant with the 18th Brumaire.

This revolution preceded by a few days only the treaty of Campo-Formio, which had been signed by Bonaparte against the wishes of the Directors. The latter could not see without alarm a young General raised to the highest rank by a single campaign, arbitrarily deciding questions of peace and war; but public opinion exulted in his triumphs, and the Directory, as they did not dare to disavow him, wished to appear to share his glory by bestowing upon him in Paris the honours which no General had hitherto received.

Triumphal fête in the Luxembourg, in the Year VI.

A triumphal fête was prepared for the ratification of the treaty of Campo-Formio. This imposing ceremony took place in the court-yard of the Palace of the Luxembourg. The Directors, clothed in Roman costumes, sat at the end of the court on a dais at the foot of the altar of the country. Around them were the Ministers, the Ambassadors, the members of the two Councils, and the heads of the public offices, and over them floated innumerable flags taken from the enemy. Expectation was at its height, when to the sound of warlike music, of the roar of cannon, and the acclamations of the populace, there appeared the man who had signed so glorious a peace, after having enforced it by his skill and valour. Bonaparte appeared, accompanied by Talleyrand, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The slight and delicate figure of the young hero strikingly contrasted with the idea which his gigantic exploits had caused to be formed of his person; but his sparkling eye, his pale and heroic countenance, exhibiting genius and determination in every trait, produced an indefinable effect on the spectators.

As soon as he appeared there was a great shout of "Long live the Republic! Long live Bonaparte!" Talleyrand, in a brief address, praised the modesty of the hero who attributed all his glory, not to himself, but to the Revolution, the valour of his troops, and to France. Then Bonaparte spoke: "Citizens," he said, "you have organized a great nation which is only circumscribed by the limits which nature herself has established. I have the honour to present to you the treaty signed at Campo-Formio, and ratified by the Emperor. This peace secures the liberty, the prosperity, and the glory of the Republic. When the happiness of the French people shall be based on the best possible system of laws, the whole of Europe will become free." Enthusiastic applause greeted this address, and Barras replied to it, pointing out England to the young hero as a fertile field in which he might reap new laurels. A patriotic hymn by the poet Chenier was then chanted with the accompaniment of a magnificent orchestra and the roar of cannon. After this Joubert and Andreossy advanced, bearing a flag, the homage paid by the Republic to the army of Italy. Its exploits and its conquests were inscribed upon it in letters of gold, which told that it had taken fifty thousand prisoners, sixty-six flags, eleven hundred pieces of artillery, forced numerous treaties on the Italian sovereigns, exacted a tribute of the most splendid works of art, fought sixty-seven glorious battles, and obtained eighteen decisive victories.

## CHAPTER V.

### FROM THE PEACE OF CAMPO-FORMIO TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONSULATE.

### 17*th Oct.*, 1797 (26*th Vendémiaire, Year VII.*), *to* 10*th Nov.*, 1799 (10*th Brumaire, Year VIII.*)

THE treaty of Campo-Formio and the *coup d'état* of the month of Fructidor raised for a short time the power of the dictators, amongst whom Treilhard succeeded François de Neufchâteau, to a great height; but its strength, which was more apparent than real, rested entirely on the army, and this false and dangerous position compelled the Directors to keep troops in the field and continue the war. Barras, in his address to Bonaparte, had pointed out England as a field for new conquests, and an invasion of that kingdom was projected, but speedily abandoned for an invasion of Egypt, which was resolved on in spite of the neutrality which had been observed by the Ottoman Porte. Bonaparte was entrusted with the command of this adventurous expedition, which gratified the Directors because it removed a man whom they feared, and which was desirable to the young conqueror because it offered him an opportunity of still further impressing France with the idea it had conceived of his immense talents. He set forth from Toulon with a fleet of four hundred vessels and a portion of the army of Italy. Many celebrated and learned men accompanied the expedition. The fleet set sail on the 19th May, 1798, under the command of Admiral Brueys, and first of all took possession, in defiance of the law of nations, of the island of Malta, which then belonged to the order of the Knights of St. John.

Bonaparte receives the command of the Expedition to Egypt.

Departure of the fleet, 1798.

Capture of Malta.

The island of Malta was the third kingdom which had been violently invaded by the French armies since the peace of Campo-Formio. The policy of the Directors, which was tyrannical in

France and aggressive abroad, could not but tend to a state of perpetual war, whilst anarchy, civil disturbances, successive bankruptcies, forced loans, the stagnation of commerce, and the ruin of the public credit, had exhausted all the resources of France. The Government was in a condition of extreme difficulty, and as it could provide neither for the support of the army or the expenses of the state by legitimate means, it had recourse to those which were violent and illegal, and to unjust and rapacious proceedings towards other nations. It coveted the treasure of the city of Berne, valued at more than thirty millions, and the riches existing in Rome, and all the resources, whether in money or material of war, possessed by Piedmont. These three states were allies of France, and the Directory formed a pretext for laying hands upon their possessions. It had long since aroused the revolutionary spirit in Switzerland. "Liberty was not absent from Switzerland," says an author already quoted, "but in most of the Cantons the superior authority and the offices of government were confided to the aristocracy; but in spite of this unequal division of political rights, Switzerland had always preserved the love of true liberty, that is to say, of justice, of respect for religion, of family authority and the rights of property, of humanity and good morals, and especially a love of their own country, a proud remembrance of their ancient glory and the battles they had fought for their independence. The aristocracy had lost its old feudal character, even in those Cantons where it was most powerful, and only exercised authority by means of the magisterial offices in its possession." The French Revolution, nevertheless, aroused in Switzerland a desire for equality not only in the Cantons where the aristocratic element was dominant, but especially amongst those populations which had been conquered or obtained in other ways at various periods, and who on that account were looked upon as subject populations, and did not enjoy the same rights as the Cantons with which they were incorporated. In this way the district of Vaud was subject to the Canton of Berne, and the Vaudois, like the population subject to the other Cantons, were indignant at their political inferiority.

Aggressive and revolutionary policy of the Directory.

Internal condition of Switzerland.

The Directory openly offered (January, 1798,) its protection to the democratic party in Switzerland against the aristocracy, to the partisans of a central government against those who were in favour of a federal

government, and to the subject populations against the Cantons to which they belonged. By its intrigues and incendiary proclamations it threw the country into a state of disorder, then marched troops into it, and under pretence of freeing Switzerland from every kind of oppression, and bestowing upon it the blessings of equality and liberty, it took possession of the whole country, seized the treasury at Berne, crushed the inhabitants beneath the burden of forced contributions, and gave up the whole country to pillage. Several portions of Switzerland and the free town of Geneva were violently annexed to the French Republic, as the Valteline, taken from the Grisons, had already been annexed to the Cisalpine Republic. All the subject populations were declared independent and placed on a footing of complete equality with the paramount Cantons.. The town of Aarau was selected as the meeting place of an Assembly, which voted for the whole of Switzerland a constitution (April, 1798,) modelled after that of France, and placed the executive power in the hands of a Helvetian Directory, which was installed in office under the protection of French bayonets. This constitution was rejected by the small Cantons, and threw all Switzerland into a state of disturbance. The French army was directed to re-establish order, and to enforce obedience to the new Constitution, and entered upon a course of the most frightful tyranny.

Violence of the Directory in Switzerland, 1798.

Unitarian constitution imposed on Switzerland, 1798.

This Directory at the same time brought about a revolution in the Roman States. It had been without any pretext since the treaty of Tolentino for the overthrow of the Pontifical Government, but it speedily found one. It directed its Ambassador at Rome to display, contrary to usual custom, the flag of the Republic in front of his mansion. This demonstration, which was exceedingly offensive to the Romans, provoked a popular demonstration against the Ambassador; and the French General, Duphot, perished on the very threshold of the embassy in the tumult which he was endeavouring to quell. It was in vain that the Pontifical Government made the most humble offers of atonement for this murder; the Directory resolved to exact vengeance at the point of the sword, and General Berthier was ordered to march upon Rome. A French corps entered the city unresisted; the temporal authority of the Pope was declared abolished, and replaced by a Republican Government, the public

Revolution in the Roman States, 1798.

treasury was seized, the churches and convents were despoiled of their wealth, the city of Rome was laid under a fresh contribution, and the Pope, Pius VI., was made prisoner. This venerable Pontiff, who was more than eighty years old, ill and feeble, was violently torn from his palace by the French troops, subjected to the greatest insults, and dragged into exile to Valence, where he died (August 20, 1799,) imploring pardon for his enemies, and blessing France, from which he had suffered so many injuries.

Pope Pius VI. imprisoned by the French Directory at Valence, 1799.

The invasion of Switzerland and the Roman States at a period of complete peace, excited the indignation and just alarm of the European powers, and made them perceive that there was no durable peace to be hoped for with the Directorial Government. They again formed an alliance against France, and the celebrated English Minister, William Pitt, induced Austria and Russia to become members of the new coalition. The unjust attack on Egypt caused the Ottoman Porte to join this league, and the Court of Naples did so also. The latter, governed by Queen Caroline, the wife of King Ferdinand, ventured to risk incurring the fate with which it was threatened, and declared war against France (November, 1798).

The second Coalition of Europe against France, 1798.

The Directors immediately marched upon the Peninsula the army of Italy; but before invading the south, they were anxious to confirm their power in the North of Italy, and resolved to take Piedmont from an inoffensive Prince, Charles Emmanuel IV., the son and successor of Victor Amadeus III., who had faithfully observed the treaties concluded by his father with France. The Directors did all that could be suggested by the spirit of violence and cunning to reduce this prince to despair. They had already excited at the gates of Piedmont, in the city of Genoa, a revolutionary movement, which surrendered it into the hands of the Democrats, and the Genoese State had become, under the protection of France, the Ligurian Republic. A similar revolution was set on foot in Piedmont by French agents; and the Directors everywhere fomented rebellion, supported revolts, prohibited the King from suppressing and punishing them, forced him to give up the city of Turin, the citadel and the arsenals, and then under various pretexts, seized his fortresses (December, 1798). At length Charles Emmanuel, already deprived of all his power, was compelled to abdicate the throne of Pied-

Invasion of Piedmont and the Two Sicilies by the French, 1797-1799.

mont. He abandoned his States on the Continent to the French army commanded by Joubert, and retired with his family to the island of Sardinia, the last remnant of his possessions, where he protested against the shameful violence to which he had been subjected.

Abdication of the King of Piedmont, who retires to Sardinia, 1798.

A French army, commanded by Championnet, now marched upon Naples, and entered that capital after a desperate conflict with the lazzaroni, of whom it slew great numbers. Championnet declared the Bourbons deprived of the throne, and compelled the King to retire to Sicily. The kingdom of Naples became a Republic, as had the other States of the Peninsula, under the name of the Parthenopean Republic; and the whole of Italy was for some time in the power of the French armies.

Expulsion of the King of the Two Sicilies.

The Directorial Government, although victorious abroad, and possessed apparently of arbitrary power, had in reality but a doubtful tenure of office in France. The *coup d'état* of Fructidor had suppressed for a time the reaction supported by the Royalists and Moderates, and given fresh life to the hopes of the demagogues and Jacobins. The elections of the Year VI. were made under the influence of the latter, in a spirit directly opposite to that which had ruled the elections of the previous year, and were nevertheless no less hostile to the Directors. The latter annulled a great portion of them, in the hope of procuring a state of equilibrium between the various factions, and, employing the most despotic measures, arbitrarily selected in many departments the candidates who had received the minority of votes. This, however, could not prevent many violent Democrats from joining the Council of Five Hundred, and rendering their party predominant. As the Directors had defied all law by their proceedings on the 18th Fructidor, they could now only suppress violence by violence, and at length roused public opinion against them. They had already alienated the numerous class of public creditors by the late bankruptcy, which reduced the interest of the national debt to the *tiers consolidé*, and soon, as always happens in the case of a feeble Government, they were held responsible for all the disgraces and misfortunes of the kingdom. Their situation became more and more perilous, and if the resources of the Government appeared immense, the obstacles against which they had to struggle were still greater.

Elections of the Demagogues for the Year VI.

Difficulties and perils of the Directory.

They had to govern, not only France, but Holland,* Switzerland, and the many Republics into which Italy was now divided; whilst for want of a proper organization, they could obtain neither men nor money. It was, nevertheless, necessary to defend these various kingdoms, and for that purpose to carry on war upon a line which extended from the Texel to the Adriatic, and which, attacked in front by Austria and Russia, was exposed on the other side to the English fleets. It was from France alone that forces could be drawn for the defence of so vast a territory. Forty thousand of her best soldiers and her greatest captain were in Egypt; the other armies were diminished to one-half by sickness and desertions; the conscription, now first put in use, had failed to supply the vacancies in the ranks; the deficiency in the treasury incessantly increased; the disputes which continually took place between the civil and military authorities of the conquered countries rendered the execution of the orders of the Government very difficult; whilst the insubordination of the troops, who saw that their services were necessary, the rapacity of a multitude of agents, and the incendiary principles which a crowd of Democrats disseminated through the new Republics, gave the greatest reason to fear that, in the case of any reverse, insurrections would take place amongst their several populations. Nevertheless the re-establishment of peace was impossible, for Austria and England were more terrified at the revolutionary doctrines of France than at its arms, and there could be no doubt that the Russian and Austrian armies would speedily march against Holland, Switzerland, and Italy.

Military arrangements.

The Directory resolved to anticipate them, and with this object distributed the French armies from the mouth of the Rhine to the gulf of Tarentum. But instead of concentrating formidable masses on any one point, it endeavoured to act on the offensive, on many points at once, with two hundred thousand against three hundred thousand, and naturally failed to achieve success. Ten thousand men defended Holland under General Brune; the army of the Rhine was confided to Bernadotte; that of the Danube, consisting of forty thousand men, to Jourdan; Massena occupied Switzerland with thirty thousand troops; Scherer commanded

Defective plan of the campaign, 1799.

* A revolution had been effected in Holland by the democratic or patriotic party. The Stadtholdership had been abolished, and the United Provinces, now called the Batavian Republic, had a Government closely resembling that of the French Republic.

the army of Italy, which now amounted to fifty thousand men; and Macdonald was at the head of that of Naples. It was on the Danube and the Adige that the Austrians were about to make their principal efforts, for they wished first of all to dispossess the French of the chain of the Alps. The Directory, in their anxiety to anticipate the enemy, ordered Jourdan to advance; and to advance by the Black Forest as far back as the sources of the Danube. At the same time they ordered Scherer to cross the Adige and to traverse the defiles of the Tyrol. Their Generals obeyed these orders in the presence of very superior numbers, and the disasters suffered by the armies speedily made manifest the faults in the plan of the campaign. The Archduke Charles, with sixty thousand men, checked Jourdan at the moment when he was about to advance between the Danube and the Lake of Constance, and defeated him. A few days afterwards Jourdan engaged the enemy at Stockach, near the river of that name, and at the strategical point at which the Swabian and Swiss routes meet. Prince Charles was the conqueror; and the French army fell back upon the Rhine in the direction of the Black Forest.

Defeat of Jourdan at Stockach, March, 1799.

Scherer now marched upon the Adige with fifty thousand men against sixty thousand Austrians. Twenty thousand troops were about to reinforce the enemy, and the famous General Suwarrow was approaching with sixty thousand Russians. Baron De Kray, an excellent General, commanded the Austrian army in Upper Italy; whilst Scherer, who had succeeded the victor of Arcole and Rivoli, had a doubly difficult task to perform, and conducted his command in a manner which contrasted most unfavourably with the brilliant qualities of his predecessor. He was incapable of winning either the affections or the confidence of his soldiers, and his own knowledge of his unpopularity rendered his natural want of firmness still greater. After much hesitation he endeavoured to cross the Adige, but was vanquished on the plains of Magnano; and after having been beaten in a number of combats, which resulted in the loss of the Adige, the Mincio, and the Adda, and the reduction of his army to twenty thousand men, he resigned the command to Moreau.

Reverse of the army of Italy, 1799.

Defeat of Scherer at Magnano, April, 1799.

This illustrious General, who was in disgrace with the Directors, and who had been made a simple General of Division under Scherer, had frequently, by his own skill, saved the army from total destruction in the course of this terrible campaign. He showed his devotion and patriotism by accepting the command when the army was reduced to a handful

of men, and when the Russians united with the Austrians appeared to be able to annihilate that army by a single blow. Moreau never displayed more talent, coolness, presence of mind, and force of character, than in the terrible position in which Scherer's rashness had placed the army. Moreau first of all covered Milan, and then marched to cross the Po. Maintaining a formidable position at every halt, he concentrated his forces below Alexandria, at the confluence of the Po and the Tanaro, and halted in an admirable position at the foot of the Genoese mountains. He took possession of the fortresses of Casal, Valencia, and Alexandria, and planted a chain of military posts on the two rivers; on the one side he kept his communications open with France, whilst on the other he rested on Tuscany, by which the army which Macdonald was bringing by forced marches towards the Alps would be able to defile from Rome and Naples. The junction of the two armies under two such Generals as Macdonald and Moreau would permit of offensive operations against the enemy—most probably alter the issue of the campaign.

Assassination of the French Plenipotentiaries at Rastadt, 1799.

The very day on which Moreau commenced his splendid retreat was marked by a shameful violation of the law of nations in respect to the French Plenipotentiaries at Rastadt. The Congress assembled at this city was not dissolved, for France, which was then at war with the Emperor, was still at peace with the Princes of the German empire. Many of the latter, however, had already yielded to the influence of Austria, and had recalled their envoys; upon which the Directory had thought right to recall its own, and ordered the Plenipotentiaries, Roberjot, Bonnier, and Jean Debry to leave Rastadt. As they were leaving that city, they were pursued by Austrian hussars and massacred. Jean Debry alone, although terribly wounded, escaped death. The Directory loudly declared its determination to avenge this outrage; but it had yet long to wait, and the Italian campaign concluded for France, as it had commenced, by heavy reverses. Macdonald, so long impatiently expected, at length, on the 18th of June, met Suwarrow face to face in the Valley of the Trebbia, and unfortunately gave him battle before he had completely effected his junction with Moreau. The banks of that river were the scene of a terrible battle, which was maintained during three successive days by the forces of Macdonald alone against Suwarrow's army. The French, after performing prodigies of valour, were driven back beyond the

Defeat of the Trebia, 1799.

Apennines upon the Nova, at the moment when Moreau, forcing his way through all obstacles, defiled from Novi. He hastened up to the support of his unfortunate colleague, but could only cover his retreat. The two battles of Magnano lost Italy for the French, as that of Stockach had deprived them of Germany. The confederates, commanded by the Archduke Charles, now attempted to cross the barrier of Switzerland, defended by Massena, whilst the Duke of York landed in Holland with forty thousand men.

Loss of Italy, 1799.

Such was, at the period of the elections of Floréal, in the Year VII., the position of France abroad. These elections were in favour of the Democrats, whilst at the same time Sièyes, the chief opponent of the Directory, succeeded Rewbel. The Councils declared their sittings permanent, and demanded of the Directors an account of the state of the Republic; displaying especial animosity towards Treilhard, Merlin de Douai, and La Réveillère. Treilhard was deprived of his office on a frivolous pretext, and was succeeded by Gohier, ex-Minister of Justice. The Councils continued to attack Merlin and La Réveillère. Barras abandoned them, and on the 30th Prairial they were compelled to resign the Directorial authority, and were succeeded by General Moulins and Roger-Ducos. This completed the disorganization of the Year III.; and Sieyès henceforth laboured to destroy what remained of it, being supported in the Directory by Roger-Ducos, in the Legislature by the Council of Ancients, and by the army and middle classes without. The Constitutional party was supported by the Directors Moulins and Gohier, by the Council of Five Hundred, and the Manége Club, formed of the wrecks of the Salm, the Pantheon, and the Jacobin Clubs. It was by the aid of the army and of some great military leader that Sieyès was enabled to succeed; and Bonaparte opportunely presented himself.

Forcible dissolution of the Directory, 30th Prairial, Year VII. (June 18, 1799.)

The Egyptian expedition had been brilliant. At the period when it took place Egypt was oppressed by the Mamelukes, a cavalry militia independent of the Porte, and all-powerful there. They alone made an intrepid resistance. The first struggle took place at the village of Chebreiss; the French were victorious, and this first victory was speedily followed by another at the foot of the Pyramids, which Bonaparte pointed out to his troops with these magnificent words—"Soldiers!

Campaign of Egypt, 1798-1799.

Battles of Chebreiss and of the Pyramids, 1798.

from the heights of those monuments forty ages loook down upon you!" He continued to conquer. Cairo opened its gates; Rosetta and Damietta submitted; and Mourad-Bey, the Mameluke chief, retired into Upper Egypt, where Desaix, who was sent in pursuit of him, displayed the greatest talents, and caused his justice and moderation to be blessed. In the meantime the English Admiral Nelson inflicted a mortal blow on the French maritime power. Admiral Brueys having imprudently posted the French navy in the roadstead of Aboukir, Nelson bore down upon it and almost entirely destroyed it

Destruction of the French fleet in the Bay of Aboukir, July, 1798.

In spite of this great disaster, Bonaparte completed the subjugation of Egypt, and took great pains to gain the affections of the inhabitants by conforming to their customs, and citing the Koran in support of his decrees. At the same time he raised the Christians named Copts, and regarded as the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, from a state of hereditary oppression. When the fighting was at an end he turned his attention to the sciences, and founded an Institute at Cairo. Then, after having suppressed a formidable revolt excited in that city against his army, he withdrew from his conquest, and entered upon that of Syria, in the hope of penetrating as far as India, and striking the English at the source of their power. His army traversed sixty leagues of arid desert and marched upon Gaza, which opened its gates. Jaffa and Caïfa were carried, and Saint Jean d'Acre invested. As Bonaparte, however, was without siege artillery, he made seventeen desperate assaults in vain upon the latter place, which was defended by the talents of the French engineer Phélippeaux and by the English commodore Sir Sidney Smith. Junot vanquished the Turks at Nazareth, and Bonaparte, supported by Kléber and Murat, obtained the celebrated victory of Mount Tabor; after which he raised the siege of Saint Jean d'Acre, and returned to Cairo, where he learned, through the journals, the unfortunate position of the Republic, and the events of the 30th Prairial.

Expedition to Syria. Siege of St. Jean d'Acre.

Victories of Junot at Nazareth, and of Bonaparte at Mount Tabor, April, 1799.

Anarchy reigned in France; another forced loan had excited the indignation of the classes in good circumstances, whilst the odious law of hostages, which rendered the relatives of the emigrants responsible for the acts of violence committed by the Chouans, once more armed the Royalists of the West and the South against the Directors. Italy, with

the exception of Genoa, was lost; Joubert had been killed at the bloody battle of Novi, which had been gained by Suwarrow; and the allies marched towards our frontiers through Holland and Switzerland, where they were stopped by Brune and Massena. Bonaparte having learned the condition of affairs and the state of public feeling, resolved to return to France immediately, and to overthrow the Directorial government. He was preceded thither by the report of a fresh and brilliant victory. Eighteen thousand Turks having made an attack in the roadstead of Aboukir, Bonaparte, supported by Murat, Lannes, and Bessières, routed and annihilated them. Directly after this he set out, leaving Kléber in command of the army in Egypt, traversed the Mediterranean in the frigate Muiron, escaped the English fleet as by a miracle, and disembarked in the gulf of Frejus on the 9th October, 1799, a few days after the celebrated victories of Zurich and Berghem, the first of which had been obtained by Massena over the Russians, whilst the second had been won in Holland by General Brune over the Duke of York.

Defeat of the French at Novi. Victory of Suwarrow. August 15, 1799.

Bonaparte conquers the Turks at Aboukir, July 25th, 1799. Returns to France, October 9th, 1799.

Victories of Massena at Zurich, and of Brune at Berghem, September, 1799.

Bonaparte passed through France in the character of a hero, and was received by the Moderate party with enthusiasm. He would not declare himself the adherent of any particular party, but, affecting a great simplicity, took a modest lodging in the Rue Chantereine, to which he invited the chiefs of each party, and where he deceived them all in turn with respect to his projects. Sieyès feared him; but the aid of a distinguished general was necessary to the success of his projects, and as Bonaparte was the sort of man he required, he formed an alliance with him. The object was to overthrow the existing constitution; all the generals, with the exception of Bernadotte, were gained over, and on the 18th Brumaire, on the demand of Regnier, one of the conspirators, the Council of the Ancients determined that, by virtue of the powers which it possessed under the constitution, it would transfer the Legislative body to Saint Cloud, in order, it said, that the deliberations might be more free. Bonaparte was charged with the execution of this measure, and obtained the military command of the division of Paris. He then immediately attacked the Directors by his proclamations and by word of mouth. "What have you made," he said,

Conspiracy of Sièyes and Bonaparte against the Directory.

"of this France which I left so brilliant? I left you at peace, and I have come back to find the country involved in war. I left you victorious, and on my return I find the reverse. What have you done with the hundred thousand French soldiers whom I knew so well; who were my companions in glory? They are dead!" It was thus that he aggrandized himself whilst accusing his adversaries. Sièyes and Roger-Ducos proceeded to the Tuileries on the same day and laid down their authority. Their three colleagues attempted to resist, but the guard refused to obey them. Barras, in despair, sent in his resignation; whilst Moulins and Gohier were made prisoners; and now there commenced a struggle between Bonaparte and the Council of the Five Hundred.

On the 19th Brumaire the Legislative Corps proceeded to Saint-Cloud, accompanied by a strong military force. Bonaparte presented himself first of all to the Council of the Ancients; and then, when summoned to take the oath of allegiance to the Constitution, declared that it was vicious, that the Directory was incapable, and appealed to his companions in arms. He afterwards proceeded to the Council of Five Hundred, who sat in the Orangery, where the excitement was already at its height. His presence there created a furious storm, and from all sides were heard threatening cries of "Beyond the pale of the law! Down with the Dictator!" Bonaparte, more accustomed to brave the enemy's fire than the threats of a deliberative assembly, grew pale, and trembled, and was carried off by the grenadiers who accompanied him. Lucien, Bonaparte's brother, who presided over the Assembly, was on every side ordered to put it to the vote whether his brother should not be put beyond the pale of the law. Lucien attempted to defend his brother, but finding his efforts useless, quitted his seat of office and laid down his magisterial insignia. Bonaparte had them brought forth from the hall; and then both having mounted horses, they harangued the soldiers, the one as the conqueror of Italy and Egypt, and the other as the president of a factious assembly. The troops became enthusiastic. "Soldiers! can I rely on you?" cried Bonaparte. "Yes! yés!" they unanimously replied. Bonaparte immediately gave orders for the clearance of the hall in which sat the Council of Five Hundred. A troop of grenadiers entered the hall under the command of Murat, who said, "In the name of General Bonaparte, the Legislative Body is dis-

solved. Let all good citizens, therefore, retire. Grenadiers, forward!" The drums stifled the cries of just indignation which arose on every side. The grenadiers advanced, and the deputies escaped from before them by the windows, to the cry of "Long live the Republic!" There was no longer any free representative system in France, and the Republic existed only in name.

# BOOK III.

## CONSULAR AND IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONSULATE—CAMPAIGNS OF 1800 IN ITALY AND GERMANY—VICTORIES—PEACE OF AMIENS—CONSPIRACIES—ELEVATION OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE TO THE IMPERIAL CROWN—THIRD AND FOURTH COALITION—CAMPAIGNS OF 1805, 1806, 1807, IN AUSTRIA, PRUSSIA, AND POLAND—MILITARY TRIUMPHS—CONQUESTS—UNFORTUNATE WAR IN SPAIN—FIFTH COALITION—CAMPAIGN OF 1809 IN AUSTRIA—FRESH VICTORIES—CONTINENTAL SYSTEM—SIXTH COALITION—WAR IN RUSSIA—DISASTERS—CAMPAIGNS OF 1813 AND 1814 IN GERMANY AND FRANCE—NAPOLEON'S ABDICATION—HIS DEPARTURE FOR THE ISLAND OF ELBA.

(10*th November*, 1799—20*th April*, 1814.)

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## CHAPTER I.

### CONSULATE.

(10*th November*, 1799—18*th May*, 1804.)

THE Revolution of Brumaire was an offence against law; but after having experienced so many violent shocks and struggles, France, exhausted, without credit, and a prey to anarchy, perceived the necessity of some strong central power exercised by an able hand, and forgave much to him from whom she expected everything. Every party, moreover, hoped to find in Bonaparte a supporter. The Royalists looked upon him as a new Monk, the future restorer of the monarchy; and the Moderate Republicans loved him as a hero born of the Revolution, and flattered themselves that by

Establishment of the Consulate, November 10, 1799.

his means liberty would be established upon solid and durable foundations. All these causes tended to blind the public eye, and although Bonaparte had shown what his ambition might lead him to undertake, there was, in general, but little suspicion of him. People were more frightened of anarchy than of despotism, and no one had calculated as yet how far he might trample liberty under foot for the sake of his own aggrandizement. This illusion, however, was but of short duration.

Those of the members of the two councils who had been Bonaparte's accomplices, or were favourable to the Revolution of Brumaire, hastened to establish the new government. Three Consuls were provisionally appointed, Bonaparte, Sièyes, and Roger-Ducos, and at the same time two Legislative Committees were selected to prepare a Constitution. The first act of the provisional government was the abolition of the odious law of hostages, and that of forced loans. The first rendered the relatives of the Vendeans and Chouans responsible for the deeds committed in the revolted provinces, subjecting some to imprisonment and others to transportation. Bonaparte went in person to the prison of the Temple, where many were confined, and restored them to liberty. The priests and a great number of emigrants were allowed to return to France, and at the same time arbitrary and rigorous measures were taken with respect to fifty-eight ardent Republicans. These, however, were soon mitigated, and subsequently revoked.

**Plan of Constitution drawn up by Sièyes.**

The absolute character of Bonaparte's mind became very manifest during the discussion relative to the new Constitution, the plan of which had been drawn up by Sièyes. The principle which Sièyes had followed was, that *confidence comes from below, and power from above.* He recognised, on the one hand, the serious inconveniences and dangers of universal suffrage, and on the other hand he perceived the necessity of giving a wide basis to the hierarchy of the great public authorities; and, whilst permitting all respectable citizens to concur in a certain measure in the selection of those who should be invested with them, he had recourse to the system of election by several stages for the formation of the final lists of candidates and the choice of the upper officers of state. There were three *lists of candidature.* The first, called the *list of communal notability*, consisted of a tenth of the active citizens, and this tenth was elected by universal suffrage. The second list, entitled the list of *departmental notables*, was formed by

the vote of all the members of the preceding list, of which it only comprised a tenth; finally, the candidates on the departmental list selected from this list a final tenth, which became the list of the first notables of the people.

The great authorities entrusted with the drawing up of and the maintenance of the laws of the state were, the Council of State, the Tribunate, and the Legislative Body. The Council of State, the original of that which still exists, drew up the laws, presented them to the Legislative Body, and sent three of its members to discuss them with it. The Tribunate, consisting of a hundred members, publicly discussed the laws which were proposed, and voted their acceptance or rejection; and in this latter case it sent three of its members to discuss the matter with the three members of the Council of State in the presence of the Legislative Body. The Legislative Body, after having heard this discussion in silence, voted on the one side or the other. Finally, there was the Senate, consisting of a hundred members, of a certain age, and endowed with large salaries, who took no part in the preparation of the laws, but who were empowered to annul, either of their own accord or at the suggestion of the Tribunate, every law or act of the Government which might appear to them to be an infringement of the principles of the Constitution. The Senate was a self-elected body, choosing its members from the list of the national notables. It also selected from this same list the members of the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, and the Tribunal of Cassation.

The great public powers.

At the head of the executive power, according to Sièyes' scheme, there was a grand-elector, a magistrate entrusted with the duty of representing the country in its intercourse with foreign nations, and whose only real power consisted in the appointment of two consuls who were to select the ministers, whilst these, in their turn, were to select all the government officials from the three lists of notables.

Sièyes had endeavoured, by means of the institution of the almost passive grand-elector, to introduce into this carefully elaborated constitution a certain balance of power, without which political liberty is impossible. But Bonaparte's ambition would allow him to be content neither with the magnificent but inactive position of grand-elector, nor with the subordinate position of one of the two Consuls. He accepted most parts of the scheme, but placed at the head of the Executive

power, three Consuls, the first of whom, himself, was to have the initiative in, and the supreme direction of, all public affairs. The Constitution of the Year VIII. was then adopted, and its principal arrangements, with the exception of those which established the Tribunate and the Consuls, were the basis of the Constitution in existence from that time to the end of the Empire. "If, at the commencement of the Consulate, when so many things had to be done," says an illustrious historian, "Bonaparte was right in refusing to allow his talents to be shackled, he also had reason, when sublimely unfortunate at Saint-Helena, to regret the liberty he had enjoyed of exercising them unrestrictedly. Had he been limited in the exercise of his faculties he could not have done such great things as he did; but neither could he have attempted such extravagant things, and his sceptre and sword would probably have remained in his glorious hands till his death."

**Constitution of the Year VIII.**

When Bonaparte had been proclaimed chief Consul, he selected as second and third Consuls, Cambacérés, formerly a member of the Plain, in the Convention, and Le Brun, formerly a coadjutor of the Chancellor Maupeou. An article of the Constitution permitted the nomination of the chief public functionaries as a matter of necessity, without waiting for the drawing up of the election lists. The Consuls having been thus appointed, they nominated thirty senators, who elected sixty more. The Senate then chose a hundred tribunes and three hundred legislators. The Constitution of the Year VIII. was submitted for the approval of the people, and received more than three millions of votes in its favour.

**Acceptance of the Constitution of the Year VIII. (1799.)**

Bonaparte, in compliance with the general wish of the nation, offered to make peace with England, but that power refused this offer chiefly and almost solely for the sake of her commerce. It desired a monopoly for its products over the whole world; it saw with fear and jealousy that France was mistress of Belgium, and dreaded lest that country should rival it in industry and trade. Abusing the power given it by its fleets, England exercised a gross tyranny on every sea, and violated with impunity all the principles of the law of nations. It refused to admit that a neutral flag could cover merchandize which had come from an enemy's port, and seized it by main force, exercising even against neutrals an unlimited right of blockade and confiscation. It believed that ruling the sea as it

**France and England on the Ocean.**

did by the right of the strongest, and keeping down the commerce of powerful rivals, it might extend its own so far as to recompense it for the immense cost of an European war borne by its Government. England's Prime Minister was at this time the celebrated William Pitt, who, infusing all the energy of an inflexible will into his animosity against France, persevered unflinchingly in this desperate policy. He skilfully kept alive the fear and dislike which the continental monarchs felt for the First Consul, pointed out to them how much danger there was to their crowns in a Republic which every day increased in strength and extent of frontier, and finally seduced them into an adherence to a system of extermination against France by the payment of enormous subsidies.

Policy of William Pitt.

In this way he long secured the support of Russia and Austria. The first of these powers, however, indignant at finding England obedient to no law on the ocean but that of force, abandoned it in the campaign of 1800, and towards the end of the same year, the Czar, touched by a generous proceeding on the part of Bonaparte, who sent back his prisoners to him without ransom, and influenced, moreover, by admiration for the military skill of the First Consul, declared himself his ally against England. Deeply irritated by the numerous acts of piracy committed by the English fleets, he made himself the head of a *maritime* alliance, which was joined by Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia. These powers acted in concert with France and the United States, and renewed the celebrated declaration of an armed neutrality, signed in 1780, for the purpose of protecting the freedom of commerce, and freeing the ocean from the tyranny of the English. Austria alone persevered on the Continent in the struggle aganst France, and English gold supported her armies.

The Maritime Alliance, 1800.

Bonaparte threw the whole military strength of the Republic upon the Rhine and the Alps. Moreau had the army of the Rhine, and the First Consul reserved to himself the army of Italy. The object of the campaign was to gain possession of the two valleys of the Danube and the Po, and instead of endeavouring to outflank the enemy by attacking him at all points at once, Bonaparte concentrated the movements of his armies. His efforts had for their object the separation of Baron Kray, Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian army in Germany, from Field-Marshal Mélas, who commanded

New plan of campaign in Italy and Germany, 1800.

in Italy a hundred and twenty thousand men, against whom the intrepid Massena defended Genoa and the Maritime Alps with a handful of brave troops. Moreau being ordered to invade the defiles of the Black Forest, took the important position of Stockach, which had been recently lost by Jourdan, and gained several victories in succession. Baron Kray, deceived by his vigour and tactics, believed that the principal point of the French attack would be on the Danube, and concentrating his forces, therefore, rendered himself unable to aid the Austrian army in Italy. Upon this Bonaparte, who had taken means to deceive the enemy by making Dijon the rallying point for an army of reserve, executed a gigantic project. Hastening from Paris to take the command of the troops assembled at Geneva, he proceeded to carry the war suddenly upon the Po, between Milan, Genoa, and Turin. He intended to make the further sides of the Simplon and Saint-Gothard the bases of operations, and to seize the defiles of the Alps, so as to be able to fall upon the rear of Mélas' forces, which were distributed from Genoa to the banks of the Var. The passage of the army and its formidable artillery was effected over the crest of the Alps, at an elevation of upwards of seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. The baggage was placed on the backs of mules, whilst the cannon were taken off their carriages and placed on the trunks of trees, a hundred men being harnessed to each. On the 17th of May thirty thousand men were led by Bonaparte up the Saint-Bernard. Moncey marched with fifteen thousand men towards the Saint-Gothard, with the purpose of descending at Bellinzona, and two other corps were directed upon the Simplon and Mount Cenis respectively. Lannes commanded the advanced guard. The French troops displayed on the edge of precipices, in the midst of glaciers and eternal snows, the most heroic courage. They animated each other by warlike songs, and when any almost insurmountable obstacle presented itself, the charge was beaten, and it was immediately overcome. At length, after unheard-of efforts, the infantry, cavalry, baggage, and artillery reached the summit of the Alps, and the army speedily found itself at the foot of the further side of the Saint-Bernard, whilst Mélas, without any fear, occupied with a portion of his forces the line of the Po. Seventeen thousand Austrian troops were on the Var, in France, and General Ott, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, was pressing forward the siege of Genoa, which still held out, in-

Passage of the Alps by the French Army.

trepidly defended by the feeble army of the Maritime Alps, under Massena, Soult, and Suchet.

The pass of Susa was speedily traversed by the French army, and Bonaparte rapidly moved upon the Po, between the mouth of the Tessin and the confluence of the Tanaro and the Bormida. He dispersed several corps of the enemy whom he encountered on his passage, took possession of Bergamo, and crossed the Adda. Made conscious at length, by the reverses suffered by his generals, of the storm impending over him, Mélas hastened to summon his lieutenants to the Tanaro, at the very moment when famine compelled Genoa to surrender. But Bonaparte continued his march, and without waiting until all his army should have crossed the Po, attacked General Ott at Montebello before he had had time to effect his junction with Mélas, and obtained a first victory. Lannes had the greatest share in this success, and its glorious name was subsequently to become his own.

Bonaparte's victory at Marengo, June 18, 1800.

On the 13th of June the French traversed the plains of San Giuliano, and took up a position between Bormida and the village of Marengo, which they rendered so famous. On the following day, at dawn, the Austrians defiled by the bridge across the Bormida, and fell upon the two wings of the French army, which were commanded by Lannes and Victor. They were already giving way before the assault of forty thousand men, when the First Consul dashed into the plain, towards the right, eight hundred grenadiers of the consular guard. These formed square, checked unaided the enemy's columns, which broke against them, and well earned the glorious name of the "Granite Redoubt" which the conqueror bestowed upon them. Their magnificent resistance afforded time to the other divisions to come up. Desaix, who had recently returned from Egypt, and sent on the previous evening to another point, was hastily summoned to the field of battle, and at length appeared with his division and fifteen pieces of cannon, when the conflict was renewed with fresh fury. In the meantime five thousand Austrians were detached in close column to crush the French left and to cut off its retreat. Desaix rushed forward to prevent them, and fell struck by a ball. His soldiers, eager to avenge him, threw themselves upon the formidable column and broke it, whilst General Kellerman attacked it in the rear with his cavalry and dispersed it. Electrified by this success, the whole French line advanced and drove the

enemy beyond the Bormida. Mélas in vain attempted to defend Marengo, which was taken, and gave its name to this celebrated victory, which rendered the French masters of Italy. Mélas, in a state of consternation, asked to negotiate, and the Convention of Alexandria speedily restored to France all that had been lost within the preceding fifteen months, with the exception of Mantua.

Convention of Alexandria.

As this treaty was only a military convention, it was necessary that the army of the Danube should force Austria to ratify it. Moreau forced the passage of Lech, took Augsburg, re-established, after a century's interval, the glory of the French arms on the plains of Hochstadt, and obtained another victory at Neuburg. Austria now summoned its whole virile population to arms, whilst England still subsidized it, and would not permit it to ratify the Convention of Alexandria. Several armies were now in the field. The Archduke John advanced with a hundred and twenty thousand men to meet the triumphant army under Moreau, and encountered it between the Irun and the Iser. He advanced upon Hohenlinden, and endeavoured to check the French on the vast plains of Anzing, where his army, very superior in strength, would be able to surround them. Moreau perceived his object, and by a series of skilful manœuvres confined the enemy to a narrower space between the defiles of the Tyrol, the village and the forest of Hohenlinden. He then rendered his victory secure by sending the division Richepanse to turn the Austrians, so as to take them between two fires in the defiles, where they could not derive advantage from their superiority in numbers. On the 6th of December the battle commenced. When the action was at its height, Richepanse threw himself into the forest with the forty-eighth demi-brigade, and carried disorder and terror into the enemy's rear. Three Hungarian battalions, however, rallied, and attempted to hold them in check. "Grenadiers of the forty-eighth," said Richepanse, pointing to the Hungarians, "what say you of those fellows there?" "That they are dead men," replied the grenadiers, and they overthrew them, whilst they defeated the Austrians in Hohenlinden. The enemy's centre and a portion of his left was destroyed, and eleven thousand prisoners and a hundred pieces of cannon fell into the power of the French.

Victories of Moreau at Hochstadt, Neuburg, and Hohenlinden, November and December, 1800.

This brilliant victory and the capture of Salzburg opened to Moreau

the road to Vienna. The victor pursued his march and obtained a fresh victory at Schwanstadt. The lines of the Irun, the Salza, and the Fraun were crossed. The fortress of Linz was taken, and the French were now only a few marches distant from Vienna. In this extreme peril the Archduke Charles, who had been in disgrace since the victory of Campo-Formio, was recalled to the command-in-chief of the Imperial armies; but it was too late, for the line of the Ems, the last defence of the capital, was threatened. The Prince demanded a truce, and only obtained it on condition that Austria should renounce its alliance with England. Such was this memorable campaign of 1800, in which the glory of Moreau almost paled that of the hero of Marengo. Within twenty-five days he had conquered ninety leagues of ground, forced four formidable lines, twice vanquished a hundred thousand men, taken a hundred pieces of cannon, and made twenty-five thousand prisoners. He had reduced the Emperor to sue for peace, and compelled Austria to renounce her alliance with England. Peace was the result of the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden.

Fresh successes of Moreau in Germany, 1800.

This peace, signed at Luneville on the 9th of February, 1801, between France, Austria, and the Empire, secured to France the possession of Belgium and the German provinces on the left bank of the Rhine. The valley of this river, from its source in the Helvetian territory to its mouth in the Batavian territory, now formed the boundary line between France and Germany, and it was said that the hereditary Princes who had lost territory on the left bank of the Rhine should be ultimately compensated. The Emperor abandoned the Milanese to the Cisalpine Republic, retained the Venetian States as far as the Adige, and lost Tuscany, now made into the kingdom of Etruria for the Spanish branch of the House of Parma. Separate treaties were signed by France with the courts of Spain and Naples, by which the latter powers engaged to close their ports against English vessels. In that with Spain, moreover, that power undertook to keep off such vessels from the coasts of Portugal, and received for this purpose a French army, which the First Consul placed under the orders of the Spanish Government.

Peace of Luneville, February, 1801.

England now found itself alone in arms against the whole of the

maritime powers, but whilst Italy and Germany had again been the theatre of glorious victories for France, her influence in Egypt had been severely shaken. Kléber and Desaix had at first maintained their ground, and the second, as much esteemed for his justice as for his courage, had completed the conquest of Upper Egypt; but his army, which was decimated by disease, received from France neither supplies nor reinforcements. Kléber addressed energetic remonstrances to the Government, described his position and that of his troops in the most gloomy colours, and at length declared his intention of evacuating Egypt. This letter fell into the hands of the English, who believed from it that the condition of the French army was desperate. A treaty was then concluded between Kléber and the Grand Vizier. The negotiator on the side of France was Desaix, surnamed in Egypt the Just Sultan, and he agreed, by the Convention of El-Arisch, that the French army should evacuate Egypt, on terms honourable to itself; that it should return to France with its arms, baggage, and effects; and that the fortresses and positions occupied by the French troops should be successively given up at certain intervals. The army was reluctant to abandon its conquests, but Kléber, faithful to his promise, enforced the execution of the Convention.

Situation of the French in Egypt, 1800.

Convention of El-Arisch, January, 1800.

A rumour now grew current that an English fleet was blockading the ports of Egypt, and soon afterwards Admiral Keith wrote to Kléber to inform him that England refused to recognise the Convention of El-Arisch, and that it would consent to no capitulation unless the French troops laid down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners. Upon this Kléber recovered all his burning energy, and was once more a hero. His order of the day consisted of the Admiral's letter, with this addition—"Soldiers! such insolence can only be replied to by victories! Prepare for battle!" The Grand Vizier, Joussef Pasha, advanced, in defiance of the treaty, at the head of eighty thousand troops, whilst Kléber only had ten thousand; but these were sufficient, for he knew how to conquer. He encountered the enemy at the ruins of Heliopolis; the battle lasted twenty-four hours; the Turkish army was destroyed, and pursued to the edge of the desert. Cairo was in a state of revolt, a numerous body of Mamelukes having excited the fanaticism of a furious populace. That city became, therefore, the

Kléber's victory at Heliopolis, March 20.

theatre of new exploits, and Kléber took it after a frightful carnage. He speedily recovered in Egypt all the ground and all the influence which he had lost, and displayed marvellous energy in organizing the reconquered territory and creating fresh resources. Mourad Bey, admiring his conqueror, entered into a treaty with him, and Kléber caused his government and his justice to be universally loved. If he had lived Egypt would have become securely annexed to France, but his death caused her to lose all the fruits of the victory of Heliopolis. Kléber fell beneath the dagger of a fanatic on the very day on which Desaix, his rival in glory, expired at Marengo. General Menou succeeded him as Commander-in-Chief, but being equally devoid of talent or energy, he only committed faults without knowing how to retrieve them, and allowed himself to be surrounded by an English army. After the unfortunate battle of Canopa, Cairo capitulated; Alexandria, in which Menou had shut himself up, speedily shared the same fate, and the whole of Egypt was lost. The French army, however, obtained free liberty to return to France with its arms and baggage; and the learned men who had accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt preserved, in spite of the English, their manuscripts and precious collections.

The battle of Canopa, April, 1801.

Evacuation of Egypt.

England had obtained other victories in Asia, where it had completed the conquest of India. Its fleets had taken possession of the fine Dutch colonies of Sinnamari, Guiana, the Cape of Good Hope, and Ceylon, together with the French colonies; and Malta had fallen into its power. Nelson had inflicted a terrible blow on the maritime league of the neutral powers by forcing the passage of the Sound for the purpose of attacking Copenhagen, and burning with prodigious boldness the floating batteries of the Danes, whom he forced to lay down their arms. An event as tragic as unexpected completed the ruin of the league of the neutral powers. The Czar, Paul I., its most powerful supporter, perished by assassination, and his young successor, Alexander, adopted a different policy. The league was then dissolved by the force of circumstances, and England remained sovereign of the seas, although the French navy began to recover its strength, and was enabled to make its flag respected in the Mediterranean, where Admiral Lenoir, with three vessels only, had beaten

Passage of the Sound, and attack on Copenhagen by Nelson, 1801.

Assassination of the Czar Paul, 1801.

Battle of Algesiras.

six English vessels at the glorious battle of Algesiras (1801). In the meantime powerful motives rendered England desirous of peace. It had suffered during two years from famine; it was crushed beneath the weight of taxes; its debt already amounted to more than twelve thousand millions of francs; and it found itself, to its great dismay, threatened with a formidable invasion. The First Consul had collected at Boulogne for this purpose an immense flotilla of gun boats, which Nelson had attacked without being able either to destroy or disperse, and a French army was ready to cross the Channel. All these causes rendered peace as desirable for England as it was for France, and the dismissal of William Pitt, who was replaced in the Cabinet by Addington, rendered negotiations feasible. England offered to treat, and the First Consul accepted the offer.

Formidable preparations at Boulogne for the invasion of England.

The preliminaries of peace were signed by the two Governments in September, 1801. It was agreed that England should recognise the Continental limits of France as being those which were recognised by the treaties of Luneville, and that it should also restore all the territories which it had taken from France, or her allies, Spain and Holland, with the exception of the islands of Ceylon and Trinidad. It was agreed, also, that Egypt should be evacuated by the troops of both nations, and restored to the Porte, and the independence of Portugal was guaranteed.

Peace of Amiens, March, 1802.

This peace, which was so glorious for France, was definitively signed on the 25th of March, 1802, at Amiens, by the plenipotentiaries of France and England, Joseph Bonaparte, a brother of the First Consul, and Lord Cornwallis. Separate treaties, the natural consequences of the peace of Amiens, were signed by France with Portugal, Bavaria, Russia, the Ottoman Porte, Algiers, and Tunis; and thus the world was for a time—alas! too short—at peace.

Expedition to St. Domingo, 1802.

Being now freed from all cares abroad, Bonaparte endeavoured to subjugate the island of St. Domingo, which had revolted against the whites, and was governed by blacks, at the head of whom was the famous Toussaint-Louverture. Forty thousand men, under General Leclerc, were sent to effect this object; but after some first successes they were decimated by yellow fever, and St. Domingo was lost for ever.

The First Consul had striven with all his energy to suppress factions at home. He revoked by a decree of amnesty the law which prevented a hundred and fifty thousand emigrants from returning to France. He gained over many royalist leaders, and confided important offices to several proscribed persons of Fructidor—to Siméon, Portalis, and Barbé-Marbois. Some Vendean chiefs,—Châtillon, d'Autichamp, Suzannet, and the famous Abbé Bernier, curé of St. Lo—had already signed their submission by the treaty of Montluçon. La Prévalaye and Bourmont followed their example; Frotté was taken and shot, Georges Cadoudal capitulated, and the war in the West was at an end.

Amnesty, 1800.

The war, however, was succeeded by conspiracies. Bonaparte had rallied to his government the moderate members of all parties; but these parties were chiefly made up of violent and implacable men, who, as they could no longer hope to overthrow the First Consul by open violence, had recourse to the most secret and formidable means for that purpose.

Some violent Republicans formed a plot, of which the Corsican, Aréna, was the principal author, according to which the First Consul was to be assassinated in his box at the theatre. This plot was discovered before it could be carried out, and the conspirators were executed. Another conspiracy, more dangerous still, was formed by the Royalist party, and Bonaparte escaped the assassins as by a miracle. On the third Nivose (24th December, 1800) they placed a barrel of powder on a cart, which they stationed in the Rue Saint Nicaise at the moment when the Consul was passing through it on his way to the opera. He owed his life to the skill of his coachman and the speed of his horses, and had only just passed the fatal spot when the barrel exploded. Many persons perished, but Bonaparte suffered no harm. This plot is known by the name of the Infernal Machine, and caused a great feeling of indignation against the extreme men of all parties. It was at first attributed to the Republicans, and the Government proposed to transport a hundred and thirty-two persons in an arbitrary manner, and to authorize this measure had recourse to a dangerous expedient, borrowed from the Roman Senate at the period of the decline of the Roman Empire; and a simple *Senatus Consultum* decreed, without any parliamentary trial, the transportation of a hundred and thirty-two suspected

Conspiracy of Arena.

Arbitrary acts.

persons.* After this act of violence, several of the real conspirators were discovered, and were recognised as emissaries of the Royalist party, and agents of Georges Cadoudal. Fouché, Minister of Police, had suspected the truth, but nevertheless he had offered no opposition to the violent measures taken against the Republicans, and the decree which condemned the latter was not revoked after the discovery of the really guilty parties. Such a fact sufficiently characterises a period in which a government, for the purpose of reestablishing order and security, did not scruple to have recourse to means as little consistent with justice as with law. Bonaparte from this time forth displayed on many occasions a violent and despotic character; and a party hostile to his government was formed in the great bodies of the State, which had at its head, in the Senate, Lanjuinais, Grégoire, Garat, Cabanis, and in the Tribunate, Isnard, Daunou, Andrieux, Chénier, Benjamin Constant. This party committed the fault of systematically opposing the First Consul, of closing its eyes to some of the best conceptions of his genius, and of failing to recognise in him the only man whom France could not do without.

**The acts and government of Bonaparte, First Consul.**

The difficult circumstances in the midst of which his authority had come into existence rendered it almost indispensable that the dictatorship, of which at this period he generally made a salutary and glorious use, should remain for some time in his hands. Anarchy prevailed in every direction, and he everywhere restored order, applying to every subject his strong will, his active and fertile intelligence. He established regularity in the civil and military administration, and the Civil Code which he now projected was a monument of genius, and became a model of legislation for Europe. Bonaparte reconstructed judicial order on a new basis; he replaced the four hundred and seventeen correctional tribunals, and the ninety-eight civil tribunals, by a tribunal of *first instance* for each arrondissement, which was to take cognizance of both civil and police affairs, and which would render the access to justice easier to all classes of the citizens. Besides these there were created twenty-nine courts of appeal, and each department had a criminal court, whilst the Court of Cassation received some new powers.

**Civil Code.**

* It is worthy of remark that the violation of law by a Senatus Consultum to which Bonaparte had recourse on this occasion to strengthen his power, was used fourteen years later to decree his fall.

France was now governed after an improved method. A prefect, who had under him sub-prefects, advantageously replaced the administrators of the departments. The subjects of public instruction, the Institute, commerce, industry, the roads, the ports, and the arsenals, also attracted the notice and the thoughtfulness of the First Consul. With the assistance of Monge and Berthollet he gave a better organization to the Polytechnic School, which had been established during the government of the Convention. He divided the French Prytanée into four colleges, one of which he retained in Paris, whilst he transferred the others to Fontainebleau, Saint Germain, and Versailles. In each of them he determined that there should be a hundred gratuitous admissions for the children of men who had deserved well of their country either in the career of arms, or in the performance of civil functions. Assisted by the able Minister Gaudin, he reestablished order in the finances, and created a *caisse d'amortissement* and *cautionnements*, the management of which he confided to M. Mollien, and which had an excellent influence on the public credit. Regarding the clergy as an indispensable auxiliary of the chief power, Bonaparte made great efforts to gain them over to his side; and being convinced that religion is the surest support of morality, he reestablished public worship in France, and signed with Pope Pius VII. a concordat, by which the Catholic religion was recognised as that of the majority of the French. The hundred and fifty-eight episcopal seats which existed before the Revolution were reduced to sixty, of which ten were archbishoprics. Those who were to fill these seats were to be appointed by the First Consul, and confirmed by the Pope. After this great act of reparation Bonaparte established a similar mode of rewarding merit in whatever rank he might find it, and for this purpose established the Order of the Legion of Honour, of which he declared himself the head. This creation, as being opposed to the principle of equality, was violently opposed in the Legislative Body and the Tribunate, but was ultimately adopted by them.

Public instruction.

Finances.

Concordat.

The Legion of Honour.

The First Consul, whilst so active in promoting the national interests, neglected nothing which might confirm his authority. We have already seen by what arbitrary acts he either put down or prevented conspiracies; and he did more; for after causing the Senate to eliminate the most energetic tribunes, and after having obtained for his Consulate ten years'

prolongation, he caused himself to be appointed Consul for life, and obtained the privilege of appointing his successor. Two days later the Constitution of the Year X. was decreed by a *Senatus Consultum*. The electors were for life; the First Consul had the power of augmenting their number; the Senate was able to change the institution, to suspend the functions of the jury, to place the departments beyond the pale of the Constitution, to annul the decisions of the Tribunals, and to dissolve the Legislative Corps and the tribunate. The number of the Tribunes, which had been already diminished, was reduced to fifty, and Bonaparte selected for himself, in addition to the Council of State, a privy council, small in numbers, whose principal duty was to deliberate on affairs which required secrecy. All the citizens had been invited to give their opinions with respect to the establishment of the Consulship for life, and out of 3,577,299 votes on the registers, only 8000 were given against it.

**Constitution of the 16th Thermidor, in the Year X. Consulship for life. August, 1802.**

France now presented an hitherto unseen spectacle of power and glory, and if England had acquired in the preceding ten years the empire of India, France had changed the face of Europe to her own advantage. She had acquired the whole left bank of the Rhine, from its source to its entrance into Holland, and the line of the Alps, including Piedmont. She had considerably reduced the power of Austria by taking from her, besides the Low Countries, many fine provinces in the north of Italy, out of which were formed the Cisalpine Republic; and her influence was dominant in Holland, Spain, Switzerland, Germany, and in the whole of Northern Italy, and was rendered too prominent, perhaps, at this period by several political acts of the highest importance.

**Boundaries of France under the Consulate.**

In January, 1802, the First Consul convoked the deputies of the Cisalpine Republic, which had been formed of Lombardy so far as the Adige, the Legations, and the State of Modena; and having assembled them at Lyons in a constituent assembly, named a *Consultum*, he presented to it a new constitution, which was adopted, while he received for himself from this assembly the title of President of the Italian Republic, a new name which he had substituted for that of the Cisalpine Republic. In the course of the same year, 1802, Bonaparte interfered in the character of mediator in the affairs of Switzerland,

**Mediation of the First Consul in Switzerland.**

which was torn to pieces by factions, and where the Unitarian party and that of the Oligarchy obtained supreme power by turns.* He compelled the cantons to accept the celebrated Act of Mediation, which was based on the principles of 1789 with respect to the equality of rights not only between the various classes of citizens, but also between the different portions of the Helvetian territory.† The Act of Mediation preserved the sovereignty of the Cantons, whilst it established a national Diet for the purpose of superintending the general interests of the Confederacy, and this has remained almost the same to the present day. It was unfortunately necessary that a French army of thirty thousand men should be sent to Switzerland for the purpose of compelling it to accept the advantages which it derived from this celebrated Act, and the First Consul gave himself the appearance in the eyes of terrified Europe of a victor disposing of Switzerland as a conquered country. But it was more especially by the skilful manner in which he interfered in the affairs of Germany that the First Consul showed to what a lofty place he had elevated France in Europe.

As a consequence of the conquest on the left bank of the Rhine, of many States the possession of which had been secured to the French Republic by the peace of Amiens, a crowd of princes had found themselves deprived of their states, and amongst them three ecclesiastical electors—the Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Trèves. The principle that some indemnity should be made in their case had been admitted by the contracting powers, and it was not possible to give any except by secularizing a great number of ecclesiastical states.

The latter formed about a sixth part of the surface of Germany. The French conquests had naturally resulted in secularizing some important territories, and it now remained to secularize many others, and to divide them between the sovereigns, small or great, who had been dispossessed of their states during the war,

Secularization of the German States.

* The Unitarian or Democratic party was inclined to suppress all the separate constitutions of the Swiss cantons, and to form them into a single State. The Oligarchic party, on the contrary, was the federal party.

† The Swiss territory was formerly divided into sovereign cantons and subordinate or subject states, and the latter were formed by the Act of Mediation into new cantons. The number of cantons, which was only thirteen in 1789, was raised to nineteen by the Act of Mediation. Since that period the powers of the Diet have been much extended, and three new cantons, including that of Geneva, have been added to the Confederation.

whether in Germany or Italy. It remained, however, to remodel the whole constitution of the German empire, which rested entirely on the old geographical divisions of Germany, which had now been for the most part destroyed or seriously altered. This double work presented innumerable difficulties, either in respect to the difficulty of satisfying the many claims, or of maintaining a state of equilibrium between Prussia and Austria when satisfying these numerous claims, or finally of preserving the interests of France herself uninjured. The First Consul was the only man capable of effecting this laborious task, and of intervening with sufficient authority between the various claimants. For the purpose of effecting these great objects he induced the Diet at Ratisbon to accept the mediation of France and Russia, and he succeeded, after a long series of difficult negotiations, in inducing the Diet there assembled to vote the act or *recez* of January, 1803, which, whilst regulating the indemnities to be granted to the several princes, gave a new constitution to the German empire, and modified in a manner favourable to the interests of France the composition of the Diet and that of the imperial body of electors. The chief result of this celebrated *recez* was to make the balance, which had hitherto inclined too strongly to the side of Austria and the Catholic party, turn in favour of Prussia and the Protestant party.

The policy of the First Consul already embraced the whole world, and he considered himself sufficiently strong to take a step in respect to the most important of the colonies which France still retained in America—Louisiana—of which no preceding Government had been willing to accept the responsibility. Judging, with good reason, that her possession was too burdensome to France, and fearing that it might soon fall into the hands of England, he sold it to the Republic of the United States for eighty millions. Bonaparte thus interfered in the two hemispheres as powerfully in matters of peace as in those of war, and he now seemed to the jealous eyes of foreign nations, as well as to the dazzled eyes of France, to have attained the height of his power. At this period, says the historian of his reign, he could still deceive France and the world. Some of his councillors only, who were constantly with him, and who were capable of seeing the future in the present, were seized with affright as much as with admiration at his indefatigable activity of mind and body, the energy of his will, and the impetuosity of his desires. They trembled even when they saw good

Cession of Louisiana to the United States, 1803.

effected in the way he effected it, he was so eager to have it done quickly and on an immense scale. The wise Tronchet, who both admired and loved him, and who regarded him as the saviour of France, nevertheless said sadly one day to Cambacèrés, "That young man has commenced like Cæsar, and I fear that he will finish as he did." *

He already cherished in his heart, perhaps unconsciously, the germs of a most immoderate ambition. His pride had increased in proportion to the humiliations to which he had subjected Europe, and the very facility with which it had yielded to his designs had given him an immense confidence in his own strength, and was the primary cause of the misfortunes endured by the world during ten years, and of his own ruin. To induce England to accept with resignation the immense changes which had been made on the Continent since the signature of the preliminaries of the peace of Amiens, and which would very possibly prove seriously injurious to the interests of British commerce, it was important that the First Consul should display much moderation in his dealings with the English Government, and take care not to hurt the jealous susceptibility of that nation. He did not act in this way, however, but complained, haughtily and with threats, of the attacks upon his Government in the English press. The latter, free and bold as usual in its language, in the habit of pandering to the popular passions, and exaggerating the acts which it denounced, indulged not unreasonably in bitter recriminations against the aggressive policy of France in Europe, while the journals edited in London by the French emigrants were equally virulent against the First Consul. The Opposition, finally, vehemently attacked in Parliament the conduct of the minister, who, it said, had negotiated peace during many months at Amiens without having made a single serious remonstrance either against the principles of the policy of France, or against its invasions of Switzerland, of Italy, as well as in Germany.

In the meantime England had observed all the clauses of the treaty with one exception. The island of Malta was not yet evacuated, and this fatal delay was caused by the omission on the part of the French Government of a necessary formality,† and not by a premeditated want

* Thiers' "History of the Consulate and Empire."

† In the Treaty of Amiens, it was said that Russia and Prussia should be invited to guarantee its execution before the island of Malta should be evacuated by the English, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs had forgotten to request this guarantee.—Thiers' 'History of the Consulate and Empire."

of good faith on the part of the English Government. To all these causes of jealousy and irritation which the First Consul had recently given to England by his almost despotic interference in the affairs of the Continent, was now added another by the sudden annexation to France of Piedmont, which had been occupied by our troops during more than two years, without any compensation to the king, Charles Emmanuel, the ally of England, and who was now despoiled for having desired to remain faithful to that alliance. So arbitrary an act raised the exasperation of the English people to its height, and the outcries of the public press and of the members of the Opposition in Parliament, who were led by Grenville and Canning, would not permit the English Government to evacuate Malta before it had obtained from the First Consul explanations with respect to these aggressive acts, and of his encroachments in Europe. But Bonaparte had already reached the height at which an attack of vertigo is to be feared, and where the obstacles which passion encounters are so far from repressing, that they increase and inflame it. After having completely stifled the liberty of the press in France, Bonaparte could not understand how it could still exist in a free and neighbouring country. He could not understand that a government which, by its very nature, is the object of attacks in the journals, cannot be held responsible for their attacks on foreign governments, whilst that, in countries where the press is enslaved or controlled, the administration is always an accomplice in the violence which it tolerates. He keenly wounded the just susceptibilities of the English people by causing the insertion in the *Moniteur* of articles filled with invectives and threats against England, whilst he demanded that the British Government should chastise the pamphleteers, withdraw the pensions granted to the Chouans and emigrants living in England, and expel the Bourbons from a soil the inhabitants of which had considered it an honour for ages to grant an asylum to exiles. He had in his own palace a violent scene with the English Ambassador, Lord Whitworth, and at length dictated to his minister in London notes couched in the most imperious style, calculated to envenom the relations between the two countries, and to render extremely difficult the fulfilment of the clause in the treaty respecting the island of Malta. Too weak to resist the popular clamour so imprudently provoked, the English minister

Reunion of Piedmont to France, 1803.

Respective grievances of France and England.

attempted to temporize, and endeavoured to obtain the concession of Malta in exchange for other advantages to be granted to France. "The treaty; nothing but the treaty!" replied the First Consul; to which the English Government rejoined, "The state of Europe before the treaty; nothing more and nothing less!" It made, however, a final effort, and proposed, for the purpose of soothing public opinion, to accept in exchange for Malta a small island in the Mediterranean, at the same time demanding by a secret article that it should be allowed to retain Malta for two years provisionally, after which it would surrender it. But Bonaparte remained inflexible. The honour of France, which he already too frequently confounded with the demands of his own pride, would not allow, he said, of such a concession. He chose rather, for the sake of the immediate possession of a rock in the Mediterranean, to tear in pieces the most glorious treaty which France had ever signed, and Europe was plunged into the horrors of an endless war.

Rupture of the peace of Amiens, 1803.

Thus was broken, in June, 1803, the peace of Amiens, a disastrous event which was productive during twelve years of many frightful troubles, the responsibility of which rests equally upon the two peoples. If England has to bear her share for not having executed one of the clauses of the treaty, it must be admitted that France by her own acts rendered the immediate execution of the treaty almost impossible. It is not, however, upon France, then prostrated at the feet of a master, that must fall the greatest weight of this terrible responsibility; but upon that master himself, who, inebriated with power, born for war, and incapable, as Louis XIV. had been, of treating scurrilous pamphlets with disdain, already dreamt of a resurrection for himself and his race of the Empire of the Gauls and Charlemagne.*

The war commenced on either side by savage acts unworthy of civilized nations. The English fleet, on the one hand, fired on ships of merchandize in various seas before hostilities had been openly declared, and the French Consul, on the other hand, ordered, as a reprisal, the arrest of all the

* The opinion which I express with respect to the rupture of the peace of Amiens is not in conformity with the conclusions of M. Thiers on the subject, except in the retrospect which he makes of the Consular and Imperial Government at the end of vol. xvii. of his splendid work. In that rapid sketch the later and calm reflections of the celebrated historian differ on many essential points from the judgments which he delivers in the volumes written at an earlier date.

English travelling on the Continent, many of whom remained prisoners until the close of this long and frightful war.

It was on the English soil that Bonaparte had resolved to subdue England, and he once more planned a descent upon its coasts, collecting for this purpose a formidable armament at Boulogne.

Conspiracy of Pichegru and Georges Cadoudal.

At the same time a dangerous plot was formed against the life of the First Consul, and for the restoration of the Bourbons, by the Chouan and Royalist chiefs. Pichegru and Georges Cadoudal were at their head, and Moreau was their confidant, but not their accomplice. The conspiracy was discovered in February, 1804, and Moreau, Pichegru, and Cadoudal were arrested. This event had caused a great excitement, when suddenly there spread through Paris a sinister rumour that the blood of a Bourbon had flowed, that a French prince, the Duke d'Enghien, had been immolated to the vengeance of the First Consul. Deceived by false reports with respect to the intentions of the Prince, and informed, moreover, that a gathering of emigrants was taking place on the Rhine frontier, in the country of Baden, Napoleon resolved to terrify his enemies by one terrible blow. Violating, in defiance of the law of nations, the Baden territory, by sending thither two detachments of cavalry, he desired them by orders drawn up with his own hand to advance rapidly upon Ettenheim, where the Prince resided, to seize him, and to convey him to France. The Duke d'Enghien reached Paris on the 20th March, and was then taken to Vincennes, where he was tried at night by a military commission, and condemned to death. The sentence was immediately executed, and Bonaparte had the tomb of the last of the Condés dug in the moat of Vincennes.* All Bonaparte's glory has not served to obliterate the remembrance of this bloody catastrophe, which was the principal cause of the third general war.

Arrest and execution of the Duc d'Enghien.

* Europe, at once offended and emboldened, now looked with new eyes on France and her chief. At the sound of the fusillade at Vincennes, Prussia, which was about to form with France a formal alliance, drew back, and renounced an alliance which could be no longer honourable. Austria, more calculating, profited by the occasion, by no longer observing any reserve in the execution of the *recez* of 1803. The young Emperor of Russia, honest and full of honour, alone dared, as a guarantor of the Germanic Constitution, to demand an explanation of the violation of the Baden territory. Napoleon replied by an offensive allusion to the death of Paul I. The Czar made no rejoinder, but resolved to avenge this outrage.

Paris, France, and Europe were still deeply moved by so gross an outrage, when the trial of Pichegru and Moreau commenced. The conqueror of Holland, faithless to his own renown, had condescended to play the part of a conspirator: the proofs were overwhelming, and he foresaw his fate. His brave soul, said Bonaparte himself, could not face the infamy of punishment. Pichegru, despairing of pardon from the First Consul, or disdaining it, strangled himself in prison. Georges Cadoudal bore a brave front in the presence of his judges, and astonished them by the energetic conciseness of his replies. "Where did he lodge?" "Nowhere." "What was his object in coming to Paris?" "To attack Bonaparte." "By what means?" "By open force." "With the dagger?" "No; with a force equal to the Consul's escort." But he who attracted the attention of all was the victor of Hohenlinden. The illustrious Moreau, either through jealousy or through ambition, had lent his ear to the conspirators. He flattered himself that he would succeed the First Consul, and, if he had conspired, he had done it for himself, and not for the Bourbons. He confessed that he had known the conspirators; but honour, he said, did not permit him to name them, and he displayed before the tribunal the strength of mind which had never failed him on the field of battle. Bonaparte, there can be no doubt, desired that he should be condemned to capital punishment, that he might afterwards overwhelm him with his clemency; and a hint was given to the judges that they might safely aggravate the sentence without risk to the accused, as the First Consul intended to pardon him. "And who will pardon us?" answered one of the judges. This fine rejoinder was made by the learned Clavier. Moreau was condemned to two years' imprisonment, which Bonaparte commuted to exile to the United States. Out of forty-seven persons tried, seventeen were condemned to death, and amongst these were Georges Cadoudal, Charles de Rivière, and Armand de Polignac. The punishment of the two latter was commuted; but the first died, as he had lived, without giving a sign of weakness.

Trial of the conspirators, 1804.

Death of Pichegru.

The war against Great Britain and Pichegru's conspiracy assisted Bonaparte to raise himself from the Consulate to the Imperial Crown; but first of all he added to the powers of the Senate, which had already been so greatly extended. This body was but a docile instrument in his

hands, and all the authority which it gained in appearance was in reality an addition to the power of the First Consul. At this period, however, as at the commencement of his power, Bonaparte made every effort to lighten his yoke by doing all he could to supply the necessities and forward the interests of the nation. He recompensed every useful discovery, every service, every talent. His vast mind embraced at once the most various objects. On the very day on which he bestowed pensions on some old workmen, he established decennial prizes as encouragement for all the branches of knowledge, for all the arts which embellish and enrich the nation. He favoured as much as possible the system of vaccination, which had been recently introduced into France by the worthy Duke of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, one of the benefactors of humanity; and there was scarcely any branch of the civil or military administration in which his genius did not develop some happy germ of amelioration. France opposed no resistance to Bonaparte, because his personal ambition had long been identified with the interest, the glory, and the prosperity of the nation; and he obtained the good will of his fellow-citizens as much by his pacific achievements as by his military exploits.

**Laudable acts and useful works of the Consular Government.**

When he had thus triumphed over all resistance, he caused the Senate to request him to govern the Republic under the name of Napoleon Bonaparte, and with the title of hereditary Emperor. Carnot, faithful to the Republican cause, vainly opposed in the Tribunate the wishes of most of his colleagues; and the empire was proclaimed on the 2nd Floréal, Year XII. The Constitution now underwent fresh modifications, and whilst the throne was raised aloft, some guarantees were granted to the citizens in recompense for the loss which many of them believed they had suffered of the remains of public liberty by the fall of the Republican Government. The Senate was constituted guardian of individual liberty, of the liberty of that part of the press which was not periodical.* The freedom of debate was restored to the Legislative Corps: in the secret committees were six members who were authorized to discuss every proposed law. At the same time the powers of the members of the Tribunate were pro-

**Establishment of the Empire and Constitution of the Year XII.**

* The guarantees which were thus given to these liberties would have been of value at any other time, but they were absolutely worthless under a despotism universally accepted.

longed from five to ten years; but this latter body was divided into three sections, and it was forbidden to debate in a general assembly. Finally, a High Imperial Court was created, with the object of adding as much to the safety of the Court as to that of the Government. This Court was endowed with most of the judicial attributes which were subsequently possessed by the Court of Peers, and protected the Government against the authors of conspiracies, whilst it protected the citizens against the Government officials. It consisted of a hundred and twenty members, princes, great dignitaries, senators, magistrates, and councillors of state. The new Constitution recognised the Emperor's two brothers, Louis and Joseph, as French princes, and capable of being his successors. Six great dignitaries were created; the Grand-Elector, the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, the Arch-Chancellor of State, the Arch-Treasurer, the Constable, and the Grand-Admiral, who were empowered to represent the Emperor in his absence, either in the Senate, the Councils, or the armies, and formed with him the great Council of the Empire. Finally, in case of failure of heirs to the Emperor, these dignitaries would have the power of electing an Emperor; and if the Sovereign were a minor, would form the Council of Regency. The brothers of Napoleon, Joseph and Louis, were nominated respectively Grand-Elector and Constable. The posts of Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, and of Arch-Treasurer, were given to the second and third Consuls, Cambacèrés and Lebrun. Beneath these six great dignitaries were fifty grand officers, partly civil and partly military, at the head of whom were eighteen Marshals of the Empire, who were Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Broune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellerman, Lefebvre, Pérignon, and Serrurier.

High Imperial Court.

Great dignitaries of the Empire.

Marshals.

Napoleon desired that his reign should be sanctioned as well by the clergy as the people, and he obtained the approval of each. The new Emperor was accepted by an immense majority of the French people, and at his earnest request Pope Pius VII. went to Paris to bestow upon his unheard-of success the seal of religious consecration. On the 2nd of December, 1804, in the Church of Notre Dame, Napoleon, accompanied by his wife, and surrounded by the great bodies of the State and the great dignitaries of the Church, was

Consecration of Napoleon by Pope Pius VII. Dec. 1804.

consecrated Emperor of the French by the Sovereign Pontiff; but instead of receiving the crown from the Pope's hands, he took it from the altar himself and placed it on his own head, whilst he pronounced this solemn oath:—"I swear to maintain intact the territory of the Republic; to respect and to enforce respect for the laws of the Concordat and the liberty of worship; to respect and to enforce respect for the equality of rights, political and civil liberty, and the irrevocability of sales of the national property; to levy no tax or duty save in accordance with the law; to maintain the Order of the Legion of Honour, and to govern solely with a view to the interests, the happiness, and the glory of the French people."

Protest and oath of the head of the House of Bourbon.

Whilst a new prince was erecting, as he thought, an imperishable throne for his dynasty, a fugitive prince, heir to the ancient kings, neglected by the sovereigns of Europe, and forgotten by the servants of his house, protested, in the face of Heaven and the world, against the decrees of fortune. The following is the oath which was at this time pronounced in an obscure town of Sweden by him who was subsequently to reign by the name of Louis XVIII.:—"In the bosom of the Baltic, in the face and under the protection of Heaven, strong in the presence of our brother and that of the Duke d'Angoulême our nephew, and in the assent of the other princes of our blood, bringing to witness the royal victims and those whom fidelity, honour, piety, innocence, patriotism, and self-devotion have rendered victims to revolutionary madness or the jealousy of tyrants; invoking the manes of the young hero whom impious hands have torn from his country and from glory; offering to our people, as a pledge of reconciliation, the consoling angel to whom Providence, for the purpose of giving us a great example, has thought proper to assign fresh adversities by bearing her to chains and the scaffold: We swear, Frenchmen, that we will never break the sacred knot which inseparably unites our destinies with your own, which allies us to your families, your hearts, and your consciences. We will never resign the heritage of our fathers, never abandon our rights. Frenchmen, we call upon the Judge of judges, the God of St. Louis, to witness this oath."

This oath of a soul truly loyal was at the time scarcely heard, and the feeble echo which it excited in France expired in the midst of the noisy pomp of the coronation and of a thousand adulatory shouts. Not only

was the throne, which had been empty for twelve years, now filled, but he who occupied it desired that the interval which separated the new times from the old monarchy should be apparently annihilated. He desired to resuscitate in France the old customs of the other Courts of Europe. He surrounded himself with pomp, with chamberlains and pages. But whilst endeavouring to revivify around the throne the forms of the ancient *régime* and to suspend the public liberties, he respected the genuine results of the Revolution; which were, the division of property, the equal payment of taxes by all classes, the equality of all in the eyes of the law, the equal right of all to fill public offices, the freedom of public worship and the separation of the civil state from the clergy. He also enforced in several States which he had subdued, the recognition of many of the principles which are the basis on which rest at the present day our political constitutions, and from which will eventually spring the liberal institutions of the French people, at a period when it will no longer be possible to impose despotism upon it in the name of glory.

## CHAPTER II.

### FROM THE ACCESSION OF NAPOLEON TO THE THRONE TO THE SEIZURE OF SPAIN.

### 1804–1808.

IF Napoleon after the peace of Amiens had preferred the interests of France to his own ambition, he would have been able to secure the fruits of twelve years of anarchy and war, and to become the moderator of Europe; but he preferred to be its master, and keeping his eyes fixed on the great image of Charlemagne, believed that he was called to the same destinies. He first of all desired to add to the title of the Emperor of the French that of the King of Italy, and the representatives of the Italian republic decided that that country should be made a separate kingdom. Napoleon immediately repaired to Milan, and girding his brows with the iron crown of the Lombard Kings, declared that he only temporarily added it to his own, and appointed Eugene de Beauharnais, his stepson, Viceroy of Italy. The establishment of this kingdom, the sudden and violent annexation of the city of Genoa and the principality of Lucca to the empire, at the moment when he solemnly protested against having any design of adding to the French territories, together with the immense exertions of the English Government, now again directed by Pitt—all these things aroused Austria, revealed the intensity of the indignation excited in Europe by the death of the Duke d'Enghien, and resulted in the formation of a third coalition against France by England, Austria, and Russia. Bavaria made common cause with France; Prussia remained neutral; and Spain also was unwilling to join the enemies of France. England declared that the latter power had committed an infraction of its neutrality by affording a refuge to some French vessels blockaded in the ports of Ferrol and Cadiz, and demanded that the Spanish Government should expel them. Upon its refusing to do so, England declared war against it, and commenced hostilities by the capture of the rich galleons laden with

Third coalition, 1804.

Commencement of hostilities.

the piastres of Mexico. It thus drove Spain into an alliance with France, and the union of the Spanish fleet with that of France increased the Emperor's confidence in the success of a descent upon England.

Napoleon had caused the formation of the new coalition not only by exciting an universal sentiment of horror by the seizure and execution of the Duke d'Enghien, but more especially by the rash usurpation of the crown of Italy and the violent annexation of Genoa and Lucca to his empire, at the time when he meditated the execution of his gigantic enterprise against England. He again proceeded with this object to the camp of Boulogne, and completed his formidable preparations. He had assembled on this coast a hundred thousand of the best infantry in Europe, fifteen thousand cavalry, and fifty thousand sailors; two thousand light boats had been constructed and armed with an enormous quantity of cannon, for the purpose of conveying the army of invasion across the Channel and landing it on the opposite coast. But an English fleet defended the passage, and several of its divisions blockaded our squadrons in the ports of Brest and Ferrol. A second English fleet, under Nelson, cruised in the Mediterranean, and watched the French fleet shut up in the port of Toulon. For the flotilla to attempt the passage without the certainty of incurring some disaster, it was indispensable that it should do so under the protection of a French fleet; but that at Brest, commanded by Admiral Ganteaume, was blockaded by the English, and too weak to defend the passage by itself. Napoleon conceived the idea of transferring to the Channel the fleet of Toulon, which a favourable wind might then enable that of Brest to join. The first was ordered, after it should have passed the straits of Gibraltar, to rally the French and Spanish vessels shut up in the port of Cadiz, and then to sail towards Martinique, so as to deceive the enemy as to its real direction. It was then to await the arrival of the fleet of Admiral Ganteaume, return with it to Europe, raise the blockade of Ferrol and the coast of Spain, and finally return to the Channel, where the united fleets, consisting of sixty vessels, would be superior to that of the English. Napoleon believed that this plan would render him master of the Channel for four-and-twenty hours, which would be sufficient time to enable him to land his army on the opposite coast, when England would be already conquered.

Camp of Boulogne, 1803.

Plan of invasion of England.

This plan, whatever might have been its results, was a conception of genius; but an astonishing concurrence of circumstances, in which we may recognise the hand of Providence, made it fail. To carry it out required an admiral at once firm, active, and bold, and Napoleon had found such a man in La Touche-Tréville, whom he intended to command the Toulon fleet and to lead it into the Mediterranean. This admiral, however, died on the eve of setting sail, as did also, soon afterwards, Admiral Brueys, to whom was entrusted the direction of our operations in the Channel. By a strange fatality La Touche-Tréville was replaced by Admiral Villeneuve, an honourable, scientific, and brave man, but devoid of the qualities most indispensable for such an enterprise—coolness, resolution, and confidence in himself. He was fortunate, however, in the execution of the first and most difficult portion of his task; for he escaped Nelson in the Mediterranean, and joined Admiral Gravina and the Spanish squadron in Cadiz. The combined fleets sailed to the Antilles, and after having waited in vain for Admiral Ganteaume, sailed together to Europe, and fought a glorious battle off Ferrol with the English fleet commanded by Admiral Calder, after which they formed a junction with two fresh divisions, the one French and the other Spanish. But at this point the good fortune of Villeneuve left him, and he seemed to be struck by a species of stupor at the moment which was the most important of all, and which had been so eagerly expected by Napoleon. An unexpected, and indeed an unheard-of circumstance had detained the fleet of Admiral Ganteaume at Brest; he had confidently expected that an equinoctial gale would have compelled the English fleet to leave those waters, but the weather, for the first time in the memory of man, was continually calm and fine. This being the case, Villeneuve was ordered to sail to Brest, to raise the blockade of that port and release the fleet there. Failing the success of this manœuvre, all those which had preceded it would be useless, and its success would alone, in Napoleon's opinion, secure the success of his gigantic enterprise, since it would give to the French, for some days at least, a superiority of force in the Channel. "Sail with all your forces into the Channel," said Napoleon to Villeneuve; "engage the enemy, lose half your fleet if necessary, and with the rest protect my passage." Villeneuve could not understand that these orders were to be obeyed at any hazard; and disquieted by the bad state of the Spanish fleet, disturbed by the conviction that the

Extraordinary concurrence of circumstances which caused the failure of the plan.

French sailors were inferior from want of practice to the English, persuaded that the enemy's squadrons were united in the Channel, and firmly believing that the result of a battle was much more likely to be the destruction of the French navy than the conquest of England, he lost all confidence, and instead of sailing towards Brest, and from thence to the English Channel, he made for the high seas, and whilst the eager eye of Napoleon longed to discover his fleet on the horizon, Villeneuve was taking it to Cadiz. When informed of this fact, which frustrated the most formidable, as well as perhaps the rashest of his conceptions, the anger of Napoleon was equal to his grief, and it burst forth against Villeneuve in the most vehement and terrible expressions. No enterprise had ever been planned with more complete care and on a more complete scale, and in respect to none had destiny ever been pleased so completely to baffle the vain projects of man.

It was in London that Napoleon had hoped to defeat the new coalition of Russia and Austria subsidized by England, of which Prussia shortly afterwards became a member by a secret treaty signed at Potsdam between Alexander and Frederick William;* and now that the road to London was closed, it became necessary to march against the Russians and Austrians. A hundred and twenty thousand Austrians were marching in three corps under the Archdukes Ferdinand, John, and Charles towards the Rhine and the Adige, and two Russian armies were advancing to join them. Napoleon, who was still at the camp of Boulogne, divined the combined movements of the enemy; his genius suggested to him the strategy necessary to enable him to vanquish them, and he immediately dictated the plan of an immortal campaign. Within twenty days the French army passed from the edge of the ocean to the shores of the Rhine. Napoleon crossed that river in October, 1805, with a hundred and sixty thousand men, divided into six corps, and advanced by the Alps and Suabia across Germany. The Danube was crossed in its turn, and Napoleon's lieutenants fought a series of glorious conflicts. Murat was victorious at Wertingen and

Secret treaty between Russia and Prussia, 1805.

Campaign of 1805.

* By this treaty it was stipulated between the two sovereigns that Prussia should offer in December her mediation to the two belligerent parties on conditions which it was known that Napoleon would not accept, and that, if he did not accept this offer, Prussia should join the Allied Powers, alleging as an excuse the violation of her territory by the French army. The able Prussian minister set out with regret with these instructions for Napoleon's head-quarters.

at Günzburg; General Dupont, subsequently so unfortunate, with five thousand men vanquished twenty-five thousand Austrians at the battle of Hasslach, and made five thousand prisoners; Ney was victorious at Elchingen, and the Austrian army under General Mack was driven back to the city of Ulm, which Napoleon invested, and where, on the 20th October, Mack capitulated with three thousand men. This capitulation opened to Napoleon the road to Vienna, which was occupied by forces too inferior long to hold him in check. Another Austrian army, however, then occupied Lombardy, and might attack the French with success by intercepting them on their road to the capital. Prince Charles had in front of him Massena, who, to stop him, fought the bloody battle of Caldiero. The victory was doubtful, but the Archduke was checked, compelled to fall back southwards, and could no longer hope to arrest Napoleon's hasty march upon Vienna. The Grand Army, after the surrender of Ulm, passed across Bavaria, passed the Inn and the Tann, driving before it the feeble Austrian corps which opposed it, and at length, after having taken the bridges of the Danube, made its entrance into Vienna.

Capitulation of Ulm.

Battle of Caldiero.

Entry of the French into Vienna.

The Russians now entered Moravia, where they rallied the ranks of the Austrian army. Napoleon marched towards them and encountered them in the environs of Brunn, on the plain of Austerlitz, where he awaited a new triumph. On the 1st December he formed his line of battle between Austerlitz and Brunn; resting his right on the lake of Menitz, and his left on the mountains between the basins of the Schwartza and the Marche. In front of this line is the Santon Hill, and from this Napoleon watched all the movements of his army. The Russians and Austrians debouched by Wischnaw and posted themselves between the French line and the village of Austerlitz. Napoleon rejoiced to see them strip their right which crowned the mountains, and concentrate all their strength on the left, so as to cover the plain and overlap his right flank. He had made every preparation for crushing them should they abandon the heights on which each of the two armies rested one of its wings, and when he saw their first movements towards the left he cried, "Before to-morrow evening that army will be at my mercy!" Towards nightfall the Emperor visited, without being announced, the bivouacs of his soldiers;

they recognised him, and saluted him with acclamation. The whole line sparkled with fires, for his troops were celebrating the anniversary of his coronation, and that great day brought with it a presage of victory. Napoleon returned to his tent and made his final arrangements for the morrow. "Bernadotte will command the centre, and Soult the right; where must be made the decisive effort; Lannes will defend the left and the strong position of Santon, armed with a battery of sixteen guns; and finally, Davoust will hold in check the enemy's left wing. All the cavalry is under the orders of Murat; and twenty of the best battalions will form the reserve."

Battle of Austerlitz.

On the 2nd of December, 1805, at the moment when the sun was rising upon this famous plain, on which three hundred thousand men were about to enter upon a death struggle, and on which was to be decided the fate of the Austrian monarchy, Napoleon passed along the front of his regiments, and said—"Soldiers! We must finish this campaign with a thunderclap!" Enthusiastic shouts replied to him, and the battle commenced. The enemy, still resolved to turn the right of the French army, abandoned, in the centre of their new line, the heights of Pratzen. Soult received orders to occupy them, and immediately carried them. Kutusoff, the general of the Russian army, immediately perceived his error, and endeavoured to repair it, but all his efforts were fruitless, and the French continued to occupy these heights, which divided the enemy's line, whilst Davoust held him in check on the right on the plain, and Murat, Lannes, and Bernadotte carried his principal positions on the left. But now the cavalry of the Russian Imperial Guard rushed upon the field of battle, dispersed many of the bravest of the French battalions, and turned the tide of conquest. Napoleon saw the danger, and sent forward Rapp at the head of the cavalry of his guard. After a terrible shock the Russians were broken and dispersed, and Rapp, with a broken sabre and a horse covered with blood, galloped back to report his victory. The rest of the enemy's army was driven back upon the lake on to a flat, and surrounded by a circle of fire. Crushed by case-shot they attempted to escape over the ice, which broke beneath them, and engulfed them. Fifteen thousand Austrians and Russians perished, twenty thousand were taken prisoners, and forty flags with two hundred pieces of cannon were the trophies of this memorable victory.

Triumphant on the Continent, France suffered terrible disasters at sea. Her fleet, united with the Spanish fleet under the command of Admiral Villeneuve, after having been beaten at Cape Finisterre, lost, on the 21st of October, the celebrated battle of Trafalgar. Thirty-three French and Spanish ships and seven frigates, were beaten by twenty-seven English ships of the line and four frigates; and thirteen vessels only of the combined fleets escaped. This great victory, which cost the life of the English Admiral, secured to England the sovereignty of the seas, and Napoleon no longer attempted to vanquish her on that element.

Battle of Trafalgar.

The victory of the English at Trafalgar was productive of the most serious consequences to the Court of Naples, which was under the control of the violent and vindictive Queen Caroline, the wife of Ferdinand I. This Court, intimidated by Napoleon, had recently bound itself by treaty to neutrality; but before it could learn the news either of the battle of Austerlitz, or of the capitulation of Ulm, it received information, unfortunately for itself, that Prussia was about to join the coalition, and that the French fleet had been destroyed at Trafalgar. It concluded from this that Napoleon was lost, and immediately received into the kingdom twelve thousand English and six thousand Russians, with whom were joined forty thousand Neapolitans, for the purpose of exciting Italy to revolt in the rear of the French army in Austria. This provocative and rash conduct caused the fall of the Bourbons of Naples, who were abandoned by Prussia, by Russia, and by Austria in the negotiations for peace which the Emperor Francis went in person to demand of his vanquisher after the battle of Austerlitz.

Napoleon granted an armistice to the Austrians and Russians, and first of all negotiated peace with Prussia. He had received information of the treaty concluded by that power with Alexander at the commencement of the campaign, and to punish it by embroiling it with England, he resolved to humiliate its pride by forcing it to accept part of the spoils of its old ally. Thus, on the 14th December, 1805, was signed at Schönbrunn an alliance offensive and defensive, by which France, regarding Hanover as its conquest, ceded it to Prussia in exchange for the Duchy of Cleves, the Principality of Neufchâtel, and the Marquisate of Anspach, which Napoleon soon exchanged with Bavaria for the Duchy of Berg.

Treaty of Schönbrunn between France and Prussia.

Ten days later, the 25th December, Napoleon forced on the Emperor Joseph the hard treaty of Presburg, by which Austria lost Venetia, Friuli, Istria, Dalmatia, territories in which were comprehended Trieste and the mouths of the Cattaro, so important for navigation and commerce. It was stipulated that all these States should be annexed to the kingdom of Italy, of which Napoleon wore the crown, and which was to be subsequently separated from the Crown of France; but no period for this separation was fixed.

Peace of Presburg between France and Austria, 1805.

Austria ceded the Tyrol to Bavaria, and received in exchange, for the Archduke Ferdinand, the ecclesiastical principality of Wurzburg. It obtained also for the advantage of another Grand-Duke the secularization of the profits of the Teutonic Order, valued at one hundred and fifty thousand florins a year. The two electorates of Bavaria and Wurtemburg were raised to the rank of kingdoms, and the Emperor Francis gave up to the Sovereigns of these States and to the Grand-Duke of Baden the ancient rights of the Germanic Empire over the nobility contiguous to their territories. Finally, Austria had to pay for the expenses of the war a contribution of a hundred millions, which was subsequently reduced to one half.

The Electorates of Bavaria and Wurtemburg erected into kingdoms, 1805.

The treaty of Presburg, so glorious in many respects for France, was nevertheless, as were most of the treaties signed by Napoleon, only a pause in the war. It was impossible that the state of things which he had created upon the Continent should ever be regarded as final by Prussia, which was far more humiliated than gratified at having received Hanover in exchange for one of its own provinces; by Austria, which it exasperated by forcing it to make immense sacrifices; or finally, by England, which, as well as Russia, remained armed, and which had lost in Hanover the patrimony of its kings. Napoleon believed himself at this time to be the master of Europe, and as he saw no limit to his power, he set none to his ambition.

On returning to Paris after a brilliant campaign of three months' duration, Napoleon excited there universal enthusiasm. Intoxicated with his good fortune, he now set to work to remove the last vestige of the Revolutionary institutions. The Republican Calendar was replaced by the Gregorian Calendar, which was endowed with a new saint by a decree which ordered that on the 15th of August the fête of Saint Napoleon should be celebrated throughout the empire. Another decree directed

that the Basilica of St. Denis should bethe burial-place of the Emperors; whilst the Pantheon was restored to the Catholic worship, and the Tribunate ceased to exist. Napoleon, who had created by the peace of Presburg the kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemburg, declared that the House of Naples had lost its crown as punishment for the part it had taken in the late coalition, and transferred the Neapolitan sceptre to his brother Joseph. He made the republic of the United Provinces a kingdom for his brother Louis, and made Prince Murat, his brother-in-law, Grand-Duke of Clèves and Berg. Only one republic now remained of all those which, in the time of the Directory, had surrounded France; and this was Switzerland, of which Napoleon declared himself the Mediator. He endeavoured to establish the military hierarchic *régime* of feudal times, and transformed various provinces and principalities into grand fiefs of the empire, which he bestowed as rewards upon his ministers and most illustrious generals. In this way were erected into duchies—Dalmatia, Istria, Friuli, Cadore, Belluno, Conegliano, Treviso, Feltre, Bassano, Vicenza, Padua, Rovigo; whilst Neufchâtel, Benevento, and Guastalla were made principalities. Two years later Napoleon struck the final blow at Republican institutions by creating a new series of hereditary nobility, in which those who were illustrious of old took rank for the most part after the celebrities of the day. This was setting himself up as the principle and source of a new social order, which was, nevertheless, clothed with ancient forms; no account being taken of the consecration which illustrious names have received from time and history. But at that time there was no such thing as censure, for all liberty of the press was stifled; Napoleon had only his flatterers to fear, and as his faults were covered with laurels they were pardoned.

Napoleon proclaims the downfall of the Bourbons in Naples. He crowns his brothers. Joseph is made King of Naples, and Louis King of Holland, 1806.

Great fiefs of the Empire.

New hereditary nobility.

Great works were executed or commenced at this period, during which the Emperor also made some important additions to, and useful changes in, the various branches of the general administration and public service. He gave a new organization to the bank and the treasury; he modified the duties of the Council of State, and rendered it more complete by the useful addition of the masters of requests. He established, under the name of the Imperial University, a body entrusted with the superintendence of public instruction

Foundation of the Imperial University.

throughout the empire; finally, he caused the legislative power to introduce a code of civil procedure replete with excellent arrangements, in accordance with the simplification of the law and with the new form of the tribunals.

New code of civil procedure.

In the year 1806 everything seemed to meet the Emperor's wishes. Pitt, his irreconcilable enemy, was dead, and Fox, the leader of the parliamentary opposition, had succeeded him. Pacific negotiations were immediately commenced between the two powers, and actively pursued by the minister Talleyrand. But pride had already blinded Napoleon, and he was resolved to complete the ruin of the Bourbons, who, although driven from the Continent, still reigned in Sicily. He demanded that that island should be annexed to his brother's State, and to induce England not to oppose this fresh conquest, he offered in exchange the restoration of Hanover, which had already been ceded to Prussia. This demand, which nothing could justify, was too much opposed to the honour and the commercial interests of England to be accepted. Fox himself, in spite of his inclination for peace, could not depend, if he signed it at such a price, upon the support of Parliament, and the negotiations were broken off.

In the meantime Napoleon, pursuing his project of obtaining unlimited rule in Europe, completed the organization of his military empire by rendering the old Germanic confederation dependent on him. On the 12th of July, 1806, fourteen princes of the south and the west of Germany formed the Confederation of the Rhine, and recognised Napoleon as their protector. The Act of Confederation established that there should be between the French empire and the Confederated States an alliance by virtue of which either of the contracting parties which might have to engage in a continental war was to be supported by the other; and it conferred upon the princes who signed it rights of sovereignty over the multitude of princes and counts supported by the German territory, and who, as members of the *noblesse immediate*, had formerly only been subservient to the Emperor or Germany. This confederation enfeebled Prussia and Austria as much as it added apparently to the power of Napoleon. He thought that he should strengthen his empire by covering it on the right bank of the Rhine with a circle of states, the chiefs of which would be so much the more devoted to his interests that he alone could guarantee the continued possession of that

Confederation of the Rhine, 1806.

which he alone had given, and he forgot that he deeply wounded and excited against him the national feeling of their peoples, who were Germans at heart, by forcing them, in spite of themselves, to join a confederation which was wholly French. The Emperor Francis II. was, amongst the sovereigns of Germany, the one whose rights were most infringed upon by the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, but he was too weak to make any opposition to it, and, submitting to the decree which had been declared at Austerlitz, he abdicated the title of Emperor of Germany, and retained only, under the name of Francis I., the title of Emperor of Austria, which he had assumed in 1804, and thus ended the Germanic Empire, after it had existed for a thousand years. Napoleon now saw the fairest portion of Europe either incorporated with France or its vassal. He believed that he had realized his dream, and was, in his own eyes, the Emperor of the West, and the genuine successor to Charlemagne.

Fall of the German Empire, 1806.

In the meantime the King of Prussia, Frederick William—greatly irritated against Napoleon, who, after having guaranteed him the possession of Hanover, had offered it to England, and moreover, with good reason, alarmed at the encroachments of France and its ever-increasing influence in Europe—had resolved to form in Germany a Confederation of the States of the North, in opposition to the Confederation of the Rhine, and he sent an ultimatum to the Emperor in which he demanded, as a first condition of the maintenance of peace, the retreat of all the French troops in Germany to the further side of the Rhine. Napoleon, indignant at a coalition which he regarded as an insult, would not allow Saxony and the Hanseatic towns to join the Northern League, and rejected the Prussian ultimatum, upon which Frederick William determined upon war. This prince invaded Saxony; the French ambassador was insulted in Berlin, and the young and beautiful Queen of Prussia rode through the streets of that city in military costume, to excite the warlike enthusiasm of the populace. "She resembles," said Napoleon in reference to her, "Armide setting fire to her palace." These words were prophetic, for France was destined to crush this fourth coalition, which was formed by Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and England. The death of Fox, which occurred soon after that of Pitt, had destroyed all hope of reconciliation between the latter power and France.

Confederation of the States of the North.

The fourth coalition, 1806.

Napoleon entered upon the campaign on the 28th of September, at the head of a hundred and ninety thousand men, and marched to meet the Prussian army, which had already invaded Saxony, and which, including twenty thousand Saxon troops which had joined it, consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, who considered themselves invincible, as being the heirs of the tactics and the glory of the Great Frederick. Its Commander-in-Chief was the old Duke of Brunswick, who had been celebrated in the Seven Years' War, but a great number of the troops were under the immediate command of the young Prince of Hohenlohe, whom the King had rendered almost independent of the Commander-in-Chief.

Napoleon manœuvred with extreme celerity so as to surround the enemy, cut off his communications, and close against him his line of retreat. The enemy was successively driven back to Schleitz and to Saalfeld. The last of these two conflicts cost the life of the young Prince Louis of Prussia, one of the most eager instigators of this war, which was so disastrous for his country. A few days afterwards the French army, as it was preparing to cross the Saale at three points, encountered at Jena a great portion of the Prussian army under Prince Hohenlohe, whom Brunswick had ordered to avoid a general action, and to retreat upon the Elbe. It was too late to obey this order; Napoleon ordered the attack and a general engagement ensued. His victory was as complete as it was rapid; the Prussians lost in a few hours twelve thousand men killed or wounded, fifteen thousand prisoners, a multitude of flags, and two hundred pieces of cannon. On the same day, four hours later, Marshal Davoust, who occupied a strong position at Averstadt, had to sustain, with twenty-five thousand men and a few batteries, the assault of sixty thousand Prussians commanded by Brunswick. He made an heroic defence, beat off the enemy, took almost all his artillery, and put ten thousand men *hors de combat*. These two great battles decided the campaign. A portion of the victorious army marched rapidly upon Erfurt, which capitulated; and a reserve corps of the enemy, under the Prince of Wurtemberg, was surprised and completely vanquished at Halle by General Dupont. The disorganization of the Prussian army was already complete; its various corps marched as though at hazard and in different directions, under their several generals, the Duke of Weimar, Blucher, and Kalkreuth. The King, after the battle of Averstadt, in which the

Campaign of 1806.

Battles of Jena and Averstadt.

Duke of Brunswick was mortally wounded, had bestowed the chief command upon the Prince of Hohenlohe, but the latter had seen his troops dispersed or destroyed, and with the force that remained proceeded to Magdeburg.

Nothing now prevented Napoleon from marching victoriously onward. He occupied in succession Leipzig, Wittemberg, and Dessau; crossed the Elbe at three points, and on the 28th of October, 1806, at the head of an army, and accompanied by Marshals Berthier, Duroc, Augereau, and Davoust, entered Berlin in triumph.* The line of the Oder was promptly occupied. Murat with his cavalry, Soult, Lannes, and Bernadotte, with their invincible infantry, completed the conquest of Western and Southern Prussia as far as the shores of the Baltic. The Prince of Hohenlohe capitulated, and surrendered with sixteen thousand men at Prenzlow. Blucher fled for refuge into the free town of Lubeck, which was carried by assault, and surrendered to Murat with his corps. The fortresses of Stettin, Custrin, and Magdeburg opened their gates to the French troops. What remained of the great Prussian army was taken, together with an immense *matériel* of war; and of the hundred and sixty thousand men who formed that army at the commencement of the war, not one repassed the Oder. The unfortunate Frederick William retreated to Königsberg, where he concentrated his last reserves, and the despotic and military monarchy of Frederick the Great appeared to have been within a month almost annihilated.

Entry of Napoleon into Berlin, Oct., 1806.

Conquest of all Southern and Western Prussia.

Napoleon, everywhere victorious, traversed the field of the battle of Rosbach, where his presence effaced the affront to which the French arms had been subjected in the last century. He visited at Potsdam the tomb of Frederick the Great, and took possession of his glorious

* Napoleon respected the city of Berlin, and showed the greatest regard for the inhabitants of that city, which he honoured by a great act of clemency. He left the municipal authority in the hands of the Prussian magistrates, at the head of whom was the Prince of Hazfeld, the civil governor of Berlin. The latter wrote to Blucher some information with respect to the situation of the French troops. His letter was intercepted, and the prince, by Napoleon's orders, was tried by a court-martial as a spy and a traitor. His execution appeared certain, when his wife, the Princess of Hazfeld, threw herself at the Emperor's feet. "Do you recognise your husband's handwriting?" said the Emperor, showing her his letter. She remained silent, and seemed overwhelmed with despair. "Throw the letter into the fire," said the Emperor, handing it to her, "and the court-martial will be compelled to acquit him."

sword. He then used the rights conferred upon him by victory, and disposed of crowns by his decrees. The Elector of Hesse before the war had refused to disarm at his demand, and, without openly declaring against Napoleon, had only awaited until some reverse should overtake the Imperial arms to unite his troops with those of Prussia; and Napoleon now punished him by depriving him of his States. The Elector of Saxony, an estimable Prince, whose States were to a certain extent dependent on Prussia, had been compelled to follow the fortunes of that monarchy. It was with regret that he had taken up arms against France, and after the war he became a member of the Confederation of the Rhine. The Emperor declared his States independent of Prussia, and raised them to the rank of a kingdom.

Saxony created a kingdom.

Victorious, however, as he was on the Continent, his victories could have no durable result until England should be forced to make peace. That power would have accepted it if Napoleon had been willing to impose some sacrifices on himself or the members of his family, and give up those territories which, without bestowing any real advantages on France, were in his hands a perpetual source of humiliation to the sovereigns of Europe. But Napoleon preferred to have recourse to a fresh despotism, to an unheard-of plan, to force England to submit. On the 21st November, 1806, there appeared at Berlin the famous decree for the blockade of the British isles. This decree stated the violations of the law of nations committed by England, the abuse of the right of conquest committed by her on the seas in respect to ships of commerce, and her abuse of the law of blockade, in preventing at her will international maritime communications. It then proceeded to declare the British isles themselves in a state of blockade; interdicted any commerce or communication with them; and ordered the seizure of all English persons and English merchandize which should be found on the territories of France, or on those of her allies. Every nation which did not submit to the system set forth in this decree was declared by it to be an enemy of France. Thus was established the Continental System, so called because the obligations which it imposed must affect the whole Continent. It was injurious to the interests of every nation, and was pregnant with one great evil which Napoleon failed to take sufficiently into account. To attempt, in fact, to prevent the merchandize of England from entering any Euro-

Decree of the Continental blockade, 1806.

Reflections on this decree.

pean port, was to compel the English, in self-defence, to close the seas of which they were the masters against the vessels of every nation. This was, in its turn, to inflict the greatest misery upon the populations of the north and the south, to whom commerce with England was a vital necessity, and to sow the seeds of an obstinate resistance and implacable hatred. This system doubtless inflicted immense loss upon England, and forced upon her expenses which prodigiously increased her already enormous debt; but it did not place that power at her rival's discretion, as Napoleon had hoped, but led her, on the contrary, to adopt a series of violent and gigantic measures which precipitated his fall.

Frederick William, although vanquished and almost entirely dispossessed, had not lost all hope. He had collected, between Thorn and Königsberg, under General Lestocq, about thirty thousand men, his last resource, and Russian troops under old General Kraminski advanced to his aid across Poland. Divided into two corps under Generals Benningzen and Buntofden, they approached the Vistula, and would have attacked the French in concert with the Prussians if they had not been prevented by their rapid movements. Victorious on the fields of Jena and Averstadt,

Napoleon enters Poland.

Napoleon had resolved to march to fight the Russians on the plains of Poland. Received with enthusiasm by the Poles, and especially in the Duchy of Posen, he proposed to repair the great wrong committed in the last century, and to re-establish the ancient kingdom of Poland. Nevertheless, he did not ignore the numerous perils attending such an enterprise; three powers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, being interested in the division of that kingdom, and the maintenance of the existing order of things. The Poles themselves appeared to be divided on the subject. The great nobles of Warsaw seemed to be but little in unison with the nobles of the provinces, and to distrust both the sincerity of Napoleon's intentions and his powers of achieving success. Before exciting and taking part in a popular movement, it desired that Napoleon should proclaim the freedom of Poland, and give it a king from his own family; whilst the Emperor, on the other hand, demanded that a simultaneous rising of the whole population should precede his declaration of its independence. Being unable to obtain this, he thought it prudent to defer to a future period his designs with respect to this ancient kingdom.

Two French armies, each consisting of about eighty thousand men, and

divided into nine corps, marched upon the Vistula at the commencement of November. Murat, Davoust, Augereau, and Lannes commanded the first; and Napoleon in person commanded the second, which consisted of Ney's, Soult's, and Bernadotte's corps, the guard, and the reserves. On the 2nd December, the anniversary of his coronation, he addressed these words to his army: "Soldiers! It is a year to-day, and this very hour, that you were on the memorable field of Austerlitz. The Russian battalions either fled in terror before you, or, unable to fly, laid their arms at the feet of their vanquishers. On the following day they begged for peace. But they were treacherous. They had scarcely escaped from the dangers to which the third coalition had exposed them when they formed a fourth. But the ally on whose tactics they founded their principal hopes is no more. His fortresses, his capitals, his magazines, his arsenals, two hundred and eighty flags, seven hundred cannon, and five great fortresses, are in our possession. Everything has given way before you. It is in vain that the Russians have attempted to defend the capitals of old and illustrious Poland; the French eagle hovers over the Vistula. . . . . On the banks of the Elbe and the Oder, we have conquered the Indian colonies belonging to the English, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. What will enable the Russians to reverse so great a destiny as ours? Are we not the soldiers of Austerlitz?" This haughty address sufficiently manifested that peace between England and Napoleon was impossible.

A great number of indecisive conflicts, in which the French generally had the advantage, took place at the commencement of this campaign; and on the 6th of December the French obtained a decisive victory at Pultusk, where Marshal Lannes, with twenty-three thousand men and a few pieces of artillery, vanquished and repulsed Benningzen's division, which was much more numerous. The inclemency of the season and the marshy nature of the soil, which was rendered impassable by rain and snow, compelled Napoleon to halt in Poland, where he passed the winter. He posted his various corps in front of the Vistula, between Elbing, near the Baltic, up to Warsaw. At the same time he attacked the principal fortresses in Silesia, which fell successively into his hands, whilst a tenth corps, under Marshal Lefebvre, was detached to invest Dantzic.

Cantonment of the French army in Poland.

The Russian general, Benningzen, however, deceived the Emperor's expectations; he ventured to carry on the campaign during the winter, and endeavoured to surprise the French army in its cantonments by turning its positions on the shore of the Baltic, and crossing the Vistula with the Prussian corps of General Lestocq, between Thorn and Marienburg. But his plan was divined and frustrated. Ney discovered the Russians, and Bernadotte stopped their advance at Mohrungen. Then Benningzen hesitated, and he concentrated his forces at Lubstadt, from whence he marched to the strong position of Jonkorvo, in the rear of Allenstein, where he entrenched himself, whilst Napoleon broke up his camps and resumed the offensive with a hundred thousand men. The Emperor ascended the Narew, and then proceeded across the frightful marshes of Poland towards Allenstein, in order to turn, in his turn, the left of the Prussians and Russians, and drive them into the sea. He attacked the enemy in his formidable entrenchments at Jonkorvo. But Benningzen dared not await his approach, and fell back before the French, who descended the course of the Alle in pursuit of him, and had several desperate engagements with the Russian and Prussian armies. Benningzen halted beyond Eylau and took up a position, resolved to give battle as soon as General Lestocq and the Prussians should arrive.

Campaigns of 1807. March of the Russians to turn the positions of the French army.

Napoleon renews the offensive.

The action commenced by a frightful cannonade on both sides, and the French artillery especially made frightful ravages in the Russian army, which presented in front of Eylau a compact and formidable front. Napoleon, having Soult's corps on his left, in the city of Eylau itself, and Davoust on his right, occupied the centre of the position with his right, and placed himself in a cemetery defended by a few battalions. Davoust had already turned the enemy's left, when an enormous mass of Russian infantry was thrown against the French centre. Napoleon ordered Saint-Hilaire and Augereau to meet this formidable column with their divisions. But the snow fell in masses and blinded Augereau's soldiers, so that they lost their way, and misled the divisions which were to support them. The Russians threw themselves into the intervals, and suddenly unmasked ninety pieces of artillery which mowed down half Augereau's corps with grape. The enemy's column advanced in masses, and a short distance only inter-

The Battle of Eylau.

vened between it and the cemetery in which Napoleon had taken up his position. The Emperor, perfectly tranquil at this critical moment, launched against the Russians the whole of his cavalry, which was commanded by Murat, and under him by Grouchy, d'Hautpoul and Lepic. Murat, at the head of eighty squadrons, fell upon the enemy with a tremendous dash and broke his foremost regiments, driving those which followed back upon the main body and into the neighbouring woods with frightful carnage.

This peril having been thus removed, the French left wing under Davoust succeeded in turning the Russians, when the Prussians appeared and held it in check. The night came on; Benningzen, who had lost the third part of his army, hesitated to retire; but Ney, who had followed the Prussians, appeared in his turn in the rear of the Russian army, and the latter immediately began to retreat. It carried away with it fifteen thousand wounded, leaving more than twelve thousand men on the ground, and many thousand prisoners in the hands of the victors. The loss of the French, without counting their wounded, was about ten thousand men.

The plains of Eylau, over which the flames of burning hamlets and villages threw a lurid glare, was strewn with a multitude of arms, projectiles, and military *débris* of all kinds, as well as with an immense multitude of men and horses dead or dying in the midst of the blood-stained snow; and when on the morrow the day broke on this plain of death, it lighted up a scene of incomparable horror, such as even moved the soul of the victor himself.

Napoleon pursued the Russians as far as Königsberg, and beyond the Pregel; after which he returned to take up his winter quarters beyond the Lower Vistula, between Elbing and Thorn, in order to cover the siege of Dantzic, which he pressed forward with the utmost vigour. This fortress, the most important belonging to the Prussian monarchy, was besieged during four months, and in spite of all the efforts made by Benningzen to relieve it, surrendered on the 24th May, 1807, to Marshal Lefebvre, whom Napoleon created Duke of Dantzic.

Siege and capitulation of Dantzic.

Turkey was at this time the scene of serious events. The French ambassador at Constantinople, General Sebastiani, was making great efforts to induce the Sultan Selim to ally himself with France,

when forty thousand Russians suddenly crossed the Dniester, the Turkish frontier, under pretence of securing the execution of treaties, but really with the intention of assisting the Servians who had revolted against the Porte. This sudden invasion of Turkey had been concerted with the English Government, who proposed to send its own fleet through the strait of the Dardanelles; and when the Sultan ordered the Russian envoy to leave Constantinople, the English ambassador threatened to have that city bombarded by the English fleet if this order were not revoked; and if the Sultan did not immediately, by sending away the French ambassador, ally himself with England and Prussia against France. This threat rendered the Sultan extremely indignant, but he hesitated to incur the threatened peril, when Sebastiani revived his courage and displayed immense energy in arming Constantinople with formidable batteries; so that when, in March, 1807, the English fleet appeared before Constantinople, a terrible fire compelled it to repass the Dardanelles considerably damaged. France, nevertheless, derived but little advantage from this success and the favourable disposition of the Sultan towards her, for a revolt of the Janissaries soon afterwards took place at Constantinople, and Selim was deposed.

Peril of the Turkish empire. Menaced by the Russians and English, 1807.

Defence of Constantinople by the French ambassador, 1807.

The war continued in Poland and Eastern Prussia, where the Russians, under Generals Benningzen and Bagration, reopened the campaign in the spring with thirty thousand men, and Napoleon, after the fall of Dantzic, resumed the offensive. He marched upon Königsberg; his generals defeated the enemy in the battles of Gudstadt and Spanden; and at Heilsburg, on the Alle, thirty thousand French troops, commanded by Murat and Soult, maintained their position against ninety thousand Prussians. Benningzen having retreated for the purpose of covering Königsberg, Napoleon followed him, and on the 14th of June, the anniversary of Marengo, the Russian army defiled by the Friedland bridge over the Alle and offered battle. Napoleon accepted the challenge, and assigned to his generals and his various corps their several places. On the right was Marshal Ney, supported by the cavalry under Latour-Maubourg; in the centre Marshal Lannes, and on the left Mortier and Grouchy's cavalry. The imperial guard and Victor's corps formed the reserve. The Russians rested their left on Friedland, and their right extended far into the plain.

March of the French on Königsberg.

Battle of Friedland, June, 1807.

Napoleon ordered that the city should be taken, since its capture would enable him to crush the Prussians both in front and flank, and would secure the victory. Ney's corps on the right wing was the first in motion, and after having vanquished the enemy's cavalry, it followed the Prussians into Friedland, where flames announced his success. Lannes, Mortier, and Victor then made a vigorous charge; and the enemy, attacked by them in front, was enveloped on its left by the victorious division of Marshal Ney. It fled in disorder, and a multitude of Prussian troops, driven into the Alle, perished in its stream. The Prussian army lost at Friedland eighty pieces of cannon and twenty-five thousand men, killed, wounded, or drowned. Königsberg, after this bloody battle, opened its gates, and there remained nothing more of the Prussian monarchy.

Napoleon now marched towards the Niemen in pursuit of the Russians, and on the 19th of June came up with them on the banks of that river, which flowed between the two armies. But there his victorious march came to a halt; for Alexander, vanquished, asked for peace, and expressed a desire to see his conqueror. A raft was constructed near Tilsit, on the Niemen, for the solemn interview between the Czar and the Emperor, and this interview took place in the sight of the two armies assembled on the river's banks. The two sovereigns approached each other with marks of mutual esteem, and agreed to remain together for some time at Tilsit for the purpose of determining upon the bases of a treaty of peace. The King and Queen of Prussia were requested to attend, but Napoleon displayed but little pity for their misfortunes. The French emperor employed every effort to induce the young Alexander to coincide with his views, exciting his ambition, and fascinating him by the influence of his own genius and glory, as well as by the bait of certain long-coveted provinces. Alexander, beguiled, sacrificed every other interest to the desire to have Napoleon some day sanction the annexation to Russia of Finland, a Swedish province, and of Moldavia and Wallachia, provinces of the Turkish empire.* He but feebly defended the cause of his unfortunate ally, King Frederick William, and Napoleon was extremely harsh towards this prince, whom he regarded as the provoker of the recent sanguinary war.

Interview between Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit, 1807.

* Napoleon received information on the 24th of June at Tilsit of the revolt of the Janissaries and the deposition of his ally, Sultan Selim, and then thought himself at liberty to dispose of a portion of the provinces of the German empire.

He restored to him only half his states, and burdened those which he left to him with an enormous war contribution. Peace was at length concluded at Tilsit by treaties signed by France, Russia, and Prussia. The principal clauses of this treaty were—the restoration to Prussia, out of consideration to the Emperor of Russia, of Old Prussia, of Pomerania, of Brandenburg, and of Silesia; the cession to France of all the provinces on the left of the Elbe, for the purpose of incorporating them with the grand duchy of Hesse, and making of the whole a kingdom of Westphalia; the conversion of Posen and Warsaw into a Polish state, which, under the title of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, should be given to the King of Saxony, and should form part of the Confederation of the Rhine; the recognition of this Confederation by Russia and Prussia; and the recognition of Napoleon's brothers, Louis, Joseph, and Jerome, as the Kings of Holland, Naples, and Westphalia.

Peace of Tilsit, 1807.

Some secret clauses were added to the treaty concluded with Russia, which stipulated, amongst other things, the restoration of the mouths of the Cattaro to the French empire, and a formal engagement on the part of Russia and France that they would make common cause against the Porte, if the latter would not accept the mediation of France, and in that case to reduce the Ottoman empire in Europe to Constantinople and Roumelia; and finally, to call upon the European powers to adhere to the continental blockade, or, in other words, to close their ports against England, and declare war against it.

Secret clauses.

Such were the celebrated treaties of Tilsit, which created in Europe, for the sake of the Bonaparte family, three kingdoms, vassals of the empire, and extended the Confederation of the Rhine as far as the Vistula, at the expense of Prussia and Austria. Napoleon, by persisting in thus creating a new Germany with which neither of the two great German powers should have any connexion, and which should be subordinate to his own empire, abandoned the wise policy of the consulate, which had consisted in preserving an equality between the influence of Austria and that of Prussia, and in respecting the interests of the peoples and the secular princes; and he so deeply wounded the national feeling of the whole German population, that he inspired them with an unanimous and irreconcilable hatred. The edifice which he had raised only rested on the alliance of Russia and a good understanding between himself and its young sovereign. But it

Considerations on the treaty of Tilsit.

could hardly be durable, since its only basis was a state of things which excited the ambition of Alexander without satisfying it. The two great contracting parties only partially explained to each other their ultimate intentions, and each was inwardly resolved not to permit the accomplishment of that which the other intended—viz., on the one hand, the fall of Constantinople, and on the other, the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland. But these dangerous rocks ahead of the alliance formed at Tilsit were then scarcely seen. Alexander, on taking leave of Napoleon, appeared to have been completely fascinated by his genius and testimonies of regard, and the Emperor returned to Paris intoxicated with his immense glory and prodigious good fortune.

England was much dismayed when she found Russia withdrawn from her influence. Wishing to retain at any price a footing in the Baltic, she demanded that Denmark should form with her an alliance offensive and defensive, and that, as a guarantee of good faith, she should surrender her fleet and her capital into her hands. The King refused, and on the 2nd September, 1807, Copenhagen was subjected to a frightful bombardment, which laid three hundred houses in ashes. The Danish fleet also, consisting of fifty-three sail, fell into the hands of the English. Denmark avenged herself for this iniquitous and barbarous act by immediately adhering to the continental system. Sweden alone in the north had remained armed after the peace of Tilsit, its weak King, Gustavus IV., having declared himself the avenger of Europe against Napoleon; but he now saw Russia, lately his ally, snatch from under his eyes Stralsund and the Isle of Rugen, and by his foolish pride he alienated the affections of his subjects. All the shore of the Baltic was now subject to the yoke of France.

Bombardment of Copenhagen by the English, 1807.

There only remained on the Continent at the end of 1807 a single state which was under the direct influence of Great Britain; this was Portugal, and Napoleon, who by the decree of the continental blockade had arrogated to himself the right of disposing at his will of every nation, signed on the 27th September, 1807, at Fontainebleau, an iniquitous treaty with Spain, in accordance with which Portugal, as a punishment for her alliance with England, was to be divided almost entirely between the King of Etruria and Godoy, the Prince of Peace, who governed the Spanish monarchy. This treaty declared Charles IV., King of Spain, suzerain of the two states

Treaty of Fontainebleau. Partition of Portugal, Sept. 1807.

thus to be formed out of Portugal. A proclamation announced on the 13th December, 1807, that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign.

Embarcation of the Prince Regent of Portugal. The French in Lisbon.

Twenty-eight thousand French troops, under the orders of Junot, were charged with the execution of this sentence, and before their arrival at Lisbon the Prince Regent of Portugal embarked for the Brazils, abandoning to the invading army his capital and fleet.

This rapid success, and the scandalous divisions in the Spanish Royal family, inflamed Napoleon's ambition, and he accustomed himself to look upon the Peninsula as his conquest. The weak Charles IV., who was entirely under the influence of Godoy, Prince of Peace, the Queen's favourite, had rendered himself contemptible in the eyes of all his subjects, whilst his son, Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, had become their idol by declaring himself the opponent of the odious favourite. Napoleon, now at the height of his prosperity, had already acted as the arbiter of their differences, and the Prince of the Asturias had solicited the honour of an alliance with his family. The Emperor might have exercised over Spain by pacific means a sovereign influence, and have turned the hatred with which the Spaniards regarded the English on account of numerous maritime disasters, to the profit of his system. But he wished more; and whilst all the members of the Royal family were looking towards him with hope, a French army under Murat, Grand-duke of Berg, passed the Pyrenees, and the news speedily reached Madrid that the fortresses of Barcelona, Figueras, Pampeluna, and Saint-Sebastian, were in the hands of the French. Immediately afterwards Napoleon, forgetting the Treaty of Fontainebleau, demanded the surrender to the French empire of the provinces on the left bank of the Ebro. Charles IV. and the Queen were struck with consternation. Godoy advised them to follow the example of the Prince Regent of Portugal, and to go to their possessions in America. They agreed; and every preparation had been made for their departure, when Ferdinand opposed its execution, and calling the population of Aranjuez to arms, denounced the advice given by Godoy as a fresh treachery. An insurrection took place, the troops took part in it, and Ferdinand placed himself at its head. He arrested Godoy, made his father prisoner, and forced him to abdicate, and then made a triumphal entry into Madrid as King

Dissensions in the Royal family of Spain.

French entry into Spain, 1808.

Popular insurrection in Aranjuez.

of Spain. But on the following day, 23rd March, Murat, without waiting for the Emperor's orders, entered that capital with his army. Charles IV. protested against his forced abdication, and Murat refused to recognise Ferdinand as King. Napoleon alone should decide between them. The Emperor went to Bayonne, where he invited King Charles and his son to meet him, in order that as supreme arbiter he might decide upon their differences and their destinies. When they had arrived, Napoleon, master of their persons, decided in favour of the King, forced Ferdinand to renounce the throne and restore the crown to his father, and then obtained it from the latter for himself. Charles IV. was sent to live at Compiègne, and his son was detained a prisoner in the Château of Valençay. Thus was consummated by means of a piece of perfidy, an odious act of usurpation, the results of which were fatal to its author, and struck the first blow at his prosperity. In the meantime Murat kept possession of Madrid, and the Council of Castile, under the pressure of French influence, requested that Joseph, Napoleon's eldest brother, would become King of Spain.

Napoleon arbitrating between Charles IV. and his son, seizes the Spanish crown for himself. 1808.

An assembly of Spanish notables was immediately convoked at Bayonne, where the Emperor organized a Junta to carry on a provisional government. Joseph gave up to Joachim Murat the crown of Naples, and immediately quitting that capital, reached Bayonne on the 7th of June, when he was declared King of Spain by the Duke of Infantado and a deputation of grandees and various state bodies. The Assembly at Bayonne voted a constitution, which Joseph swore to observe, and on the 9th of July he was on his way to Spain. But already the Spaniards, indignant and furious, had flown to arms. The clergy led the revolt, declaring that Heaven itself was interested in the cause of Ferdinand, and denouncing Napoleon as Antichrist; the whole army joined it, and a provisional government assembled at Seville annulled all the acts of the Junta at Bayonne. On Saint Ferdinand's day a new Sicilian vespers sounded against the French throughout Spain. Their squadron at Cadiz was seized, and its sailors slain. The Spaniards signalized their vengeance in many places by massacres and atrocities, declaring war to the death against the French; and the Portuguese followed their example. In the meantime Bessières was victorious at Medina de Rio-

Joseph Bonaparte becomes King of Spain, and Murat King of Naples, 1808.

Rise of the Spaniards, who proclaim Ferdinand VII.

Secco, and his victory opened the gates of Madrid to King Joseph, who made his entrance into that capital on the 20th of July. But immediately afterwards General Dupont made a disgraceful capitulation at Baylen, and surrendered with twenty-six thousand troops. This terrible check shook the power of the French in the Peninsula, and reanimated the Spaniards, the result being that Joseph had to quit Madrid eight days after he had entered it in solemn state.

Capitulation of General Dupont at Baylen.

Portugal also rose, and an English army disembarked there under the orders of Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Lord Wellington. Junot, with ten thousand men only, ventured to fight the battle of Vimeira against twenty-six thousand English and Portuguese. He was vanquished, and soon after signed the capitulation of Cintra, which at least allowed him to retreat to France with honour. Portugal was now evacuated by the French. Joseph's only possessions in Spain were Barcelona, Navarre, and Biscay, and the English, who had lately been the Spaniards' enemy, were now received by them with open arms. Napoleon chafed when he learnt the reverses suffered by his arms in the Peninsula, and experienced a feeling of mingled grief and rage at this first affront suffered by his eagles. He resolved that his best generals and his German and Italian armies should cross the Pyrenees to efface the disgrace suffered at Baylen, and stifle at its birth an insurrection so threatening and unexpected. He recalled them from the banks of the Niemen, the Spree, the Elbe, and the Danube, and in a proclamation addressed to his warriors uttered this cry of war and vengeance :—"Soldiers! I have need of you. . . . . Let us carry our eagles in triumph to the columns of Hercules, for we have insults to avenge there. You have surpassed the renown of modern armies; but have you equalled the armies of Rome, which in a single campaign triumphed on the Rhine and the Euphrates, in Illyria and on the Tagus? A long peace, a durable prosperity will be the fruit of your toils. A true Frenchman should not, cannot take repose until the seas are open and free. Soldiers! all that you have done, all that you shall yet do for the French people and for my glory, will be eternally treasured in my heart!"

Rising of Portugal. Landing of an English army.

Capitulation of Junot at Cintra.

Although only general interests were referred to in these proud words as the sole object of the war, it was too evident that it had another cause,

and that was personal ambition. If Napoleon, in fact, had only desired to close Spain against English commerce, he could have effected that object by allowing Ferdinand to reign under his influence, or by strengthening the sceptre in the hands of Charles IV. By despoiling both the one and the other, he aroused against himself the ardent passions of an enthusiastic people, and revived the animosity of the European cabinets, which were with good reason alarmed at so unexpected an usurpation, and saw no limit to his invasions. Napoleon entered at hazard upon a boundless path, where he lost himself and encountered a precipice. Already, at the point of his history at which we have now arrived, his star began to pale, and the prestige of the invincibility of his arms was destroyed.

## CHAPTER III.

### FROM THE CONFERENCE AT ERFURT TO NAPOLEON'S ABDICATION AT FONTAINEBLEAU.

### 1808-1814.

NAPOLEON being resolved to subdue Spain, confirmed at Erfurt in September and October, 1808, his alliance with Alexander, and the two emperors appeared at this celebrated interview so much the more inclined to come to a good understanding, because they wished to obtain from each other a mutual guarantee for their recent usurpations, which had been but impatiently borne by the rest of Europe. The Russian troops had taken possession of Finland in the North, and in the South had invaded the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, whilst the French troops invaded Spain. The two sovereigns signed a treaty by which Napoleon recognised the three provinces invaded by Russia as an integral portion of that empire; and Alexander, in return, recognised the Napoleonic dynasty in Spain, and, in case France should be at war with Austria, engaged to assist her against the latter power. This treaty, which was drawn up without any regard to moral principles, was only founded on the ambition of the monarchs who signed it, and naturally could only last as long as those interests should be identical. This being the case, it was almost impossible that it could be of long duration. Nevertheless, being satisfied that Alexander's intentions were pacific, Napoleon joined his legions in Spain.

Treaty between Napoleon and Alexander at Erfurt, 1808.

Palafox, Castanos, and Blake commanded the enemy's army, which consisted of a hundred and eighty thousand men, and extended from the coast of Biscay to Saragossa; but Napoleon marched accompanied by his great captains and at the head of his veterans, and victory, therefore, was certain. Soult obtained a vic-

The war in Spain. First successes, 1808.

tory on the 10th of November, at Burgos, where he routed the enemy's centre; and on the following day Victor crushed their left at Espinosa, whilst their right was put to flight by Marshal Lannes at Tudela. The narrow pass of the Sommo-Sierra was henceforth the only obstacle between the French army and Madrid. Sixteen pieces of artillery swept this defile, which seemed impregnable; Napoleon sent forward his Polish lancers to the charge, and it was taken with a rush. On the 3rd of December the French army entered Madrid. A division of the English army in Portugal, under the orders of Sir John Moore, was on its march to cover this capital, but at the news of the disasters suffered by the Spanish armies, it retreated before Napoleon upon Astorga and Corunna. Marshal Soult was ordered to pursue it to its place of embarcation, and, to use Napoleon's expression, "to drive it into the sea—the sword in its loins." He drove it before him as far as Corunna, but when he had reached that place, Sir John Moore, occupying a strong position, gave battle to the enemy, was vanquished, and died as a hero. On the following day his army embarked. Spain, with the exception of a few cities, now appeared to be submissive. Napoleon had brought back his brother Joseph to Madrid, and believed that he would gain the affections of the Spaniards by abolishing the Inquisition, promising them franchises, and abolishing the feudal system. But he addressed a people who scarcely understood him, who only listened to their priests, and whose heroism chafed under the yoke of the stranger. It soon replied to the liberal promises of the usurper by cries of rage and a new and more formidable insurrection.

In the meantime Austria was emboldened by the absence of Napoleon, by the removal of his veterans, and by the revolt of the Tyroleans against the Bavarians, the new masters to whom France had given them, and she formed a fifth coalition with England. The Archduke Charles accepted the command of the troops, which amounted to five hundred thousand men, divided into eight corps. Two, under the Archduke Ferdinand, were to invade Poland; three others, under the Archduke John, were to march into Italy and the Tyrol; whilst the other corps, assembled on the Bohemian frontier, were to march upon the Rhine, arousing on their way the whole of Germany, in which many secret societies, the most famous of which was the Tungenbund, in Prussia, only awaited the signal to run to arms and

Fifth coalition against France, 1809.

free their country. The French troops in these countries did not amount at this time to more than a hundred and thirty thousand men, who were dispersed from the Baltic to the Danube, under the command of Bernadotte, Davoust, and Oudinot. Eugene occupied Piedmont and Italy with a few divisions.

At the first rumour of the intention of Austria, and the movement of her armies, Napoleon quitted Spain for Paris, from whence he directed the tactics of his numerous troops in Italy and Germany. The vast theatre of his operations extended from Poland, where Poniatowsky was in command, to Italy, where Eugene was at the head of sixty thousand troops. Napoleon quitted Paris on the 10th of April, and was on the Danube on the 17th; but his orders for the concentration of his troops having been misunderstood by Berthier, the Major-General, they had not been executed. The Emperor, on arriving, found his army divided into many masses, the two principal of which were thirty leagues from each other. The first, under Davoust, being at Ratisbonne, and the second, under Massena, at Augsburg. At a central point between these two armies were the allies of France, the Bavarians, the Wurtemberg troops, and the rest of the army of the Confederation of the Rhine. But these auxiliary troops were small in number, and incapable of resisting the shock of the enemy, who was preparing to attack them as soon as he should have defiled by Landstadt, on the right of the Danube. The intention of the Archduke was to force the centre of the French army by passing between the corps of Davoust and Massena. Napoleon saw the peril, and displayed all the resources of his genius. He took advantage of the hesitation shown by the enemy on his arrival, and kept him for two days almost motionless, concealing from him the weakness of the forces at his disposal in the centre in front of him. He ordered Davoust and Massena to approach each other as fast as possible, and to join the army of the Confederation in the environs of Neustadt, so as to threaten the front and left flank of the Archduke Charles, who, astonished at these rapid and skilful manœuvres, dared not risk a forward movement, and marched towards the right bank of the Danube, in the direction of Ratisbonne, which Davoust was quitting, and of which the enemy took possession. Victorious at the battle of Thann, Davoust effected a junction with the centre, and on the 19th of April Napoleon saw the whole

Campaign of 1809 in Germany.

of his army concentrated under his hand. The four following days were marked by four fresh victories. At the battle of Abensberg the Emperor broke the Archduke's line at Landshut, took possession of his base of operations, routed his left, and took its artillery and magazines; at Eckmuhl, on the 22nd of April, he vanquished the whole of the enemy's army, and drove it back between the Iser and the Danube. The Austrians escaped by Ratisbonne, which Napoleon took on the following day after a bloody battle, in which he received a slight wound on the heel. Prince Charles retreated upon the frontier of Bohemia, and the French marched upon Vienna.

Battles of Abensberg, Landshut, and Eckmuhl.

Battle of Ratisbonne.

One day, during this rapid march, whilst Napoleon was talking with Lannes and Berthier, a guide pointed out to them the Castle of Dirsteim, in which Richard Cœur-de-Lion had been imprisoned on his return from the Holy Land. The Emperor halted, and after having gazed for some time at these celebrated ruins, said, as he continued on his way, "He also made war in Palestine and Syria; he was more fortunate than we were at Saint Jean d'Acre, but not more valiant than you, my brave Lannes. He vanquished the brave Saladin, and yet he had scarcely touched the shores of Europe before he fell into the hands of those who were nothing in comparison to him. He was sold by a duke of Austria to an Emperor of Germany. . . . The last of his courtiers, Blondel, alone remained faithful to him, but his nation made many sacrifices to effect his deliverance."* Napoleon once more turned his eyes towards those celebrated ruins, and, referring to the generous course he had pursued towards the kings whom he had conquered, said that a sovereign in modern times would escape the fate which had befallen Richard; and then fell suddenly into a deep and melancholy silence. Reflecting, perchance, on the hatred of his enemies, he in his own mind anticipated that which actually took place. He had a presentiment, perhaps, that that which had befallen Richard would some day befall himself, and that there would be no new Blondel to release him. But such a time was yet far off, and before it should arrive fresh triumphs awaited him. On the 13th May, a month after the commencement of the brilliant campaign,

* "Recollections of the War of 1809," by General Pelet.

he entered for the second time the Austrian capital. The war, however, was not at an end; for the Emperor Francis had retreated to Znaïm with large forces, and the Archduke Charles marched towards the capital by the left bank of the Danube, and soon took up a position opposite Vienna on the famous plains of Wagram. To terminate the war and be able to dictate terms of peace, Napoleon had to crush this army; but the bridges of the Danube had been destroyed, the river, divided into many arms, rolled its broad waves between the two armies, and the enemy could only be reached by means of immense works and great and perilous efforts.

Second entry of Napoleon into Vienna, 1809.

Numerous islets divide the waters of the Danube in the neighbourhood of Vienna. The largest is the island of Lobau, four leagues in circumference, almost opposite the city, from which it is separated by two branches of the stream, the first of which is three hundred metres broad, and the second about five hundred. Opposite this island, on the further bank, are the villages of Aspern and Essling, between which and the island of Lobau the Danube is not more than about a hundred metres broad. It was across this island that Napoleon resolved to march his army. Nineteen bridges were thrown across the stream at Ebersdorf, and on the 20th the island was carried. Napoleon gathered his troops together and watched the completion of the bridges. Scarcely thirty thousand men, under Lannes and Massena, had passed over to the left bank of the stream, when they took the villages of Essling and Aspern, where they sustained during two days the assault of a hundred thousand Austrians. The villages were five times taken and retaken, and gave their names to these terrible battles. At length another portion of the army effected the passage, and joined the intrepid divisions of Lannes and Massena. That under Davoust followed, but Napoleon, without awaiting his arrival, in his impetuosity attacked an enemy twice as strong, numerically, as himself. His words and his example electrified his brave soldiers. He threw himself, as he had done at the battles of Arcola and Lodi, upon the Austrians, who broke and fled before him. The intrepid Lannes pierced their centre; the Archduke was in full retreat, and Napoleon followed up his victory. All at once he heard that Davoust's corps, on which he had implicitly relied, had been unable to effect the passage of the Danube, and that the bridges over that river had been broken. He now found himself

Battle of Essling.

placed in a position of difficulty by his victory, since it had led him too far and separated him from the bulk of his army. He halted and ordered a retreat, upon which the Austrians rallied and returned against the French in formidable masses, with the intention of surrounding the latter and driving them into the river. But the communications of the French with the isle of Lobau had not been cut off, and it was to this island that Napoleon now led back his troops. He saw thousands of his veterans fall around him; he lost the heroic d'Espagne, the brave Saint-Hilaire, and Lannes, who had both legs crushed by a cannon ball, and expired in his arms. In the meantime Massena, firm as a rock, presented an undaunted front to the Archduke, held him in check, and covered this perilous retreat. Napoleon, and all the corps which had crossed the stream, re-entered the island of Lobau, and it became the French head-quarters.

March of the army of Italy under Eugene.

Eugene, who was Commander-in-Chief of the army of Italy, was at this time marching at its head to join Napoleon on the Danube. Macdonald, Grenier and Baraguay d'Hilliers, were his companions in glory, and his army had not only been victorious at the battles of Piave, Tarwitz, and Goritz, but had driven before it in these various encounters eighty thousand Austrians, under the Archduke John, whom it prevented from effecting a junction with the army of Prince Charles. And finally, on the 14th June, the anniversary of the battles of Marengo and Friedland, it succeeded in vanquishing them at the battle of Raab, took the fortress of that name, and joined the Emperor in the island of Lobau. This victory enabled Napoleon to resume the offensive.

Junction of the army of Eugene with Napoleon.

After forty days' labour, three immense bridges spanned the Danube and united the islands, to which the Emperor had given the names of Lannes, d'Espagne, and Saint-Hilaire, who had been killed at Essling, and opened a passage for fifty thousand troops and five hundred pieces of cannon. The army crossed the river on a stormy night, on the 4th July, exposed to a terrific cannonade, and on the following day was in battle array on the enemy's left, and carried the formidable entrenchments which had been erected opposite the island, between Ebersdorf, Essling, and Aspern. A vast plain extended beyond these positions in front of the French army; the hills which surround it on the west and the east were in possession of the Austrian army, which defended a formidable position on the left bank of the Russbach. Wagram was in the centre of

the enemy's army. On the first day of the battle Davoust, Lamarque, and Oudinot, made a fruitless attack on the heights in the occupation of the enemy. The two armies encamped on the field, and on the morrow the destinies of Europe were to be decided there.

At the break of day three hundred thousand men were face to face on a line of some three leagues in extent. Napoleon galloped through the ranks of his battalions, and pointed out to them the hills of Wagram and the tower of Neusiedel on the steep banks of the Russbach. It was in that direction that was the chief danger, and it was there that the battle was to be decided. Davoust and Oudinot on the right were ordered to carry these positions. Eugene and the army of Italy, Bernadotte and the Saxons were in the centre, and Massena was in command of the left, towards the Danube. The Archduke's right, preceded by sixty pieces of artillery, advanced against the rear of the French army, and the Saxons under Bernadotte were put to flight. Napoleon ordered a change from the front to the left, and launched against the enemy's column the divisions of Massena, Macdonald, and the cavalry of the Imperial Guard, under the valiant Bessières. But these troops, supported by the fire of a hundred cannon, were unable to check the advance of the enemy's column, and an aide-de-camp informed Napoleon that the enemy was already in the rear of his army. The latter, however, remained unmoved, and kept his eagle glance turned towards the right, in the direction of the heights of Russbach. All at once the firing of Davoust's troops, in front of the tower of Neusiedel, announced the success of his right wing, and the dangerous position of the enemy. "Go as fast as possible," said Napoleon to an aide-de-camp, "and tell Massena that he has only to attack with energy to secure the victory." He then gave orders to Macdonald to throw himself upon the Austrian centre, to Oudinot to take the Russbach position, and to Davoust to continue his attacks as hotly as possible. The heroic Macdonald fell like a thunderbolt in the midst of the enemy's line and broke it, whilst Massena, whose troops occupied the bank of the river, held the Austrian column in check and drove it back. The Austrians were now in flight along their whole line. Davoust took Wagram, and Macdonald then advanced to Brunn, and Napoleon had his victorious tents pitched on the field of battle. He embraced Macdonald and made him a marshal, as well as Oudinot and Marmont. The victory had been hotly disputed,

Battle of Wagram, 1809.

and twenty-five thousand men on the two sides had been slain or disabled.

This sanguinary battle decided the fate of Austria. The Archdukes John and Ferdinand had been beaten in Lombardy and Poland respectively, and Francis I. had to obtain peace by means of the most serious sacrifices. He ceded on the various frontiers of his states, to Italy, Bavaria, and Russia, several circles and provinces, and three millions of subjects; he promised, moreover, to pay a heavy war contribution, and to adhere to the continental blockade. This treaty, which was so injurious to Austria, was signed at Vienna on the 12th October, 1809, and whilst its conditions were still being discussed, Napoleon ran a narrow risk of being assassinated by a young fanatic named Staps. This young man was seized, armed with a dagger, at the moment when he demanded an interview with Napoleon, and asserted that he had received a commission from God to deliver Germany, and to execute vengeance on the person of the oppressor of his country and the world.

Peace of Vienna, 1809.

The English, in the course of this campaign, had sent out immense fleets, and a hundred ships of war had landed in Holland, in the island of Walcheren and of South Beveland, forty-five thousand men. Flushing had fallen into their hands after a desperate resistance, and they already threatened Antwerp. A levy of the National Guards of the Department of the North and the approach of Bernadotte's corps covered this important place, whilst fever mowed down the English by thousands in the island of Walcheren, and they were compelled at length to evacuate Zealand, where the town of Flushing alone remained in their power. Napoleon heard of the failure of this formidable expedition a few days after the signature of the Treaty of Vienna; fortune was still faithful to him, and he returned in triumph to Paris, where he found that there were serious misunderstandings with the Court of Rome.

The Walcheren expedition by the English, 1809.

Pope Pius VII. had not closed his ports against the English, and justly displeased at Napoleon's encroachments on his territory, had resolved to refuse the Pontifical Bulls to the new French bishops. The Emperor, irritated at this, forthwith deprived the Pope of his temporal power, and was excommunicated. The excitement of the Roman populace at this proceeding, kept alive as it was by the presence of the Pope, placed the French troops in Rome in a position of great peril. General Miollis,

the Governor of the city, considered that the removal of the Pope was necessary; and Pius VII., after having been violently torn from the Pontifical Palace, was first removed to Savona and then to Fontainebleau. At the latter place he bore with admirable Christian fortitude an imprisonment of four years' duration, and the ancient capital of the world was transformed into the chief town of a French department.

Arrest and imprisonment of Pope Pius VII.

The Spanish insurrection had become much more general immediately after the Emperor's departure; and a rumour which was spread abroad that Napoleon demanded the annexation of the left bank of the Ebro to France, redoubled the popular indignation and rage. The insurgents organized themselves into bands of guerillas, and made the French soldiers experience a second Vendée in Spain. The populace arose in every direction, and the desire for national independence was a bond which united all parties against France. It was in vain that Napoleon's generals obtained numerous victories; that Sebastiani triumphed at Ciudad-Real, Victor at Medelin, and Soult at Oporto, where thousands of Portuguese remained on the field of battle; for the example of Palafox, the defender of Saragossa, and the heroism of its inhabitants, who allowed themselves to be buried under its ruins rather than submit, excited the enthusiasm and patriotism of the Spaniards, whilst the English successfully seconded their efforts. On the 28th July, Joseph fought with Sir Arthur Wellesley the indecisive battle of Talavera, which the English claimed as a victory; Sebastiani was victorious on the 21st August at Almonacid, and Mortier, with twenty-five thousand men, defeated fifty thousand at Ocana, and Andalucia fell into the power of the French.

Course of the war in Spain, 1809-1810.

Spain, however, was not yet conquered, and in 1810 was commenced a fresh campaign as murderous as the preceding. It was conducted in the north by Marshal Suchet, who invested the fortresses of Aragon, and held that province in check whilst Marshal Soult completed the subjection of Andalucia. The latter took in succession Granada, Seville, and Malaga, and compelled the provisional Junta of Seville to retire to Cadiz, which French troops besieged. A third army, under the orders of Massena, Prince of Essling, was at the same time marched against Portugal, and had to struggle against the Anglo-Portuguese army of Wellington, which was very

March of Massena on Portugal, and retreat of the English army.

superior in numbers, and which nevertheless retreated before it towards Lisbon. Massena sustained defeat at the bloody battle of Busaco, and was stopped by Wellington before the lines of Torres Vedras, which protected the capital, and received, on the 10th of October, the whole British army. The plan of these lines had been designed by Wellington, and during more than a year thousands of men had been raising these formidable defences.* Massena, considering them impregnable, posted his army in observation on the Tagus, between Alhandra, Santarem, and Abrantes, and awaited the Emperor's orders.

Check before Torres Vedras, 1810.

Whilst the Peninsula devoured the best troops of the French army, Napoleon attained the highest point of his prodigious destiny. Equally influenced by his desire to have an heir, and by his ambition to be allied with the old dynasties of Europe, he repudiated Josephine de Beauharnais,† his first wife, and married, on the 30th of March, 1810, Maria-Louisa, Archduchess of Austria, the daughter of the Emperor Francis.

Divorce of Napoleon. He marries an Austrian Archduchess, 1810.

In the course of this year Holland was annexed to France; Napoleon dethroning his brother Louis, whose kingdom had become a depôt for English merchandize. The *Moniteur* declared on this occasion the Emperor's policy in respect of those on whom he bestowed crowns. "Understand," he said, to the kings his brothers, "that your first duty is towards me and France." This policy being thus proclaimed to Europe, powerfully contributed to arouse it. One of his generals was at the same time called to the succession to the crown of Sweden. The imprudent and hot-headed Gustavus had been driven from the throne, to which, in 1809, his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, had succeeded by the title of Charles XIII., and this latter prince, having no children, adopted as his son, in 1810, Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte-Corvo, who was elected by the States General Prince-Royal of Sweden. Napoleon looked upon this election as an event which would complete the subjec-

Annexation of Holland to France, 1810.

Bernadotte elected Prince-Royal of Sweden, 1810.

* They extended in three lines over a space of several leagues between the Tagus and the sea, and consisted of a hundred and fifty-two redoubts, which supported each other, and were defended by nine hundred pieces of cannon and a hundred thousand men, of whom ninety thousand were English.

† "Josephine," says Charles Lacretelle, "had long had a presentiment of her fate, and the clause referring to divorce which had been inserted in the Code by Napoleon's direct desire, had been a perpetual subject of anxiety to her."

tion of the north to his system, for he never supposed that his general, formerly his enemy, would one day prefer the interests of his people to those of his first country, and he permitted him to accept the proffered crown. Sweden, since the accession of Charles XIII., had adhered to the continental system, and for a moment the blockade was observed over the whole of Europe.

General remarks on Napoleon and his reign.

At this point of our narrative it may be as well to pause for a moment to cast a glance over the immense works achieved by Napoleon, and to examine some of the causes of his elevation and his fall. He was raised to the pinnacle of glory by his genius, his victories, and the will of a people who were dazzled by the prestige of a new name surrounded by a glorious aureole, and which sighed for order and repose after having suffered so many troubles; but he was raised in reality by that hidden Providence which produces on the theatre of the world the necessary men when their time is come, and which, too often misunderstood by themselves, directs and supports them till their work is accomplished. France applauded the great good fortune of Napoleon because she had need of him, and because, after having secured her power abroad, and done much for her glory, he had perceived what she required for her internal prosperity. We have recounted his exploits, his conquests, his administrative and legislative works, and space would fail us were we to attempt to enumerate those which he effected of particular and special interest. His vast intellect embraced everything. He passed without effort, and with marvellous facility, from one subject to another, and no detail was too small for his vigilant attention. Now combining the interests of a large youthful population with the military interests of his empire, he founded schools for the army and navy, gave a military organization to the prytanées and lyceums, opened these establishments gratuitously to the sons of the brave men who fell on the field of battle, and founded several special establishments for their daughters; and now devoting his attention to the commercial and industrial interests of the country, he established the Council General of Fabrics and Manufactures, bestowed honours and rewards on the authors of useful inventions, gave a hundred thousand francs to the chemist Proust for his discovery of grape sugar, decorated Ternaux with the cross of the Legion of Honour

Home affairs.

Schools.

Trade and industry.

for improvements in the manufacture of cloths, and offered a million to any one who should invent a machine for spinning flax. The woollen and silk manufactures were immensely encouraged by him, and the cultivation of cotton was attempted by his orders in Corsica and Italy. To such matters as the provisioning of towns and armies, the clothing of his troops, the sanitary condition of the capital, and the abolition of mendicity, he by turns directed his attention.

Napoleon's thoughts were not wholly absorbed by material matters, but found time to dwell on subjects of a higher species of interest, and France owes to him the erection or first suggestion of as many imperishable monuments as useful establishments. Wherever there appeared a necessity for them he constructed roads, dug canals, built bridges, and this not only in France, but in the foreign lands which had been annexed to his vast empire. The famous Simplon road, the canal of Saint-Quentin, and the harbours of Antwerp and Cherbourg, show what he was able to do in matters of the kind. The Bourse, the Madeleine, the column of the Place Vendôme, the Etoile triumphal arch, and the bridges of Austerlitz and Jena were built or planned during his reign. Napoleon enriched the national library, had the works of the Pantheon continued, ordered the Pont de la Concorde to be decorated with statues of those of his principal generals who had died on the field of honour, and formed the idea of consecrating at Saint Denis three principal expiatory altars for the three royal races which had succeeded each other on the French throne.

Great public works.

Although he was his own Foreign Minister, Home Secretary, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Minister for War, he found time for every detail, and had an exact account of everything sent in to him. He possessed in an eminent degree the faculty of judging of the characters and capacities of those who served him, and it was to this precious faculty that he owed the fact that he almost always found his ideas well understood and well carried out, and that he rarely had to change his Ministers, administrators, or councillors. The men who, out of the ranks of the army, had the chief share in the great things accomplished by his orders, were—in respect to foreign affairs, Talleyrand and Champagny, Duke of Cadore; in financial matters, Gaudin, Duke of Gaeta, Mollien, and Barbé-Marbois, whose integrity equalled their intelligence; in home affairs, the Count de Montalivet, who, at first director-

Ministers and officials.

general of roads and bridges, was made a Minister, and performed his duties with integrity and high-mindedness; and finally, the Minister of Public Instruction was Fontanes, the Grand Master of the University, a distinguished poet, who had been brought up in the old school of literature and manners, and who lavished upon the representative of the new times ingenuous homage which too often resembled servile flattery. Besides these, there were in possession of high dignities or great employments, Lebrun, the Duke of Piacenza; Reynier, Duke of Massa; Maret, Duke of Bassano; and Daru, who united to a marvellous aptitude for work a courage which was proof against any assault. The Council of State which Napoleon had organized in a manner justly admired, was rendered illustrious during his reign by great talents, being adorned by the high qualities of the lawyers Portalis and Tronchet, the compilers of the civil code, and of Joubert, Allent, Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angély, and the immortal Cuvier. Most of these men have left lasting memorials of their labours. Napoleon, by the vigour of his genius and the combination of eminent qualities, contrived to be superior to them all, and it was by making use of their talents, by surrounding himself with all the illustrious men of France, that he had reached, in 1810, the highest degree of power and glory ever attained by any sovereign in Europe. His empire after the last annexations contained a population of fifty millions, who were distributed amidst a hundred and thirty departments.

The Council of State.

In the meantime, beneath all this grandeur and prosperity a great evil was gradually digging an abyss, and this evil was the Emperor's own unbounded ambition. If he had never separated his personal interests from those of France, there is reason to believe that he might have finally triumphed over all resistance; but during these later days his perpetual invasions, undertaken either for his own sake or that of his family, had redoubled the fears and jealousy of foreign princes, without producing any other result to France than a perpetual sacrifice of men and money. Party hatred then reawoke with renewed hatred in the interior of the kingdom, and found an echo amidst the classes who had assisted to raise and maintain the imperial throne. The resentment, moreover, of the aristocracy and the friends of liberty did not want for pretexts and genuine causes. The old aristocracy ever

Causes of his fall.

regarded Napoleon as a parvenu, born of a revolution which it held in horror, forgetting that he had been a chief agent in its suppression; and the democrats cursed in him the man who had renounced all their principles after having obtained his power under the order of things which they had established. The creation of a new nobility was equally offensive to the old nobles and to the patriots. The complete suppression of the liberty of the press rendered the irritation stronger by keeping it confined in men's hearts, and although Napoleon had not ceased to conquer, he was not able to silence his enemies by his victories, the very number of which enfeebled their prestige. The frightful void caused by the war in the ranks of the younger generation became day by day more visible; the consumption of men was frightful, and after each victory public attention was directed less to the territory conquered than to the blood spilt; and the despairing cries of mothers were heard above the triumphal shouts.

At home.

Abroad the power of Napoleon, more apparent than real, rested on no solid foundation. His brothers even, who had been crowned by his own hand, were indignant at being only regarded by him as his lieutenants, and perceived that when he granted them the title of king without allowing them royal power, he had rendered it impossible for them to reign. One of them abdicated, and the others hesitated between abdication and revolt. The populations of the annexed countries were overwhelmed with the burden of conscription, war taxes, and the maintenance of troops. It was in vain that the Emperor numbered great sovereigns amongst his allies. The latter could not forget that his alliance had been forced upon them by victories, and their wounded honour demanded some revenge. Austria and Prussia had cruel affronts to efface and numerous provinces to regain. Great excitement prevailed throughout all the universities and secret societies in Germany, and Napoleon had already, in 1809, whilst residing at Schönbrunn, been on the point of perishing, as has been mentioned above, under the dagger of a young fanatic. Spain, from which he sought to tear the left bank of the Ebro for the purpose of annexing it to France, and Portugal, which he had assumed the power of dividing at his will, rejected his yoke, and, supported by England, opposed an invincible resistance to Napoleon, who exhausted himself in his efforts to maintain three

Abroad.

armies on a formidable footing. The fatal continental system finally aroused against him every commercial interest, and blinded himself by giving him an apparent pretext for his continual usurpations. He perceived that this system imposed so heavy a burden, so direct an inconvenience, upon both sovereigns and peoples, that he could nowhere entrust its execution to any one but himself. After having, with this object, annexed Holland and the Roman States to France, and made irreconcilable enemies of the Pope and the clergy, he ventured still further, and on the 13th of December, 1810, without any preliminary announcement, annexed to his empire, by a Senatus Consultum, the Valois, the Hanseatic Towns, and the coasts of the Baltic from the Ems to the Elbe. Circumstances, said the Emperor, demanded such a measure, and he made vague promises of indemnity to the princes despoiled by this fresh usurpation. During the prevalence of such a policy as this there was no longer security for any sovereign or guarantee for the observance of any treaty, and it was evident that either France must be vanquished by Europe, or that the whole of Europe must become France. An immoderate ambition compelled the Emperor incessantly to fight against the league of dynasties, peoples, the priesthood, and commerce, and when he believed that all were gained over to his views because all were submissive to him, he found that he had sown in every direction the germs of an opposition which was destined to explode in a terrible manner on the very first day on which he should suffer a reverse.

Senatus Consultum of December 13, 1810. Annexation of the Hanseatic Towns and the coasts of the Baltic to the Empire.

Amongst all the Sovereigns of Europe, it was Alexander who at this period was capable of causing Napoleon the most anxiety. This prince, in fact, was at once the most powerful on account of his armies, and the most difficult to subdue on account of the geographical position of his empire. For some time past, for the purpose of maintaining a good understanding with Napoleon, he had to resist the solicitations of the English Government and his old allies on the Continent, and to struggle against the remonstrances of the Russian aristocracy, which, since the Czar's adhesion to the continental system had been unable to find outlets for the products of their estates. Alexander had obtained Finland, Moldavia, and Wallachia, so long coveted, and was anxious that the French Emperor should declare in a formal manner against the future re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland. He was already complaining of Napoleon's

refusal to do this, when the Senatus Consultum of the 13th December, 1810, added a serious item to his causes of complaint. Amongst the princes who had been deprived of their possessions was his uncle, the Grand-Duke of Oldenburg, and Alexander regarded this decree, which forcibly dispossessed a member of his family, as a personal insult to himself. He now listened to those about him who were most eager that he should break with France; and on the 31st December replied to the Senatus Consultum by a commercial ukase which closed Russia against a large number of French products, and opened its ports to the products of the English colonies when conveyed in neutral bottoms. Fresh levies of troops were ordered throughout his dominions, his armies marched upon the Niemen, and Europe awaited fresh and sinister events.

Coolness of Alexander towards Napoleon.

Whilst Napoleon, deaf to the counsels of prudence, thus provoked fresh war with Russia by successive and rash invasions, the Peninsula, at the other extremity of Europe, devoured the armies and resources of France. Suchet retained the upper hand in Aragon and Catalonia; but in Estremadura, Andalucia, and Portugal, the armies of Soult and Massena endured great hardships and struggled against immense difficulties. Soult, after a long and murderous conflict, had captured Badajoz, and from thence had marched to Cadiz, to hasten the reduction of that important place, which was invested by Victor; but the English speedily besieged Badajoz in their turn, and compelled Soult to return to Estremadura. Massena having failed to force the formidable lines of Torres Vedras, after having remained encamped many months on the right bank of the Tagus, in front of the English army, had found himself compelled to return to Spain, and had retreated to Salamanca, closely pursued by Wellington. At the end of April, 1811, he received a reinforcement of some thousands of the Imperial Guard, under Marshal Bessières, the Duke of Istria, and then, resolving to resume the offensive, made an effort to relieve Almada, an important city on the Portuguese frontier which the English were besieging. He marched to the assistance of this place with forty thousand veterans, the heroic remnant of several armies, and encountered the enemy on the 3rd of May at the village of Fuentes d'Onoro, half way between Almada and Ciudad-Rodrigo. There Massena engaged Wellington, and a terrible

Continuation of the war in Spain and Portugal, 1811.

Retreat of Massena before the English.

Battle of Fuentes d'Onoro, 1811.

battle took place, which at the end of three days was still undecided, and which he would have gained, apparently, if his supply of ammunition had not failed, and if the generals under him had better obeyed his orders. The English retained their positions, and Massena, who was much weakened, having retained possession of the field of battle for some days, ordered a retreat, and then fell back upon Salamanca. Napoleon reproached him for not having been victorious, and replaced him in his command by Marshal Marmont.

Birth of the King of Rome.

The Empire was in a state of decline; but fate still granted to the Emperor a great and much longed for favour. He had a son born to him in March, 1811; and the birth of this child, who was proclaimed King of Rome in the cradle, appeared, by assuring him of a successor, to have consolidated his fortunes. Napoleon now desired to terminate his protracted differences with the Court of Rome, and wished to assemble a General Council in Paris on the day on which his son should be baptized, for the purpose of regulating, with the assistance of that assembly, the ecclesiastical affairs of his empire.

Contentions between the captive Pope and the Emperor.

The Sovereign Pontiff, deprived of his temporalities, was still detained in his old captivity, in which he persisted in refusing to institute the French bishops appointed by the Emperor, the number of which had been raised to twenty-seven.* Napoleon desired that the Pope should accept at the expense of France a sumptuous but dependent establishment at Rome, at Paris, or at Avignon,† and should thus renounce his temporal power. He demanded, moreover, on the ground of the necessities of the several dioceses, that the bishops should be canonically instituted, and sought some legal method of providing for their institution should the Pope refuse to bestow it.

Pius VII. thought that by agreeing to the Emperor's first proposition he would be failing in his duty, and betraying the sacred rights of the Holy See, which he had sworn to maintain, and nobly refused to submit

* Napoleon had ordered the Chapter to bestow the quality of *vicars capitular* upon the nominated bishops, which enabled the latter to govern their dioceses, at least as administrators. Cardinal Manz, who had been nominated Archbishop of Paris, governed his diocese in this way.

† At Avignon, however, Napoleon was willing that the Pope should be independent, if he would accept the famous declaration of 1682, which declared the liberties of the Gallican church.

to his own deposal at the expense of a magnificent establishment. "It is not," he said, "the Vatican that I demand, but the catacombs. Let me but return with a few old priests to enlighten me with their counsels, and I will continue my Pontifical functions whilst submitting to Cæsar, as did the first apostles." He was more yielding on the second point, the institution of the bishops, and appeared, in words at least, to have no desire to oppose the institution of the nominated bishops by a metropolitan, after a delay of six months.

Such was the serious question which the Emperor intended to regulate in a definitive manner by convoking in Paris, in a National Council, all the French prelates. The Council commenced its sittings in Paris on the 19th of June,* and wishing to commence by an act of deference towards the Emperor, appointed as its president Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, the Archbishop of Lyons and Primate of the Gauls. Violent debates, however, speedily arose in the bosom of the Council with respect to its competence to decide with respect to the great question which had been submitted to its consideration. A committee, nominated by the Assembly, sent in a report opposed to the wishes of the Emperor, and the reading of the report aroused a violent storm; some members protesting with indignation against the shameful treatment to which the Pope had been subjected, and alluding to the Bull by which Napoleon had been excommunicated. At this unexpected news the Emperor, yielding to his rage, dissolved the Council, and had three prelates, the Bishops of Troyes, Tournay, and Ghent, imprisoned in Vincennes. Then, by the advice of Cardinal Maury, he had them all summoned separately, and had their individual adhesion demanded to the declaration formerly approved of, by word of mouth, by the Pope, and which authorized the metropolitan to grant institution to the bishops nominated by the Emperor, if, after an interval of six months, they had not obtained it from the Court of Rome. Eighty-five bishops out of a hundred and fifteen having approved this plan, the Emperor again assembled the Council, and now obtained from it an almost unanimous vote in favour of his wishes. The Council, however, without reviving the question of competence, expressed a wish that the Sovereign Pontiff should be requested to approve of this decree. A

Council held at Paris, 1811.

* The Council had not been able to meet, as Napoleon had wished, on his son's baptismal day, but assembled in the following week.

Commission consisting of cardinals and bishops took it accordingly to the Pope at Savona, and begged him to sanction it. The Pope, fearing to place the Church in a position of still greater danger if he refused, promised to institute the twenty-seven bishops, and accepted the decree by a brief, which he supported, however, by considerations contrary to the recognised principles of the Gallican Church. Napoleon published the purport of the Pontifical brief, without the reasons given by the Pope for issuing it; and having submitted the latter to the Council of State for examination, he procured in all haste the execution of the last formalities necessary for the completion of the institution of the nominated prelates promised by the Pope. The assembly of prelates was then dissolved; and other cares forthwith absorbed the thoughts of the Emperor, who once more seized his formidable sword for a gigantic struggle, and marched with blind confidence to meet the storm which his mad ambition had raised in the East.

Dissolution of the Council.

Whilst insisting with offensive haughtiness that Alexander should withdraw the ukase of the 31st December, Napoleon chose to ignore the much more serious wrong which he had done to the Czar by annexing the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg to his empire without according any indemnity to the Duke. His pride made him see an insult to France and himself in Alexander's refusal to withdraw the ukase in question; he believed that this work would not be accomplished until he should have rendered all the sovereigns of Europe, even the greatest, dependent on his will; and to effect this object he drew down innumerable calamities upon France and himself.

Before declaring war, however, he wished to put his vast kingdom in a state of defence at every point. He visited Belgium, where he ordered the excution of magnificent works, and Holland, which had been recently annexed to his empire, where he put many important places in a state to sustain a long siege, and made immense preparations in every direction. France suffered at this time from a scarcity of grain, and the excessive dearness of many objects of consumption which she had formerly obtained from the colonies—there was no maritime commerce; and to these causes of disaffection were added the most cruel of all, the tax of blood, and immense, unlimited, endless sacrifices of human

Journey of the Emperor to Belgium and Holland.

Extreme sufferings of France and Europe.

life. Deaf to every remonstrance Napoleon aggravated the famine by laying a tax upon grain; and, entirely absorbed by his warlike projects, he formed the few men who had escaped the conscriptions of the last years, into a national mobile guard, and pitilessly pursued, by means in use during the Reign of Terror, sixty thousand refractory conscripts who had not joined their regiments. Their unhappy families, thoughout France, were rendered responsible for their absence or their flight, subjected to cruel exactions, and compelled to support at their own expense troops who were the objects of the public hate under the name of *garnisaires*. The consequences of these proceedings were revolts, which were severely repressed at several points. Paris, even, made complaints, and the Emperor retired to Saint Cloud so as to be out of hearing of the murmurs which arose from the people as he passed amidst them. And if such evils were intolerable in France, they were much more so in the unhappy countries which Napoleon had conquered, which were crushed by taxes and devastated by the continual passage of armies; and the French name became odious to the peoples who submitted in despair to the rule of France or its oppressive ascendancy. It was on these peoples, however, and their sovereigns, that Napoleon thought he could rely in his enterprise against Russia, and it was in this belief that he had imposed his alliance upon Austria and Prussia, with whom he had concluded fresh treaties. He then assembled his army behind the Vistula, and, for the purpose of increasing it, withdrew from Spain a portion of the troops which were already scarcely sufficient to support his brother on the throne. From every point of Europe, from the shores of the Ocean and the Mediterranean to those of the Baltic, innumerable troops were marched upon Poland, and the Emperor resolved to superintend their movements himself. He confided his royal powers to the Arch-Chancellor Cambacérès, and, on the invitation of the King of Saxony, he set out from Paris in May, 1812, and established himself with his Court at Dresden, under pretext of assembling the other sovereigns at a Congress, but in reality with the purpose of drawing near to his army and being in a position to surprise the enemy by a sudden attack at the commencement of the campaign. The Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and many of the Sovereigns of Europe went

Tyranny of the Imperial rule.

Congress of Dresden, 1812.

to Dresden to meet Napoleon; and then, at the height of his power, he tasted once more the triumph so sweet to his pride, for he saw himself surrounded by kings as his courtiers, and many crowned heads bowing before his own.

Napoleon had resolved not to commence the campaign until the month of June, since he required the interval for the purpose of deceiving Alexander, and being able to cross the Niemen before he could be prepared to resist him. He sent to that monarch, through his ambassador, M. de Narbonne, continual assurances of his amicable feelings towards him, whilst he was constantly making the most enormous preparations for waging war against him. He at length succeeded in assembling behind the Vistula his immense army, consisting of four hundred and twenty-three thousand men, of whom three hundred thousand were infantry, seventy thousand horse, and thirty thousand artillerymen, accompanied by a thousand pieces of artillery, six pontoon equipages, and a month's provisions. This army, composed of men of almost all the nations of Europe, French, Austrian, Prussian, Wurtembergian, Bavarian, Dutch, Polish, and Italian, was divided into eight great corps, and supported by two hundred thousand reserve troops who were distributed between the Elbe and the Vistula. This formidable assembling of troops had already justly aroused the alarm of the Emperor Alexander, and now, foreseeing the danger which threatened him, in spite of all Napoleon's efforts to lull him into a deceitful sense of security, he formed an alliance with England, in order to resist the storm ready to burst upon his country. He formed with England, Spain, and Portugal, a new coalition, into which he succeeded in drawing Sweden, which was governed in the name of Charles XIII. by the new Prince Royal, Bernadotte. The latter, who had long since been jealous and the secret enemy of Napoleon, coveted Norway, which was possessed by Denmark, an old ally of France. Napoleon had refused to accede to Bernadotte's views on this point, and provoked his resentment not only by this refusal, but by treatment which was imprudently disdainful, and by permitting Marshal Davoust to enter with his army Swedish Pomerania. Alexander obtained the Swedish alliance by the sacrifice of Norway, and concluded with

Reassembling of the French army in Poland, 1812.

Sixth coalition against France, 1812.

Alliance of Russia with Sweden.

Sweden an alliance offensive and defensive, which Napoleon at first despised, and which was in reality fatal to him.

Napoleon now no longer concealed his hostile designs, and setting forth from Dresden in the month of June, 1812, he proceeded to his head quarters at Thorn, from whence he directed the march of his armies upon the Niemen. Before crossing that river he alleged, as a reason for his aggression, a recent and formal demand which he had received from Alexander to remove the French troops from Western Prussia. He spoke of this demand as an insult to his crown, and it was for this frivolous motive and for Alexander's infraction of the continental blockade, that he plunged France into a distant and frightful war. "The Russians," he said, "the Russians whom we have always vanquished have assumed the tone of conquerors, and provoke us to the conflict . . . let us accept this impertinence as a favour and cross the Niemen." On the 22nd June, in a proclamation to his army, he spoke of a state which had been blotted from the map of Europe, for he had proved the courage of the people of that country, and he required them as an advanced guard and a barrier against colossal Russia. "Soldiers!" he said, "the second Polish war has commenced. The first was brought to a close at Friedland and Tilsit. Russia has sworn an eternal alliance with France and war to the death against England; and now she has violated both those oaths. . . . Russia is in the toils of some fatality, and her destiny must be accomplished." It was to Napoleon rather than to the Russians that these words were applicable; he was blinded by some fatality, and he was led by it to the fulfilment of his destiny.

Campaign of 1812 in Russia.

On the 25th June, the Emperor commenced the campaign at the head of four hundred thousand soldiers. He crossed the Niemen with the larger portion of his forces, and on the 28th he entered Wilna, where he received a final letter from Alexander suggesting peace, and promising to continue his alliance with France if Napoleon would evacuate the Russian territories. But to have retreated a step would have been a humiliation in the eyes of Napoleon. He sent a reply in the negative and halted seventeen days at Wilna—a delay which was fatal.

In the meantime the Diet of the Duchy of Warsaw proclaimed the re-establishment and freedom of Poland as a nation. A deputation sent to

the Emperor entreated him to declare that Poland existed; and Napoleon hesitated to accede to the request, for a portion of the old Polish provinces was incorporated with Austria and Prussia, and at this time Austria and Prussia were the allies of France. To recognise the existence and independence of the Polish nation would be to spread the fire of insurrection throughout the incorporated provinces. At a later period, perhaps, he might accede to the wishes of the Diet, but at present it was his duty to decline to do so, and he gave his answer in such a manner as not to offend his allies.

The Emperor continued his march, and arrived at Witepsk after a series of glorious conflicts. The enemy's army retired before him, under the command of Bagration and Barclay de Tolly; the Dnieper was speedily crossed, and a bloody battle took place at Krasnoë, before Smolensk, which was carried after a murderous conflict, and delivered to the flames. The Russians still fell back, and Napoleon followed them in the direction of Moscow. The plains of Valoutina, Gorodrezna, and Polotzk were the scenes of desperate combats, in which the French arms were triumphant; but the Russians declined any decisive battle, and, retreating after each defeat, led the French troops, who pursued them, into the heart of old Russia.

The army arrived at length, on the 5th September, on the plains of Borodino, some leagues distant from Moscow, near the banks of the Moskva, and found itself face to face with the whole Russian army, which was under the command of the old general Kutusof. A general engagement was resolved on for the day after the morrow, and on the morning of that memorable day, Napoleon, issuing from his tent, said to his officers—"See what a fine sun we have! It is the sun of Austerlitz!" Then, in an address to his soldiers, he said to them—"At length you will fight the battle you have so longed for! Behave as you did at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Witepsk, Smolensk, and the most distant ages will speak with admiration of your conduct in this battle. Let it be said with pride of each of you—'He was at that great battle on the plains of Moscow!'" The action commenced almost immediately, and was terrific. Ney, Murat, Eugene, Davoust, Gérard, and Poniatowski did deeds of the utmost heroism. Auguste Caulaincourt was struck down whilst charging a redoubt at the head of his cuirassiers. The

Battle of the Moskva.

Russians yielded at length, after a desperate conflict. Napoleon held back his guard, and allowed the Russians, whom he might have crushed, to escape. Twenty-two thousand French and fifty thousand Russians were killed or wounded in this battle, and a great number of generals perished on the field. But the victory was on the side of the French, and Marshal Ney was created Prince of Moskva on the field of battle. Another battle took place at Mojaïsk, half a league from Moscow, in which the Russians were again vanquished, and their army only entered that ancient capital immediately to evacuate it. From the heights of Mount Salut, which command Moscow, the French beheld that famous city, half Asiatic, half European, with its eight hundred churches, its thousand bell-towers, and its gilded cupolas glittering in the sun. At this spectacle the French troops were filled with astonishment and admiration. Moscow! Moscow! they cried, and for a moment Napoleon joined in this enthusiasm; a gleam of joy illumined his countenance, and a cry of happiness escaped his lips. Moscow! the reward for so many glorious efforts, the end of so many toils. After a time the French entered the silent streets of this vast city, and were astonished to find them utterly deserted. The inhabitants had quitted it in a body. Napoleon entered the citadel of the Kremlin unresisted. He had believed that Moscow would be the term of his labours, and of the sufferings of his army. It contained great stores, and he resolved to establish his winter quarters there, and enjoy the fruits of his victory. But during the night a frightful conflagration burst forth. Rostopchin, the governor of the city, had determined, when he evacuated it, to make a great sacrifice for the purpose of saving his country. Russia must be lost if the French could find a refuge in Moscow, and at a given signal, therefore, convicts were sent throughout the city, torch in hand, to fire it in a thousand places. Moscow crumbled beneath the flames, and was speedily nothing but a heap of ashes.

Entry of the French army into Moscow, 1812.

Burning of Moscow.

The winter approached, and the French had no asylum against its rigours. Napoleon still flattered himself with hopes of peace. Alexander designedly prolonged the negotiations which were entered upon with this object, and in the meantime signed a treaty with Sultan Mahmoud, the successor of Selim, who had been slain by the Janissaries, which assured him the support of the whole Russian army against Napo-

leon. The negotiations were at length broke off, and Napoleon ordered a retreat, quitting the city at the head of a hundred thousand troops, after a useless delay of forty days. "Your attack is at an end," said old General Kutusof to the French, "and now ours will begin." His army intercepted the old Kalouga route, towards which Napoleon directed his march, and five days after the evacuation of Moscow, on the 25th of October, he fought with the French at Malojaroslawetz a battle which was very bloody and very indecisive, and at the close of which the Emperor was nearly taken by a band of Cossacks in the midst of his staff.* A second battle would have been necessary to open the road to Kalouga, and Napoleon was inclined to fight it; but, yielding to the advice of his generals, he directed the retreat towards Smolensk. The winter suddenly came on with a rigour which was very uncommon even in the heart of Russia; and the French troops, paralysed with cold, were pursued and harassed in their retreat by innumerable enemies, and covered the line of march with their frozen corpses.

The retreat from Moscow.

However, the army continued its march in tolerably good order as far as the Beresina, which it had to cross in the face of Kutusof, Wittgenstein, and Tchitchagof, and their three armies, which occupied and barred all the fords. The river was only partly frozen, and was filled with large masses of drifting ice; and it was necessary to build bridges under the enemy's fire and to fight incessantly. Victor and Oudinot protected the passage of the army, and still performed prodigies of valour; but the French troops, too inferior in number, gave way on the right bank before the army commanded by Wittgenstein, whilst a Russian battery played upon the bridges and opened a chasm in the compact mass of stragglers and unarmed wretches who blocked up the way. Victor succeeded, at length, in driving this terrible battery back, but was himself surrounded on every side and almost crushed, when Fournier and Latour-Maubourg advanced at the head of the cavalry, and breaking through the enemy's centre, set Victor free. The bridges, however, were obstructed by an innumerable number of soldiers of every arm, and an immense quantity of baggage,

Passage of the Beresina.

* After this incident, in order to escape the misfortune of falling alive into the hands of the Russians, Napoleon constantly carried about with him an active poison enclosed in a ring.

and, breaking down, plunged thousands of men into the Beresina. At length, after incredible efforts, the army crossed this formidable barrier; but the moral energy of the greater number of the French troops was destroyed, and the retreat became one vast and fearful rout.

Conspiracy of Mallet, in Paris.

Paris had now been one-and-twenty days without news of the Emperor and the Grand Army, and a political prisoner, General Mallet, supposing that Napoleon was dead, had nearly succeeded in superseding his Government by a *coup-de-main*. The Emperor perceived that his presence was necessary in Paris, for the purpose of defeating such plots and procuring fresh military resources. On the 8th December he left his unfortunate army, which he had placed under the command of the King of Naples, and which Marshal Ney endeavoured to reanimate by his heroic example, exposing his life on every occasion, now as a private soldier, and now as a general.

Desertion of France by the Prussians and Austrians.

The reverses suffered by the French army were followed by desertions. The Prussians, who covered the right of the French army, abandoned Macdonald at Tilsit; and the Austrians, commanded by Schwartzenberg, followed this example, leaving open our left, whilst Murat, the Commander-in-Chief, abandoned his post and deserted. Eugene took the command and reestablished order. France made a supreme effort, and, anticipating by a year the legal age for the conscription, gave a new army to Napoleon, who marched with it to meet Eugene. Austria, seized with fear, renewed its protestations of fidelity, whilst Prussia negotiated with Russia at Kalisch; and England promising Norway to Sweden, obtained the active co-operation of Bernadotte against France. Napoleon, now threatened in every direction, rejoined at Lutzen, on the 30th April, 1813, Eugene and the remains of the Grand Army, and gained with conscripts against the veteran troops of Europe the brilliant victories of Lutzen, Bautzen, and Wurschen. He then renewed his negotiations for peace. It was arranged that a Congress should meet at Prague on the 4th of June, and Napoleon accepted the mediation of Austria, who demanded as the price of her alliance that Napoleon should cede to her the Illyrian provinces; that the duchy of Warsaw should be broken up and divided between Russia, Austria, and Prussia; that the kingdom of Prussia should be reconstructed with a tenable frontier on the Elbe; that the independence of Germany should

Campaign of 1813 in Germany. First successes.

Proposition for a Congress at Prague.

be restored by the abolition of the Confederation of the Rhine, and that the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck should be reestablished as free Hanseatic towns. These conditions were proposed by M. Metternich to the Emperor in a celebrated interview; and although they deprived France of scarcely anything, Napoleon's pride made him hesitate to accept them, and this hesitation was fatal. The Congress was suddenly dissolved without any result, and Austria declared war against France. The allies had five hundred thousand men under Schwartzenberg, Blucher, and Bernadotte, the Prince Royal of Sweden, whilst Napoleon had only three hundred thousand divided into eleven corps under Vandamme, Victor, Bertrand, Ney, Lauriston, Marmont, Reynier, Poniatowski, Macdonald, Oudinot, and Saint-Cyr; the cavalry was commanded by the King of Naples, Latour-Maubourg, Sebastiani, and Kellerman; and Mortier and Nausouty led the guard. These forces were the last hope of France. Wherever Napoleon fought in person he was victorious. He fought the enemy under the walls of Dresden, and was victorious; but Vandamme sustained a terrible check at Kulem, where he was made prisoner and lost ten thousand men. The three sovereigns, Alexander, Francis, and Frederick William, negotiated at Toeplitz a triple alliance. The allied armies grew larger day by day, and many conflicts took place between unequal forces. Oudinot was vanquished at Grosberen, Ney at Dennewitz, Macdonald at Katzbach. The King of Bavaria declared war against Napoleon, and the French troops, surrounded on all sides, retreated to Leipsic. The Emperor now suffered the consequences of his system of oppression. Europe, which for some time had been bowed in the dust before him, now rose *en masse* and prepared to crush him. A terrible battle, which lasted two days, and was the greatest and most murderous of the age, took place under the walls of Leipsic. A hundred and thirty thousand French struggled against three hundred thousand enemies, and they were abandoned by the Saxons, whose old King alone remained faithful to France. This defection compromised the safety of the army, and Napoleon ordered a retreat, which was effected by the only bridge over the Elster. Suddenly, in accordance with an order which was ill understood and too promptly executed, the bridge was blown up before the army had wholly

Napoleon's hesitation.

Dissolution of the Congress.

Battle of Dresden.

Reverses of the French armies.

The battle of Leipsic. Terrible disaster.

passed over, and this disaster decided the fate of the campaign. Fifty thousand men had perished on either side in its frightful battles. Twenty thousand French were taken prisoners in consequence of the destruction of the Elster bridge, two hundred pieces of artillery and an immense amount of baggage fell into the hands of the allies, and a multitude of brave men, including the heroic Poniatowsky, were drowned.

Napoleon retreated upon the Rhine, close pressed by the allied armies. A corps of sixty thousand Austrians and Bavarians, under General Wrede, endeavoured near Hanau to intercept the French retreat, but Napoleon obtained a glorious victory, dispersed the enemy, and encamped his army on the Rhine,* whilst the allies took up a position opposite to him, and selected Frankfort as their head-quarters.

Glorious battle at Hanau.

Spain shook off the rule of France. Two great battles lost there by the latter, Arapiles (Salamanca) by Marmont, in 1812, and Vittoria by King Joseph, in 1813, enabled Wellington to march at the head of a hundred thousand English, Portuguese, and Spaniards to the Western Pyrenees, where Soult, after having struggled gloriously in the Peninsula with very unequal forces, could now only oppose to the enemy fifty thousand troops, who were tried veterans indeed, but worn out by continued reverses. Suchet, with twenty-five thousand men of the army of Aragon, defended the Eastern Pyrenees against forces three times superior.

Continuous misfortunes in the war in Spain, 1812, 1813.

At the end of 1813 the whole of Spain was lost to France, with the exception of a few places which were still held by French garrisons, and Joseph Bonaparte was a King only in name. In this extremity Napoleon did not hesitate to sacrifice his brother's crown, which had been acquired by so much injustice and bloodshed, and in the faint hope† of arresting the progress of the Anglo-Spanish army at the Pyrenees, he engaged, by a treaty signed at Valençay, where he still kept King Ferdinand captive, to acknowledge him as King of Spain and the

Treaty of Valencay.

* Napoleon retreated upon the Rhine with forty thousand armed and sixty thousand unarmed men, leaving on the Vistula, the Oder, and the Elbe, a hundred and sixty thousand Frenchmen, who were condemned to defend foreign walls whilst the walls of their country were no longer defended but by the weak arms of youth and old age.

† Spain and England being allied to each other could only treat in concert, and it was very improbable that the English Government and the Spanish Regency would renounce the advantages they had gained on account of a treaty extorted from a captive prince.

Indies, and to open the doors of his prison as soon as the treaty should be accepted by the Regency at Cadiz and the Cortes.

Magnificent defence of the line of the Adige by Prince Eugene.

Prince Eugene, faithful to France and to misfortune,* still struggled at this period in Italy, and heroically defended the course of the Adige; but his army was reduced to thirty-six thousand men, whilst a hundred thousand Austrians and Germans poured down upon Italy, and the weak Murat, to save his crown, declared against Napoleon.

Deplorable condition of the Empire.

France now found itself threatened on the north and the east with invasion of its ancient boundaries, just as it had been in 1789. But its population was no longer inspired by that enthusiastic spirit which enabled it to keep its territories sacred, and already those who had applauded or consented to the Emperor's elevation held aloof from him. The celebrated historian so often quoted, describes in the following terms the situation of the country at this unfortunate period. "France," he says, "which had been disgusted with liberty by ten years of revolution, was now disgusted with despotism by fifteen years of a military government, and the effusion of blood from one end of Europe to another. The violence of the prefects tearing away the children of the people for the conscription, and those of the higher classes for the guards of honour, torturing, by means of the *garnisaires*, the families whose sons did not join their regiments, employing moveable columns against the refractory conscripts, often treating the French provinces as though they had been conquered provinces, converting pretended voluntary gifts into compulsory imposts, and seizing by means of requisitions, forage, horses, and cattle; a suspicious police, catching up the slightest words uttered against the Government, arbitrarily imprisoning those who were accused of having uttered such, and always assuming the guilt of the accused; a frightful state of misery in the ports, the result of the closing of the seas; and on the land frontiers, where tens of thousands of foreign bayonets prevented the passage of a single bale of merchandize; finally, an indescribable and universal dread of invasion—all these evils, resulting

* Eugene had married a daughter of the King of Bavaria. Being entreated to abandon Napoleon's cause by his father-in-law, who guaranteed him a principality in Italy, he nobly replied that it was possible he might soon have to seek an asylum at Munich, and that he was sure the King of Bavaria would rather receive a son-in-law without a crown than one without honour.

from the arbitrary will of one man, were a cruel lesson, which weakened the remembrance of that which had been taught by the misfortunes of the Revolution, and which, without rendering France republican, rendered it desirous of a liberally constituted Government. All the parties which had been so long forgotten now reappeared, and the Royalists, the partisans of the House of Bourbon, reanimated by hope, excited by the priests, and much more numerous and bold at this period than the Revolutionists, began to speak aloud and to be listened to."*

The functionaries of high position, finding their fortunes threatened, ventured to display a certain degree of independence; whilst the courtiers and old generals, including even Ney, Marmont, and Macdonald, openly spoke of peace as indispensable, and pressed the Emperor to conclude it. A final opportunity presented itself for concluding it advantageously. The Ministers of England, Russia, and Austria—Lord Aberdeen, Nesselrode, and Metternich—assembled at Frankfort, proposed in concert to Napoleon, on the 13th November, the immediate convocation at Mannheim of a congress, for the purpose of negotiating peace on the basis of the reestablishment of the kingdom of France within its ancient limits—the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine—as they had been guaranteed in 1801 by the glorious peace of Luneville.

Proposition of the Powers at Frankfort.

These conditions were more advantageous than Napoleon, after so many disasters, had a right to expect at the hands of irritated and victorious Europe, but his pride would not consent to give way at the proper time. He gave an ambiguous reply to the propositions of the foreign Ministers, and after three weeks' delay, when, being better informed with respect to the distress and state of public feeling in France, he sent in his assent to the proposal made at Frankfort, it was too late. The cry of the neighbouring populations which had been so long oppressed rose against him, and was followed by violent measures. Holland arose in insurrection, and chose the head of the House of Orange for its King; Murat separated his fortunes from those of Napoleon; and Count Pozzo di Borgo, the Emperor's most formidable and determined personal enemy, had enlightened the Sovereigns and their Ministers with respect to the actual state of affairs and public feeling in

Accepted by Napoleon after a long delay. He is too late.

* Thiers' "History of the Consulate and Empire," Vol. xvii. p. 39, 40.

the exhausted empire, and had promulgated an opinion that Europe could have no repose till Napoleon had been torn from his throne. At the same time England, perceiving how readily Holland had freed herself, conceived the hope of depriving Napoleon of Antwerp and Belgium. Thus the opportunity of signing an honourable peace at Mannheim was lost, as it had been six months before at Prague, before the disaster at Leipsic, and by the same causes—the mad obstinacy of an indomitable pride, and an ambitious hope of regaining at once and by a single blow what had been lost by so many faults and reverses.

Distress of France.

Immense resources were now required for the defence of France, which was exhausted both as regarded men and money. The deficiency in the finances amounted to two hundred and forty millions, there was no credit to be obtained, and the Treasury notes, which had been issued in large numbers, were already at a discount of twenty per cent.; and it was necessary to demand many hundred millions, of property which was already overburdened, and six hundred thousand soldiers, of a population which had been mowed down on so many fields of battle. On the 15th November, Napoleon demanded the aid of the Senate alone, which was as servile to him as ever, and granted it without discussion. The Emperor had not ventured to submit his demands to the Legislative Body, not because it was wanting in docility, but because Napoleon perceived that in the existing state of public feeling the members of an elective assembly could not entirely ignore it. He had suspended the elections for the retiring series,* and adjourned the meeting of the assembly. He neglected to conciliate it, and behaved so arbitrarily towards it as even to impose upon it a president who was not one of its own members, in contravention of all propriety and law.† This violent and untimely measure was exceedingly obnoxious to the legislators, who had just arrived from their departments deeply impressed with the spectacle of the public misery, the exhausted state of the country, and the universal discontent; and when Napoleon perceived the necessity of seeking the support of public opinion, he reaped the bitter fruits of so many arbitrary and violent acts. Having assembled the

New demands for men and money.

* The Legislative Body, which was elected for five years, had been divided into five series, of which one was renewed each year.

† Having made Count Molé Minister of Justice in the place of Reynier, Duke of Massa, he appointed the latter to the presidency of the Legislative Corps, of which he was not a member.

Senate and Legislative Corps on the 19th December, he explained to them the necessities and perils of the country, and desired their assistance. The reply of the Senate was moderate and submissive; but the Legislative Corps resolved to make the Emperor hear the just complaints which had been too long repressed, and, on the report of M. Lainé, an advocate of Bordeaux, an upright and eloquent man, it voted, in answer to the speech from the throne, an address in which it demanded, in respectful but firm and distinct terms, the abandonment of conquests and the restoration of a legal form of government.

Submission of the Senate.

Resistance of the Legislative Body.

This opposition, which was moderate though unexpected, was denominated treason by the Emperor, and provoked his wrath. By his orders all the copies of the address were seized; he prorogued the Legislative assembly, and on the following day, the 1st January, received a deputation from that body with a storm of reproaches. From this time parties hostile to the Emperor were formed throughout the empire, and Europe understood from this imprudent outbreak on the part of Napoleon that France no longer supported him as one man.

Imprudent anger of the Emperor.

The whole virile population of the State was summoned to arms; thirty thousand national guards of Paris were mobilised and incorporated with the active army; and the last resources of the nation were called into requisition. Napoleon declared Maria Louisa Regent, confided his wife and child, whom he was destined to see no more, to the national guard, and took the field, after having given the command of the capital to his brother Joseph.

Maria Louisa declared Regent.

The English and Spaniards advanced on the south, and were already at the Pyrenees; whilst the two great armies of the coalition invaded the eastern frontiers. One of the latter, called the army of Bohemia, consisting of sixty thousand men under Schwartzenberg, marched upon France by Switzerland and inundated the Franche-Comté; whilst sixty thousand Russians and Prussians, forming under Blucher the army of Silesia, penetrated into Lorraine and Alsatia after having crossed the Rhine at three points, Mannheim, Mayence, and Coblentz. The northern frontier was also broken into, a hundred thousand Swiss and Germans having already invaded Belgium under Bernadotte. The united strength of these three invading armies on the

Strength of the allied armies.

north and the east, was three hundred and twenty thousand men, and within a few months they were raised to six hundred thousand by the addition of fresh German and Russian corps.

Campaign of France, 1814.

The plan of campaign formed by Schwartzenberg and Blucher was to unite their armies between Chaumont and Langres, and then to advance upon Paris from the angle formed by the Seine and the Marne. It was in the space comprised between these two rivers that Napoleon hoped to stop and vanquish them. He confided to General Maison the defence of the frontier of the north, and that of Lyons to Augereau, and whilst Soult and Suchet still faced the enemy at the Pyrenees, he ordered Marshals Ney, Victor, Marmont, Macdonald, and Mortier to fall back with the feeble remnants of their various corps to the environs of Châlons, where he arrived himself on the 25th January. With all his efforts he could only gather together fifty thousand men, consisting of the veteran remains of his old armies and inexperienced conscripts, with which to meet forces three times as numerous. When fortune seemed already to have abandoned him he showed himself superior even to himself. His boldness and activity increased; and to meet so many perils, he still conceived some of those brilliant ideas which were the first cause of his glory, as of his faults and misfortunes.

Blucher was hastening with his army to meet that of Schwartzenberg, and quitting the course of the Marne for that of the Aube, had advanced on that river as far as Brienne. Napoleon perceived that it was necessary at any price to prevent the junction of the two armies by occupying himself the line of the Aube, and driving back Blucher upon the Marne. With thirty-two thousand men, commanded by Marmont, Ney, Victor, and Lefebvre-Desnouettes, he marched rapidly from Châlons to Saint-Dizier; from thence he pursued Blucher and encountered him under the walls of Brienne,* where he gave him battle and gained a glorious victory. Blucher was dislodged from Brienne with great loss and driven back upon the Rothière, from whence he retreated as far as Tranne. Informed of Blucher's defeat and perilous position, Schwartzenberg turned his columns, which were marching

Battle of Brienne.

* Blucher had already passed Brienne, and was marching upon Arcis, when, upon being informed of Napoleon's march, he retraced his steps for the purpose of stopping him at Brienne.

towards Troyes, to the right, for the purpose of effecting a junction with Blucher opposite the plateau of the Rothière, where the Emperor had halted. At this spot there took place on the 1st February, 1814, a desperate conflict between one hundred and seventy thousand Austrians, Prussians, Russians, and Bavarians, and thirty-two thousand French only, commanded in chief by Napoleon, and under him by Oudinot, Marmont, Victor, and Gérard. The battle lasted eight hours and ended without any decided result; the enemy being unable to carry the positions of the French, but retaining their own. It was necessary to fall back before such formidable masses, and during the night Napoleon effected in good order a retreat upon Troyes.

He received from various directions, and especially from Paris and the armies in Spain, important reinforcements, which raised the number of troops at his disposal to eighty thousand men; but the enemy now had three hundred and twenty thousand, and from all sides came news of fresh disasters. Murat declared openly against Napoleon, and was marching to crush Prince Eugene; the Spanish Regency of Cadiz refused to recognise the treaty of Valençay, as Ferdinand would remain in captivity, and the Anglo-Spanish arms retained a large portion of the French troops on the Adour and Pyrenees. Schwartzenberg and Blucher continued their march, and hostile forces already made their appearance at a few leagues' distance only from the capital. Paris was in consternation, and Maria Louisa, affrighted in the midst of her terrified councillors, had prayers continually offered up in all the churches during forty hours. Napoleon saw around him his generals beaten continually, and the populations of the provinces a prey to the most extreme sufferings; he foresaw at length the fate which awaited him should the allies gain a decisive victory, and he already suffered the cruel strokes of the avenging goad at the reflection of the evils which he had brought upon himself and upon his country. Nothing, however, could crush him. He opposed an indomitable energy to the rigours of fortune, and the anguish of his heart could not obscure his thoughts, which were as ready and lucid as in his happiest days. He made his preparations with marvellous activity; directed his brother Joseph to fortify Paris, to defend it to the last extremity, and to place in safety, if necessary, his wife, his son, and his treasure, behind the Loire; ordered Suchet to

Murat declares against Napoleon.

Energetic measures taken by the Emperor.

withdraw the French troops from Barcelona, and from all the places which they still occupied in Catalonia, and to send them to him without delay; recalled Eugene, ordering him to evacute Italy and to unite his forces with those which Augereau had assembled at Lyons; had the Pope conducted back to Italy,* and set at liberty Ferdinand VII., after having obtained his promise that he would execute the treaty of Valençay; sent Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza, to represent France and to negotiate peace at the Congress of Chatillon;† and at the same time formed an admirable plan of campaign for the purpose of crushing the two great hostile armies. He believed that they would separate, and that he would be able to beat them in turn and drive them back upon the Rhine.

These armies did in fact separate—Blucher taking his own to the right and marching upon Paris by the Valley of the Marne; whilst Schwartzenberg followed the course of the Seine. Napoleon followed them with his eagle glance, and seized the decisive moment for victory. Leaving a portion of his forces in the basin of the Seine, in the environs of Nogent and Montereau, under Victor, Oudinot, and Gérard, to watch and hold in check Schwartzenberg, he threw himself with thirty thousand men, commanded under himself by Ney, Marmont, Mortier, and Lefebvre, upon the army under Blucher. The latter, whilst driving back Macdonald as far as Meaux, marched at an equal distance from the Aube and the Marne, and followed the road which joins Châlons and Ferté-sous-Jouarre, passing by Champ-Aubert and Montmirail. Four days sufficed Napoleon to overtake and vanquish the four corps of this army one after the other. On the 10th of February he engaged and destroyed the Russian corps of Olsouvieff at the glorious battle of Champ-Aubert; on the following day he fought General Sacken, at Montmirail, where he gained a brilliant victory, slaying and taking eight thousand of the enemy; and then, without pausing, he marched upon Château-Thierry, the approaches to which were defended by General Yorck and Prince William of

Napoleon crushes one after another the four corps of the army of Silesia, commanded by Blucher, February, 1814.

* Napoleon sent back the Pope to Italy that he might be a powerful obstacle there to the pretensions of Murat.

† A Congress had been assembled at Chatillon on the demand of England and Austria, for the purpose of considering the conditions of peace. It was the last time that the allied powers would consent to treat with Napoleon. Their demands were not known, but sinister rumours on the subject were abroad.

Prussia with twenty thousand men. Napoleon defeated them, slew a great number of them, made five thousand prisoners, and entered the town, victorious, in pursuit of the enemy, whose retreat was covered by the Marne. Three of Blucher's generals had thus been put to flight, with an immense loss in men, horses, and artillery. It remained to vanquish Blucher himself, who was now advancing with the rest of his army by the Montmirail road. Napoleon, indefatigable, retraced his steps, encountered Blucher at Vauchamps, and there, on the 14th of February, fought with him a desperate battle, vanquished him, took or slew twelve thousand of his troops, and drove him at the sword's point beyond Etoges, six leagues from Châlons.

The army of Silesia was thus completely disorganized and half destroyed, having lost thirty thousand men and a great portion of its artillery. Napoleon thus victorious, resolved to advance without delay from the Marne to the Seine, the passage of which had been forced at Bray by the Grand Army of Bohemia, under Schwartzenberg, who already occupied its two banks from Nogent to Fontainebleau. It marched divided into several corps, of which two held the right bank of the river, the one, under Wittgenstein, at Provins, the other, under De Wrede, at Nangis. The other corps of Schwartzenberg's army occupied Montereau, Bray, and Nogent. Napoleon, with his victorious army, now increased by Macdonald's corps and numerous reinforcements, arrived on the 15th of February at Guignes. On the 17th it assumed the offensive, attacked the enemy, and put him to flight with considerable loss at the battles of Mormont, Nangis, and Villeneuve. It then marched rapidly upon Montereau, where the hill which commands the Seine was occupied by a numerous corps under the Prince of Wurtemberg. There then took place, on the 18th, a furious conflict; the hill was several times taken and retaken, under a terrible fire; at length Generals Gérard and Pajol succeeded in carrying it; the Wurtembergians were precipitated from the plateau into the river, which they repassed after having lost seven thousand men in killed, wounded, or prisoners. Napoleon then threw his cavalry beyond the bridge of Montereau, in search of the Austrian corps under Colloredo, which it was on the point of capturing, but which was protected in its retreat by the Yonne. The Grand Army of Bohemia was thus in its turn completely beaten. Schwartzenberg ordered a retreat

**He repeatedly overcomes the army of Bohemia under Schwartzenberg. February, 1814.**

upon Troyes, which he only passed through, and which Napoleon re-entered as a victor on the 24th of February. In fifteen days he had vanquished two great armies, killed or wounded twenty thousand of the enemy, taken five-and-twenty thousand prisoners, an immense number of cannon, and a multitude of flags.

Proposals of the Congress of Chatillon.

The representatives of the powers at the Congress of Chatillon had by this time drawn up definitive conditions, which might serve as the basis of a treaty of peace, and the Duke of Vicenza immediately transmitted them to the Emperor. According to these France was to re-enter the boundaries within which she had been confined in 1790, and should take no part in the arrangement of the other states of Europe. This was to deprive her of the Rhine and Alp boundary lines, which had been left her by the Frankfort propositions, and of her rank as an European power. Napoleon received these offensive propositions at Montereau in the exultant moment of victory, and, rejecting them with anger and contempt, replied that he would be signing his own disgrace should he sign a treaty which would leave France less great than she was when he received her. It is possible that he might have obtained better conditions if his recent victories had not deceived him with respect to his real condition. He was determined to have the Rhine boundary, which had been offered at Frankfort, and demanded that which his enemies had already resolved not to grant him.

Napoleon rejects them.

It was in vain that he mowed down his enemies by thousands, for Europe, thoroughly aroused and enraged, vomited forth against him ever fresh and inexhaustible floods of battalions, whilst he was being exhausted by his very victories. The grim problem which now had to be resolved could only have two solutions; either the Emperor's sword must be broken in his hands, or he must, by winning some great battle, be enabled to drive back the armies of the coalition upon the Rhine. It was such a battle that he ardently desired to fight, and which Schwartzenberg offered him. This prudent general preferred the postponement of success to the incurring of any risk with so terrible an enemy. He retreated beyond Troyes towards Chaumont and Langres, in order to give time to the armies of Bohemia and Silesia to fill up the vacancies in their ranks and to double their strength, and

Schwartzenberg's plan.

resolved when this should have been accomplished to fall upon the common enemy in concert with these armies, and stifle him in one final and invincible grasp.

Such was the position of the belligerent parties, when, on the proposition of Lord Castlereagh, the allied powers signed at Chaumont a new treaty of alliance, by which each of them engaged to furnish a contingent of a hundred and fifty thousand men until the conclusion of the war, independently of the troops to be furnished by the minor powers, which would raise the general force of the coalition to eight hundred thousand men. England engaged to furnish her contingent in the shape of troops in her pay, and, moreover, offered an annual subsidy of six millions sterling, to be divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. She desired, in fact, by the greatness of her sacrifices and her efforts, to secure to herself the preponderance in the arrangement of the terms of peace, and to ensure the fulfilment of her favourite idea of the establishment of an important kingdom on the northern frontier of France by the union of Holland and Belgium.

Treaty signed at Chaumont by the allied powers.

The powers mutually agreed, moreover, that they would severally keep up, during twenty years after the signature of peace, an army of sixty thousand men, to be at the disposal of that of them whom France should attack. This treaty, so fatal to France, served as the basis of the famous treaty subsequently known by the name of the Holy Alliance. With reference to the proposals made at the Congress of Chatillon, a term was fixed after which, it was declared, the negotiations with Napoleon would be broken off and never renewed. The latter, whilst rejecting the proposals of the Congress with anger, nevertheless endeavoured to deceive the enemy as to his real intentions, and to gain time by ordering Caulaincourt to continue the negotiations, whilst he himself proceeded once more to try the fortune of war.

Blucher, half destroyed, but rivalling the Emperor in energy and activity, had already almost repaired his disasters. He had approached Schwartzenberg and occupied the right bank of the Seine at Méry, when he learned that two numerous corps, numbering together fifty thousand men, under Bulow and Witzingerood, had been detached from Bernadotte's army to reinforce his own,

Arrival of two fresh corps under Bulow and Witzingerood.

and that these troops would arrive by way of Soissons and Reims. To join them the more promptly Blucher again left the army of Bohemia, and marched rapidly from the Seine to the Marne, which he crossed, when he was stopped by Marshals Marmont and Mortier, who were strongly entrenched behind the Ourcq canal. Napoleon perceived with delight that Blucher had again isolated himself, for he hoped to destroy him before he could effect a junction with the corps of Witzingerood and Bulow, and leaving before Troyes, for the purpose of masking his movements, half his army, under the command of Macdonald, Oudinot, and Gérard, he hastened with thirty-five thousand men, commanded by Ney, Victor, and Drouot, in pursuit of a sure prey. He crossed the Marne in his turn, and Blucher found himself enclosed in a perilous position, between the Aisne and the Marne, having on one side the corps of Mortier and Marmont, and on the other Napoleon with the bulk of his army.

Blucher marches towards Soissons to join them.

Napoleon pursues and surrounds Blucher.

The bridge of Soissons over the Aisne was the only outlet by which Blucher could escape, and that city, which was carefully provisioned, was also the only point at which a junction could be effected between Blucher's army and that of Witzingerood and Bulow, who marched to and invested it. Napoleon believed himself certain of victory, when suddenly a calamity as unexpected as fatal overthrew all his hopes. Soissons capitulated, and opened its gates to the enemy. Blucher escaped, effected a junction with Witzingerood and Bulow, and found himself at the head of a hundred thousand men in safety behind the Aisne, which had been an obstacle in his path, and was now his protection. Napoleon, in spite of this cruel reverse, did not yet renounce all hopes of victory. He followed Blucher on the right bank, entered Soissons, and attacked the enemy, who was strongly entrenched on the plateau of Craonne, which extends ever a space of several leagues between Soissons and Laon, and which Blucher defended with all his army. The French army was but half as numerous as that of the enemy, but Napoleon nevertheless ordered the attack, and after the most heroic efforts and a frightful carnage, he gained possession of the heights of Craonne, compelled Bulcher to retreat, and hotly pursued him. But a

Capitulation of Soissons. Junction of the hostile armies.

Battle of Craonne.

more formidable obstacle now presented itself. Blucher, after having rallied his various corps, occupied the country round Laon, and that city itself, which is situated on a rock from whence the eye commands a vast plain. This was a formidable position, and one which it was necessary that the French should carry for the purpose of closing against the enemy the road to Paris; and then there took place during two days a fresh battle more bloody even than the preceding. But it was in vain that Ney, Drouot, Charpentier, Mortier, and Friand rivalled each other in courage; in vain that the heroic guard, formed for the most part of young recruits, seized the faubourgs, and made five desperate assaults on the place under the most terrific fire. An unfortunate manœuvre of Marmont's deprived the French of all chance of success; it was necessary to yield to numbers; and Blucher retained his position. Napoleon now ordered a retreat, and the man who aspired to renew the old Carlovingian empire thus saw his fortunes perish beneath the walls of the ancient city where had expired that of the last descendant of Charlemagne. This forced retreat, after two murderous battles, decided the fate of the campaign, in which Napoleon, with only seventy thousand men, had so long made head against and vanquished three hundred thousand. He had not been able to destroy Blucher at Craonne and Laon, and now Schwartzenberg was approaching. The Emperor saw that he was powerless either to prevent the junction of the enemy's immense armies, or to prevent their combined march upon Paris, and that he was in danger of being stifled in the gigantic arms of the coalition. His genius then conceived a fresh combination, and for the purpose of carrying it out, he ordered his generals to make for the town of Arcis, on the left bank of the Aube, where he arrived the first, and where he suddenly encountered the whole army of Bohemia on its march to join that of Silesia. He had only a portion of his forces at hand, but did not hesitate with twenty thousand men to engage the enemy's ninety thousand. In this extreme peril he displayed indomitable resolution; held in check the enemy's immense army by the marvellous exploits of his guard and his generals, slew nine thousand of them, losing three thousand himself, and established the fact of his victory by retaining his position till the night. But these were useless laurels, and all these prodigies of

Battle of Laon, March, 1814.

Battle of Arcis-sur-Aube, March, 1814.

valour had not rendered Napoleon's position less perilous between the great coalition armies, which were speedily united. Napoleon withdrew with his thirty thousand men by a secret and rapid march to Saint-Dizier, and proceeded to carry out a new plan which he had conceived, and which was, to gather to his own army the garrisons which occupied many places in Alsatia and Lorraine; to cut off the communication of Blucher and Schwartzenberg with Germany and the Rhine, from whence they received their supplies and reinforcements; to entice them in pursuit of himself, or to allow them to march upon Paris; and, whilst they should be seated before the capital, to return against them with a hundred thousand men and annihilate them.

New plan of Napoleon. Rapid march on Saint-Dizier.

But Napoleon deceived himself. Led away by flatterers, the corrupting influence of absolute power, and the complete silence of the press, he did not know to what a degree Paris and France were weary of despotism, and how little probability there was that the Parisians would make an energetic resistance for the purpose of defending a detested government. He had, besides, allowed the fatal period to expire without replying to the proposals of the Congress of Chatillon; the Congress was now dissolved, and the allied Sovereigns had loudly declared that they would treat no more with Napoleon. They were not at war with France, they said, but only with Napoleon, whom they regarded as an insuperable obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe. They had already been invited to Paris by many persons of distinction,* and especially by the former Bishop of Autun, Talleyrand Prince of Benevento, and a dignitary of the empire, and it was to Paris that they resolved to march without delay for the purpose of dethroning the Emperor.

Secret negotiations of Talleyrand with the allied Sovereigns.

France was equally invaded on the south, and the Anglo-Spanish army, consisting of eighty thousand men, had already crossed the Pyrenees, under Wellington. Soult, at the head of a very inferior force, gave them battle at Orthez, and the result was doubtful; but Soult, nevertheless, was compelled to order a retreat, and to fall back upon Toulouse, leaving Bordeaux uncovered. The latter city opened its gates to the English, and on the 12th March declared for the Bourbons with the most enthusiastic manifestations.

The battle of Orthez.

Bordeaux declares for the Bourbons.

* They were transmitted through the Baron de Vitrolles.

Consternation reigned in Paris, which now had only between itself and the two great armies of the coalition the feeble corps of Marmont and Mortier, consisting of no more than fifteen thousand men altogether, and which had fallen back upon Paris, after having sustained a sanguinary defeat at the unfortunate battle of Fère Champenoise. No obstacle now hindered the march of the allies, and on the 29th March their immense columns deployed, and took up positions around the great capital, in which they hoped to avenge the humiliations and defeats of twenty years.

The allied armies encamp around Paris.

No preparations had been made for the defence of the city; no works protected its approaches. The regular troops under Marmont and Mortier, including the depôts of the various corps, did not exceed in number twenty-two thousand. The National Guard, which the suspicious policy of the Emperor had reduced to twelve thousand men, possessed only three thousand muskets, and the people of the faubourgs were completely without arms. Consternation reigned in the immense city, and the Government itself was in a state of profound stupor. The Council of Regency assembled under the presidency of Maria-Louisa, and there King Joseph read the secret orders of the Emperor, which directed the Empress, in case of extreme peril, to retire with her son behind the Loire. Maria-Louisa obeyed, and set out for Blois, carrying with her the King of Rome, then three years old, who asked where he was being taken to, and who, in giving way on this occasion to his infantine grief, seemed to foretell the sad destiny which awaited him.

Retreat of the Regent, Maria-Louisa, to Blois.

The flight of Maria-Louisa completely paralysed the defence. Paris was already invested on every side, and on the following day, the 30th March, the attack commenced. The army of the allies consisted of one hundred and seventy thousand men, to which Paris could only oppose twenty-five thousand, under Marshals Marmont and Mortier, who, strangely and fatally, engaged the enemy outside the walls in a most disadvantageous position, if we consider the disparity in point of numbers. The attack was made at two principal points —on the one side, in front of La Villette, La Chapelle, and Montmartre, and on the other, between Vincennes, Charonne, and the heights of Belleville. It was in the centre of these positions that the contest was the most desperate and sanguinary.

The battle of Paris, March 30, 1814.

A few battalions of the National Guard of Paris, under Marshal Moncey, and the valiant Polytechnic school, vied in courage with the regular troops, and several times repulsed the enemy's columns; but what could a few thousands of men do against two hundred thousand, before a place which was on every side open? The enemy suffered enormous loss, but continued to advance, and the French battalions had to fall back, till Joseph, considering that a longer defence would be impossible, and fearing to fall into the hands of the allies, authorized Marmont to capitulate, and set out for Blois, with all the Ministers of the Imperial Government. The battle lasted till the evening, when at length, to stop the effusion of blood and to spare the capital the horrors of capture by assault, the Marshals capitulated, having obtained a free retreat for their troops, and quitted Paris during the night.

Capitulation of Paris, which is evacuated by the French army.

Napoleon now hurried up, in advance of his troops, and on this fatal night of the 30th he arrived at Fromenteau, near Essone, where he met the advanced guard of the army which had defended the capital, and which had retreated upon Fontainebleau, and where also he was, as it were, thunderstruck at hearing simultaneously of the flight of his Empress and Government to the Loire, of the sanguinary battle which had taken place on the previous evening, the capitulation of Paris, and the retreat of the army. He did not, however, even yet despair of escaping from all his perils, for his sword and his genius remained to him. He formed a new plan. The heroic army which he had preceded would have rejoined him in three days, and he would then have seventy thousand soldiers at his command, with whom he might attack the coalition troops dispersed around Paris and in its neighbourhood. The Parisians, he thought, would arise at his summons, and he might not only annihilate his enemies, but recover by one blow all that he had lost during the campaign. He made his arrangements accordingly, and whilst, to gain time, he ordered Caulaincourt to enter upon negotiations with the allied Sovereigns, he posted on the Essone the corps which had evacuated Paris under the orders of Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, and then proceeded to Fontainebleau, which he made his head-quarters, and where he awaited his army.

Arrival of Napoleon.

He establishes himself at Fontainebleau, and stations his army behind the Essone.

Paris now received within its walls the Allied Sovereigns, at the head of their armies.* Alexander behaved as a generous victor; satisfied with his triumph he endeavoured to please the French and acquire their esteem. Peace was his object, he said, and he had come to obtain it in Paris by overthrowing the man with whom any durable peace was impossible. He desired that France should be powerful and free within her ancient limits, and that she should herself choose her new form of government. He promised to ratify her choice, and that it should be ratified by his allies, who were much less well disposed towards France, but who were not powerful enough to oppose him. As a pledge of his favourable disposition towards France, Alexander, when he received, at the Château of Bondy, the Municipal Council of Paris, acceded to the wish it expressed that it might continue to superintend the city police, and that the inhabitants might be released from the burden of lodging the allied troops. The day following the capitulation of Paris, the 31st March, he entered the capital, together with the King of Prussia, at the head of the allied armies. He appeared to listen with favour to some noisy demonstrations in favour of the House of Bourbon, and alighted at the hotel of Prince Talleyrand, the most active as well as the most powerful of all who endeavoured to restore the crown to that ancient dynasty.

Benevolent disposition of Alexander.

Entry of the Allied Sovereigns into Paris, March 31, 1814.

A single constituted body, the Senate, alone seemed at this time, in spite of the discredit into which it had fallen, to express a will in the name of the nation; but the Senate, habituated to tremble in the presence of an absolute master, did not consider that he was yet sufficiently low to be safely abandoned. Alexander perceived that it was necessary to dissipate any idea that Napoleon's fortunes would revive, and with this intention he published, in the name of the Allied Sovereigns, a celebrated declaration that they would never negotiate with Napoleon Bonaparte or with any member of his family, that those Sovereigns would recognise and guarantee the constitution which France should choose for herself, and that the Senate was invited to form a provisional government to provide for the government of the country and to prepare the new constitution.

* These sovereigns were the Emperor of Russia, Alexander, and the King of Prussia, Frederick William. The position of the Emperor of Austria in his son-in-law's capital would have been too difficult; he had halted, therefore, at Dijon.

Nomination of a provisional government by the Senate.

The Senate ventured, upon this, to respond to the invitation which had thus been made to it. It appointed a provisional government of five members, who were—the Prince de Talleyrand, the Duke de Dalberg, General Beurnonville, the Abbé de Montesquiou, and M. de Jancourt. The new government immediately formed a ministry by appointing, with the title of Commissaries General, for the finances, Baron Louis, a man of vigorous mind, more fit than any one to establish public credit; for war, General Dupont, an excellent officer, who was unfortunately celebrated in connexion with the capitulation of Baylen; for the interior, M. Beugnot, an old imperial official; for foreign affairs, a distinguished diplomatist, M. de la Forest; for justice, M. Henrion de Pansey, an upright magistrate; and, as minister for naval affairs, one of the wisest and most enlightened members of the Constituent Assembly, M. Malouet. An old staff-officer, General Dessolles, was appointed to the command of the National Guard of Paris.

The Senate pronounces the dethronement of Napoleon.

On the following day, the 2nd April, the Senate proceeded to declare Napoleon's dethronement. It had been the servile accomplice of all the arbitrary and violent acts which it now attributed as crimes to the man whose fall it decreed; and the better to make this fact forgotten it appeared to forget it itself. Napoleon, it said, had oppressed private and public liberty, had arbitrarily imprisoned citizens, suppressed the public press, levied men and taxes in a manner contrary to the law, spilt the blood of France in foolish and useless wars, covered Europe with dead bodies, and violated all the laws by virtue of which he had been called to the throne. For these reasons the Senate declared Napoleon deprived of the throne, and released all French subjects from their oaths of fidelity to him and his family.

Napoleon, however, still had powerful resources at his command—the army under Augereau at Lyons, the armies of Soult and Suchet in the south, that of Eugene in Italy, and seventy thousand men, under his own direct command at Fontainebleau. On learning that Paris was in the power of the coalition, and that his dethronement had been decreed by the body whose adulation towards him had hitherto been unbounded, his genius became stimulated by despair and gloomy rage. He felt sufficiently strong to recover his sceptre by some wondrous victory, or to bury his enemies with himself beneath the ruins of Paris; and he determined upon

one of those supreme actions which send thunderous echoes through the ages. But an obstacle which he had not foreseen completed the destruction of his fortunes, and struck from his hand his hitherto invincible sword.

In the midst of his reverses, as in the midst of his triumphs, Napoleon was loved and worshipped by his soldiers. The latter imputed all his misfortunes to treason, and could not understand that it was possible he could be vanquished at their head. When the Emperor reviewed the various corps as they arrived at Fontainebleau, the private soldiers and non-commissioned officers saluted him with enthusiastic acclamations, waving their weapons, and demanding to be led on to Paris. Their enthusiasm, however, was not shared by the superior officers, who, having grown old in the midst of innumerable battles, satiated with glory and honours, and weary of following during so many years across the whole of Europe, from the Tagus to the Baltic, from the Nile to Moscow, an imperious master whose insatiable ambition had ever rendered it impossible to enjoy the rewards he had showered upon them, now saw all that they had won slipping from their grasp. They feared to risk the remnant of their fortunes by a useless and desperate resistance; and feared even to obtain a victory, which could but be the prelude of a fresh series of adventures, and which could but be obtained at the risk of seeing their houses, their families, and their dearest interests buried beneath the ruins of the capital in flames. Summoned to a council of war by the Emperor, at the moment when the whole of the army had been assembled and was ready to march, they did not hesitate to declare to Napoleon, that if he persisted in his desperate enterprise he must not reckon upon their assistance. He understood them, and could no longer indulge in any illusion. Finding himself alone, surrounded by Europe in arms, and on the point of being abandoned by the illustrious companions with whom he had so often been victorious, his resolution gave way. He offered to abdicate in favour of his son, who would reign under the regency of his mother, and sent Caulaincourt, Ney, Macdonald, and Marmont* to Paris, to negotiate on this new basis.†

Spirit of the army and its leaders at Fontainebleau.

The marshals refuse the Emperor their aid in marching on Paris.

* "His real object," says M. Thiers, "was to gain two or three days, and then to break off these negotiations with the sword."

† The former was then at Essone, but Napoleon authorized Ney and Macdonald to take him with them if they should think it necessary.

Napoleon did not as yet know all the peril of his position, and whilst he believed that he was only threatened by the refusal of his marshals to assist him, one of them had already betrayed him. Faithless to his duty and the honour of a soldier, Marmont, seduced by the pressing solicitations of Talleyrand, and the offer of a splendid fortune under the Bourbons, had secretly arranged with Schwartzenberg to surrender to him the important position which he occupied at Essone, and which covered Fontainebleau, the Emperor, and the army. Without absolutely revoking this promise, he suspended its execution whilst he went with his colleagues to defend at Paris the cause of Maria Louisa and the King of Rome, and reserved to himself the right of acting according to circumstances. But whilst he was negotiating in Paris his generals hastened to execute the first orders which he had given them, quitted their positions, and marched the sixth corps, which was composed of their troops, to Versailles.* This sudden defection of a third part of the army put an end to all debate with respect to the abdication of Napoleon in favour of his son and the Regency of Maria Louisa. Alexander told Caulaincourt and the marshals that Napoleon must make an unconditional abdication, and that, in return, he should be treated with all due consideration. The negotiators were consequently sent back to Fontainebleau to demand and obtain such an abdication.

Treason of Marmont, Duke of Ragusa.

Defection of the sixth corps.

When informed of the treason of Marmont, and the defection of the sixth corps, Napoleon gave no outward sign of the poignant emotions which tore his iron soul. Pride enabled him to conceal his grief and anger. Marmont, his old fellow-pupil, upon whom he had showered the greatest favours, whom he had called his child, and whom he had brought up under his own tent, was the only man, said the Emperor, whom he could not have believed capable of betraying him. He did not deceive himself with respect to the consequences of this defection. With the forces which still remained under his command, he could, doubtless, by retiring upon the Loire, prolong a sanguinary conflict; but it could only

* The troops of the sixth corps discovered at Versailles that the Emperor was betrayed, and, rising against their generals, demanded to be led back to Fontainebleau; Marmont, however, at the request of the allied sovereigns, hastened to quell this revolt, and the defection of the sixth corps was complete. "By his conduct at Versailles," says M. Thiers, "Marmont took upon himself the whole responsibility of this unfortunate occurrence, and must bear the burden of it in the eyes of posterity.

be at the price of the greatest evils, and with little hope of saving his crown, or of recovering for France her frontiers. He resigned himself to his fate, therefore, and signed his abdication. Then, summoning around him his marshals, who had been impatient to obtain it, he addressed to them a few sad and serious words, and read to them his deed of abdication, which he had drawn up in this form—"The allied powers having declared that Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oaths, renounces for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy, because there is no personal sacrifice, even to that of his life, which he would not be ready to make in the interests of France." Napoleon gave this document to Caulaincourt to exchange it in Paris for one in which should be set forth the fate reserved for himself and his family.

Napoleon signs his abdication.

The Senate had already, in anticipation of Napoleon's abdication, voted for France a Constitution by which it voluntarily recalled to the throne, under the title of the King of the French, Louis-Stanislas Xavier, the brother of Louis XVI., and conferred upon him the hereditary royalty, with the reservation that he was not to be possessed of it until he should have taken an oath faithfully to observe the new Constitution. The latter, styled the Senatorial Constitution, established on the throne an inviolable King, the sole depository of the executive power, which he was to exercise by means of responsible ministers, and who was to share the legislative with two chambers; an hereditary one, consisting for the most part of the members of the Senate, and an elective one. It also provided for an irremovable magistracy, liberty of worship, individual liberty, and the liberty of the press. These main articles, which, with many others, were repeated in the Constitutional Charter granted by Louis XVIII., were in accordance with the necessities of the times, and consecrated the principles of 1789, which had been generally admitted by the wisest members of the Constituent Assembly. Immediately after the publication of the Senatorial Act, the Provisional Government drew up, at the urgent request of Alexander, a treaty which assigned the island of Elba to Napoleon in full sovereignty, gave Parma and Piacenza to the Empress and the King of Rome, promised a principality to Eugene, and finally bestowed incomes on Napoleon and his family. This treaty, which was signed on the 11th of April by the

Senatorial Constitution summons to the throne the chief of the House of Bourbon.

The treaty of the 11th of April.

ministers of the allied sovereigns, and by Talleyrand in the name of the Royal Government, was immediately exchanged for the Emperor's deed of abdication; and on the following day Count d'Artois, the brother of Louis XVIII., entered Paris, when the white flag was substituted for the tricolour. The Prince received a cordial welcome from the National Guard, and large groups of royalists greeted him with the most enthusiastic shouts. The news of Napoleon's abdication had not yet reached the armies of the West and South, when, on the 10th of April, the very day before that on which was signed the treaty which declared the lot awarded to the Emperor and the Imperial family, a sanguinary battle took place under the walls of Toulouse, between the French army of Marshal Soult, consisting of only thirty-six thousand men, and sixty thousand English, Spaniards, and Portuguese commanded by Wellington. Fifteen days sufficed our soldiers for the formation of a vast entrenched camp around the city, and in the very face of the enemy. Wellington ordered an attack, and his troops, which were at first repulsed, only regained the advantage by means of their superior numbers, and at length succeeded in forcing the positions of the French army; when the latter fell back upon Villa-Franca for the purpose of joining the army of Marshal Suchet, having lost about three thousand five hundred men before Toulouse, and inflicted a still greater loss on the enemy.

Entry of the Count d'Artois into Paris, April 12th, 1814.

Battle of Toulouse, April 10th, 1814.

What could avail the heroic efforts of a few thousands of men isolated at the extremity of the kingdom, when destiny had already declared against their Emperor. The treaty of the 11th of April had already been executed by all the allied powers, one signature alone, that of the Emperor, being yet wanting; and on the evening of that very day it was demanded. But Napoleon hesitated. In the course of the night he had had with Caulaincourt a final interview, in which, regarding his career as finished, he seemed to have freed his soul from all the veils of passion, and to be enabled to judge of new circumstances, and himself, with the most perfect lucidity. His vast mind passed in review the whole course of his existence. After having cast a retrospective glance on his greatness and his glory, he fathomed the depth to which he had fallen; perceived that he himself had been the chief cause of his fall, and acknowledged his faults, the melan-

Napoleon hesitates to sign the treaty of April 11th.

His last interview with Caulaincourt.

Sorrowful reflections.

choly result of an ambition which the whole world could not have satisfied, and of an unbounded pride which now found itself compelled to accept a barren rock in the Mediterranean in exchange for the noblest empire in the universe. And this was not all; for he left France diminished in size and exhausted, and had not even been able to preserve its glorious flag. Was it for this, then, that he had been victorious in all the capitals of Europe, that he had humiliated so many kings, broken up so many empires, gained so many bloody victories, decimated several generations, spilt the blood of three millions of men, and assumed the responsibility of innumerable calamities? To these poignant recollections were added gloomy anticipations of shameful outrages at the hands of the exasperated populations of the Southern provinces which he would have to traverse on his way to exile; and his stoicism abandoned him, life appeared to him insupportable. He bade adieu to Caulaincourt, thanked that faithful friend for the unalterable devotion he had displayed towards him when so many others had abandoned him; gently dismissed him; and then, remaining alone, resolved to preserve himself by suicide from his frightful fate, and the humiliating necessity of signing his own dethronement and that of his descendants.

Napoleon had now recourse to the poison with which he had provided himself during the Moscow campaign as a security against falling alive into the hands of the Russians, and which he had carefully preserved as a last resource. He prepared it with his own hands, drank it, and threw himself upon a couch in the belief that he should never rise again. But his attempt was in vain, for the lapse of time had diminished the virulence of the poison, and, after a violent crisis he fell into a deep lethargy which calmed his despair and dissipated the symptoms of approaching death. It is said that, when the Emperor awoke, astonished at finding himself alive, he remained for some moments pensive, and then exclaiming "God does not will it," resigned himself to his new destiny.* He placed without further resistance his signature to the treaty, and some days later, on the 20th of April, at Fontainebleau, in the presence of the Foreign Commissioner charged with the care of his person, took leave of his brave army. Having traversed his apartments, followed by the Dukes of Vicenza and Bassano, his faithful Generals, Drouot, Bertrand, and Belliard, Baron

Vain attempts of the Emperor to commit suicide.

* A manuscript of 1814, by Baron Fain, Napoleon's private secretary.

Fain, his secretary, and a few superior officers, the last remains of a Court which had been the most brilliant in Europe, he hastily descended the staircase, and advancing into the midst of his guard, which were ranged in a circle round the palace courtyard, he gazed with emotion on those veteran warriors, and said to them, "Soldiers, my old companions in arms, whom I have always found on the road to glory, we must at length part. I could have remained longer in the midst of you, but it must have been at the price of a cruel struggle, of the addition, probably, of a civil war to a foreign war, and I could not resolve to distract any longer the bosom of France. Enjoy the repose which you have so justly earned, and be happy. As for me, do not pity me. I have a mission still to perform, and to fulfil it I consent to live. This mission is to recount to posterity the great things which we have done together. Adieu, my children! I would willingly press each of you to my heart, but I can at least embrace your flag." At these words, General Petit, who carried the flag, advanced, and presented the eagle. Napoleon pressed the General and the flag against his breast, and the troops burst into tears and sobs. Napoleon, deeply moved, made an effort over himself, and in a firmer voice said, "Yet once more, my old companions, adieu! Let this kiss pass into your hearts!" He then threw himself into his carriage, and set out for the island of Elba, which was bestowed upon him in full sovereignty, and whither he was preceded by a battalion of his guard. He arrived at his destination on the 4th of May, after a painful journey through the departments of the South, through the midst of populations whom long and cruel wars had exasperated, and who did not spare the illustrious exile the insults he had too truly anticipated.

Napoleon's farewell to his guard.

His departure for the island of Elba, April 20th, 1814.

Thus fell, a first time, the colossus of power and of glory which had governed France fourteen years, and had for some time seen almost the whole Continent submissive to his laws. It had been given to no man to attain a more brilliant destiny, and no one ever had greater influence over Europe. Great as a general, and great as a statesman, he had raised France to an extraordinary position in the eyes of foreigners by means of his victories; but he had done more for her by means of his pacific works than by his conquests, for he had restored order to her society; and it is the re-establishment by him of public worship, the civil code, the

reorganization of the judicial and administrative powers, and the favour which he showed towards merit and talent, which are his most glorious titles to the admiration of posterity. Napoleon was endowed with an astonishing strength of will, and, as was the case with Louis XIV., when his genius sought for its inspirations in the necessities and wishes of the nation, it produced only fortunate and durable results. But his activity, fertile in great achievements, was stimulated by a devouring ambition, which was as unscrupulous as it was boundless; and it is worthy of remark that, whenever his actions were not in accordance with morality or the true interests of France, they were disastrous to himself, and paved the way to his fall. Too confident, however, in his genius and his power, he isolated himself from public opinion by repressing its expression with unheard-of violence, and thus deceived himself with respect to the resources which the nation could afford him in the time of his adversity. At the point at which this history has now arrived Napoleon had fallen, but his part was not yet played out. The giant was to rise once more, and by his second fall once more shake the world.

# BOOK IV.

## FIRST PERIOD OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND PARLIAMENTARY MONARCHY.

First Restoration—Reign of Louis XVIII.—Grant of the Charter of 1814—Return of Napoleon—The Hundred Days—The Second Restoration—Continuance and End of the Reign of Louis XVIII.—Reign of Charles X.—Revolution of July—Charter of 1830—Accession of Louis Philippe.

1814-1830.

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## CHAPTER I.

### FIRST RESTORATION.—THE HUNDRED DAYS.

*April*, 1814—*July*, 1815.

When a political restoration is effected after a very long period, the princes in whose favour it is accomplished have too frequently become strangers to the new ideas and manners of the nation which they are called upon to govern. Their affections and preferences are for the persons and circumstances of a period the remembrance of which is intimately bound up in their minds with that of their old grandeur and prosperity, and it is very difficult for them not to regard with distrust or aversion everything which is the fruit of the ideas to which they attribute their misfortunes. The new generation, whose interests are allied with the new order of things, regard these natural sentiments and prejudices as a crime, whilst the party whose wishes have led to the re-establishment of the fallen dynasty is filled with the idea that there must necessarily be a strict uniformity be-

tween its own desires and those of the princes whose restoration it has hailed. From thence there arise, on the one side, foolish hopes, imprudent threats, rash projects, and on the other, gloomy anxiety, disaffection, and conspiracies. When to these sources of civil disturbances there are added, in the minds of the people, the feeling of humiliation inseparable from the restoration which has been accomplished, and when the restoration is preceded by great national disasters, and is supported by foreign bayonets, then, before a word has been uttered, or a single fault been committed, it may be considered certain that formidable resistance and peril are imminent. Such were the unfortunate circumstances that, in 1814, accompanied the restoration of the Bourbons, and before any of the members of that family had set foot on the soil of France, it was possible to foresee the obstacles which they would have to overcome and the storm which was ready to burst over their heads.

Royal family.

The head of the Royal house, Louis Stanislas Xavier, whom the Senate called upon to reign under the name of Louis XVIII., was endowed with a judicious mind, and was quite capable of appreciating the spirit of his age. He had acquired in his youth, as Count de Provence, a certain popularity by voting, in the second assembly of the Notables, for the double representation of the third estate; and he had, moreover, whilst in exile, nobly resisted the republic, and protested against Napoleon by claiming his rights to the crown. Driven from the Continent, he had found an honourable asylum in England, where he had long since lived at Hartwell with a few friends, when the disasters suffered by the French army opened to him the path to the throne. Most of the members of his family, Monsieur, the Count d'Artois, his brother, the Dukes d'Angoulême and de Berry, sons of Monsieur, and finally, the two princes of the house of Condé, the father and grandfather of the unfortunate Duke d'Enghien, had only made themselves known by their vain efforts to triumph over the Revolution by means of civil war and foreign arms. Alone of all the princes of the House of Bourbon, the Duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, had borne the national colours and fought the enemies of France. Amongst the members of the Royal family specially to be distinguished was the daughter of Louis XVI. and Marie-Antoinette, married to her cousin the Duke d'Angoulême, a princess worthy, by reason of the greatness of her soul and of her misfortunes, of deep and universal interest, but who had too

much to forget and to pardon to enable a large portion of the nation to regard her return to French territory without anxiety.

The Count d'Artois had preceded, as we have already seen, the King, his brother, and had entered Paris on the 12th April with the title of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. Some happy sayings which fell from his lips disposed public opinion in his favour; "there is nothing changed in France," he said on disembarking at Calais. "There is only one Frenchman the more." And this *mot* had received an immense and most favourable echo. The Prince invited the provisional government to form his council, to which were added three fresh members, who were Marshals Oudinot and Moncey, and General Dessoles, who had formerly been General Moreau's chief of the staff. This council, which was named the Upper Royal Council, set to work as soon as it was constituted, and the government of the Bourbons commenced.

Nomination of the superior royal Council.

The first care of the Prince and his councillors was to afford some immediate relief to the provinces devastated by war, and still occupied by the enemy. The prompt evacuation of the French territory by the enemy was, in their eyes, the first measure to be effected towards this end; but it was evident the allies would not evacuate the soil of France until the French troops had evacuated the numerous places which they occupied on their own territories.

These fortresses, fifty-three in number, contained, besides their garrisons, an immense amount of *matériel*, and some of them, such as Antwerp, Flushing, Mayence, Magdeburg, Mantua, Alexandria, Venice, and Hamburg, were accounted the best in Europe. The Royal Council, however, did not hesitate to hasten the abandonment of these places for the purpose of obtaining the prompt liberation of the French soil from foreign occupation; and with this praiseworthy object it signed a burdensome convention, by which France undertook to surrender to the allied powers, within the briefest possible space of time, all the places which her troops still occupied on their several territories, with all the *matériel* of war which they contained, in return for the immediate release of the soil of France from foreign troops.

Burdensome Convention of April 23.

This convention, which had been dictated by an irresistible necessity, but which unfortunately deprived France of so many precious pledges

before the concession of a general peace, was signed on the 23rd of April. On the following day Louis XVIII. arrived in his kingdom, and was received by General Maison at Calais, which he entered amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the populace, and from whence he set out for Paris.

Landing of Louis XVIII. at Calais.

Jealous of his hereditary privileges, the King would not acknowledge that the Senate had a right to impose a constitution upon him; but nevertheless, yielding to the earnest representations of the Emperor Alexander and the advice of Talleyrand, he preceded his entry into his capital by a celebrated declaration, dated at Saint-Ouen, by which he guaranteed to France the liberties promised by the Senatorial Constitution. On the following day, the 3rd May, the King, the Duchess d'Angoulême, and most of the Princes of the family of the Bourbons entered Paris in solemn procession. No foreign soldier appeared in the royal cortége, which was escorted by the old guard, on whom much of the public interest centred, and whose air of deep melancholy contrasted strongly with the popular joy. The cry of "Vive la garde!" was often mingled with that of "Vive le Roi!" Louis XVIII., however, received everywhere a warm reception, for the declaration of Saint-Ouen began a new era for France; reliance was placed on the royal promises, and the hearts of the people were open to hope.

Declaration dated Saint-Ouen.

Solemn entry of Louis XVIII. into Paris, May 3, 1814.

The King confirmed in its attributes the consultative superior council established by his brother under the name of the Royal Council, and in subordination to which another council, that of the Ministers, exercised the executive power. Two very different and opposite tendencies speedily became visible, and it was perceived with anxiety that, together with many very eminent men sincerely attached to the Constitution, there sat some who were very opposed to the liberal spirit, and who had been selected by the monarch on account of personal liking or of services rendered before the Revolution. Of this latter number were Dambray, who had been made Chancellor of France and Keeper of the Seals, the Abbé Montesquiou, Minister of the Interior, and the Count de Blacas, Minister of the King's Household. General Dupont was Minister for War; Talleyrand, for Foreign Affairs; Malouet, for the Naval Department; Baron Louis, of Finance; and Beugnot, of Police.

The first Ministers of the Restoration, 1814.

Active negotiations for the establishment of peace were immediately commenced, and it was concluded on the 30th May, 1814, by a treaty signed at Paris, by which France was restricted to the limits within which she had been confined in 1790. A slight extension of territory was given her on the northern frontier, which was increased by the addition of three places—Philippeville, Marienburg, and Sarrelouis ; she retained the boundaries of Avignon and Montbelliard, and, in the east, obtained a portion of the Pays de Gex, near Geneva, and half Savoy, including Auncey and Chambery. She had to surrender three of her colonies—Santa-Lucia, Tobago, and the most important of her possessions in the Indian Sea—the Isle of France. The firm resistance of the King and his Council relieved the kingdom from any war contribution, and Paris retained in its museums the works of art which had been exacted from all the countries of Europe by her victories. It was agreed that France should pay twenty-five millions to the allies as an indemnity for them, and finally, that the vessels constructed by order of her Government in foreign parts should be divided between herself and the Allied Powers. Shortly after the signature of the treaty of Paris, the French soil was freed from the presence of foreign troops.

Treaty of Paris, 1814.

On the 4th June the King convoked the Senate and the legislative body, which had been violently dissolved by Napoleon, and on the same day, in their presence solemnly bestowed upon the French a constitutional charter, which was in the main a repetition of the Senatorial Constitution and the declaration of Saint-Ouen, and which established a representative government composed of a King and two Chambers, one of which consisted of peers nominated by the monarch, whilst the other consisted of the deputies of departments.* It abolished confiscation and the odious conscription law, secured individual liberty, the freedom of the press and

* It was understood that the King would choose from amongst the senators for the composition of the Chamber of Peers such as could make a suitable appearance there, and that those of the senators who should not be made members of that Chamber should retain their incomes. The peers were to be nominated for life or rendered hereditary as the King pleased. The second chamber, or Chamber of Deputies, consisted of the whole legislative body, and was to be renewed annually by a fifth part of its members. It was determined, moreover, that the latter should be chosen by the electoral colleges by electors paying direct taxes to the amount of three hundred francs, and should be selected from amongst persons paying direct taxes to the amount of a thousand francs. The two chambers were to be convoked every year. The King might dissolve that of the Deputies, but in this case he was bound to convoke a new one within the space of three months.

of public worship, the inviolability of property, the irrevocability of the sales of the national property, the responsibility of the ministers, the annual voting of taxes, and the payment of the interest on the national debt, and re-established the old nobility in their rights whilst it maintained those of the new. This charter, which was to be sworn to by the Kings of the French at the period of their consecration, fulfilled in general the wishes expressed during the preceding twenty-five years by the most enlightened men in France. Immediately after it had been read the Chancellor produced the decree which established the Chamber of Peers, which was composed of most of the old Senators, of the Marshals, and a great number of dignitaries of the old court and noblesse.

The promulgation of this charter was accompanied by one serious fault. The King had refused to accept it as a condition of his elevation to the throne, and had granted it simply as an act of his sovereign will, and had dated it the nineteenth year of his reign. This was to ignore all that had taken place in France during twenty-five years, and to expose the charter to peril by placing it at the mercy of the supreme power. In fact, if the prince who granted this constitution only regarded it himself as a benevolent act emanating from his own good pleasure and sole authority, it was to be feared that an ill-advised king might some day think himself at liberty to revoke it by virtue of the same hereditary and inalienable authority. The first results of this fault were, to exaggerate the premature anxiety of some, and to inflame the audacious hopes of others, and it is to it that are to be attributed the misfortunes by which the revolution was accompanied.

Dangers of the situation.

The dangerous nature of the ground on which the monarch rested his power soon became manifest. A number of persons who had been dissatisfied with the return of the Bourbons, were persuaded that the latter, whilst accepting, in spite of themselves, the state of things created by the Revolution, did not regard it as an irrevocable fact. They received the new order of things with distrust, and the press, implacable and violent, spread abroad their alarms and threats. But whilst the authorities, arbitrarily interpreting one of the articles of the constitution, subjected the journals which did this to a censorship, the partisans of the old order of things indulged in their own journals in violent enunciations of their own views, and, as always happens when the liberty of the press is suspended, the intem-

perate articles which it did not suppress were attributed to the instigation of the Government. Imprudent expression frequently escaped the lips of the ministers and government officials, and those who assumed as exclusively their own the name of Royalists exploded in bitter invectives not only against the charter and its guarantees, but also against its royal author, whom they accused of having behaved unjustly and ungratefully towards the emigrants by declaring the sale of the national property irrevocable. It was, in other respects, almost impossible that the King, in spite of his experience and intelligence, should not sometimes yield to old prejudices, and submit to the influence of less enlightened and less prudent members of his family, as well as to that of the men who had returned with him from exile, and who possessed his confidence. The latter, through the King's partiality or by virtue of their ancient titles, obtained most of the great offices of the crown, and surrounded the monarch in a close circle. Louis XVIII. committed the fault of re-establishing at a great expense the old military appendages to the Royal Household, the companies of household troops and the musqueteers, which were composed of young men of family, who were all recognised as officers at the commencement of their career, in the presence of an army in which during twenty years military rank had only been obtained at the price of blood and glorious services.

Reactionary decrees.

Many decrees were issued which were either offensive to the army and the people, or peddling and vexatious. Expiatory mourning was ordered for the Royal victims of the revolutionary storms, and in the language of official proclamations as well as in that of the pulpit, the whole of France seemed to be incessantly accused of the atrocities committed during the reign of terror. The clerical party ordered the police to prevent any commercial transactions or labour on Sundays and fête days; a measure which was praiseworthy in principle, but rendered untimely and unpopular by the manner in which it was carried into effect. The suppression of the Concordat was negotiated at Rome, and there seemed reason to fear that the clergy would be reinstated in their old privileges. Many priests expressed hopes of recovering their titles and domains, and thundered against the present proprietors of the national property; and finally, many bishops openly expressed their adherence to the bull of Pope Pius VII. which re-established the order of the Jesuits. The army, stationed in obscure

garrisons, bemoaned its old eagles, which were now replaced by the fleurs de lis, and wrathfully hid the tricolour under the white cockade. It found itself deprived by General Dupont of a multitude of officers who had grown old in its ranks, and who were succeeded by men whose only title to honours of command was their birth or services in foreign ranks. The new comers, full of memories of the old monarchy, spoke of the white plume of Henry IV. and the Christian virtues of Saint Louis to men who had followed Napoleon to all the capitals of Europe, but who were for the most part ignorant even of the names of Saint Louis and Henry IV.

Irritation and anxiety filled the breasts of all whose interests allied them virtually with the Revolution, and they formed two powerful parties; the Imperialist party, which was supported by almost the whole of the army, and whose leaders intrigued in Paris under the auspices of Queen Hortense, the daughter of the Empress Josephine and the wife of Louis Bonaparte; and the Revolutionary or Republican party, filled with ardent men, and sympathized with by most of those who were now in possession of the national property. Opposite to these parties was a third, not the least dangerous of the three, and which was entitled the Ultra-Royalist party, and was led by Monsieur, the King's brother. The Counts Blacas and Vaublanc were its most active members, and, together with Monsieur, never ceased to urge Louis XVIII. to unpopular acts, which were as contrary to the spirit of the charter as to the monarch's personal inclinations. This party, supported by the most of the old noblesse and the clergy, had ramifications in La Vendée, Brittany, and Anjou, and was strongly sympathized with in some cities of the south, such as Lyons, Toulouse, Nîmes, and Avignon, and especially in the maritime cities of Bordeaux and Marseilles, whose commerce had been ruined by the Revolution and the Empire. Finally, a fourth party, named the Constitutional party, consisted of all the men whose wishes and necessities were satisfied by the charter, and who, sufficiently enlightened to perceive the difficulties inseparable from the existing state of affairs, believed that they would be triumphed over in the course of time by the firmness of the people and the wisdom of the King. This party, at the head of which were La Fayette, Royer-Collard, Lanjuinais, Carnot, Benjamin Constant, Madame de Staël, the Duke de Broglie, Boissy d'Anglas, &c.,

Political parties.

and which was supported by the National Guard of Paris, was powerful amongst the citizens of the chief cities and had the majority in the two chambers. The latter assembled on the 4th June, Chancellor Dambray being the president of the first, that of the Peers, and M. Lainé that of the second, and proceeded with their labours, in the midst of many obstacles, with resolution and perseverance. Public opinion in Paris acknowledged their persevering efforts to keep in a constitutional course a Government which had been composed, as we have seen, of so many different elements.

Legislative Session of 1814.

Amongst the men who, in the King's Council, rendered the greatest services to the country, Baron Louis, the Minister of Finance, occupied the foremost place. His system was based on the principle of paying the debts of the kingdom, and even those of the empire, in full, and on the maintenance of the existing taxes, including the *droits réunis*, the most objected to of all the taxes, and which Count d'Artois had given reason to hope would be suppressed when he landed on the French coast. The Minister supported this system with as much talent as energy, and presented to the two Chambers the budget for the present year, which amounted to six hundred millions. He created resources by means of numerous economies and financial combinations of great skill, and had the honour of being, in France, the true founder of public credit. The two Chambers adopted the Minister's measures, which were demanded by an imperious necessity ; but their execution was accompanied by much suffering, for it was necessary, for economy's sake, to suppress a multitude of offices, and to reduce to half-pay a number of good officers who overflowed Paris and moved its inhabitants by their complaints and their wretchedness, whilst extreme irritation was caused by the continuation of all, even the most vexatious taxes, the suppression of which had been either promised or hoped.

Financial scheme of Baron Louis.

The censorship of books and journals was one of the most serious questions discussed in the Chamber. The charter promised that the press should be free, whilst reserving to the Government the right to suppress abuses of this freedom by legal methods; a royal decree had nevertheless previously placed the press under the laws in force with respect to it during the Empire; and now, yielding to the demands of the Chamber of Deputies, it submitted a law on the subject, according to which only books in octavo, and of at least

Law as to the press.

thirty sheets, should be exempted from the censorship. This law underwent, in the Chamber of Deputies, great modifications, which were all in favour of the principle of a free press; and it was, moreover, declared that the censorship was only to be maintained as a temporary measure till the end of 1816. In this shape the law was voted by a considerable majority. Another proposed law presented to the Chamber by M. Ferrand, Minister of State, for the restoration to the emigrants of a portion of the property taken possession of by the State, raised a violent storm, not so much on account of itself as on account of what it seemed to foreshadow. The Minister was so imprudent as to present this law as the precursor of still more complete measures of reparation, described the King as doing great violence to his own feelings by confining himself within the limits of the charter, and spoke of the emigrants as the only Frenchmen who during the past twenty-five years had never deviated from the straight path of the road of honour. The Chamber did not pass this measure until it had undergone considerable modifications, but the ill-judged expressions of the Minister were regarded as the expressions of the King and his Government, and, spreading rapidly through France, gave a fresh and unfortunate activity to the dangerous hopes of some and the sullen rage of others.

The public excitement was great, and was increased by many alarms. There was no end of rumours of conspiracies, either to drive away the Bourbons and to replace them by a Republic, or to restore the Emperor; and a plot for this latter purpose was actually formed by some imprudent generals without Napoleon's connivance or even knowledge. The army was the most formidable focus of discontent, and instead of doing all in its power to attach it to itself, the Government was constantly putting measures into execution which could not fail to alienate it. Peace having succeeded to war, it was necessary, as the only possible means of effecting any considerable economy, to reduce the army, to put large numbers of officers on half-pay, and to discharge many of the troops. There was considerable peril in the adoption of this measure, and the peril was still further increased. The Minister proposed to the Chambers to suppress many branches of the Hotel des Invalides, and to compensate the veterans who should be expelled by an annual dotation quite insufficient to meet their wants; a similar measure was proposed with respect to some establishments for the education of the

Unpopular measures.

children of members of the Legion of Honour; and the Government at the same time created a pension list for the Vendeans and Chouans, and the officers who had served in Condé's army against France. Public indignation was excited by these projects. The economical measures relative to the Invalides and the orphans of the Legion of Honour were rejected, and raised a storm of unpopularity against General Dupont, the Minister for War, which he could not withstand. He was succeeded by Marshal Soult, and the latter behaved even still more imprudently and harshly towards his old companions in arms. Amongst the latter, General Exelmans was one of the most esteemed and the most popular. Devoted to King Murat, at whose hands he had received many favours, and who, by virtue of his desertion of the Emperor, still occupied the throne of Naples, he knew that this prince was threatened with the loss of his crown, and offered him the services of his sword. The letter in which he made this offer was intercepted, and it was regarded as an act of treason, although Murat was then at peace with France. Exelmans was tried by a court martial, and acquitted amidst the public applause, but the circumstance caused a deep and dangerous feeling in the ranks of the army. Nevertheless, in spite of so many imprudences, there was no reason to despair of the future, for these faults were much more the results of the unfortunate circumstances in which the King was placed than of his own will, and he was capable not only of recognising, but of repairing them. The army, moreover, although to a great extent alienated, was kept to its duty by the bridle of discipline as well as by the habit of obedience, and the dangerous influence of old recollections would naturally diminish in its ranks as they became filled by fresh contingents. The Elective Chamber had rejected or blamed the most unpopular measures of the Council; it was the power which had the most to gain by the lapse of time; it had gained the popular confidence, and had judiciously and moderately pursued a constitutional and liberal course, which was grateful to the middle classes, the friends of peace, who were terrified at the idea of anarchy, and were disgusted with the Empire. No irrevocable harm had been done at the commencement of 1815, and it would not have been impossible for the Bourbons to retain their position, had they only had to contend with a distrust which was only too natural, or with the resentment provoked by their first acts.

The sittings having been closed and adjourned to the 15th May, the Minister continued to act without any well-conceived plan, and without either unity or strength of purpose. Talleyrand no longer sat in the Council, as he at this time represented France in the Congress of Sovereigns, which had been assembled several months at Vienna, for the purpose of dividing the immense spoils collected by Napoleon. This Congress, presided over by the Emperor Alexander, and in which M. de Metternich for Austria, Castlereagh, and after him Wellington, for England, and Hardenberg for Prussia, exercised the most influence, had already excited wide-spread and deep discontent. It was not the extent of territory, but the number of souls in each city and each country, which was to form the basis of the division; no account was taken of the distinctions established between populations by differences in their manners, their national characteristics, their religions, or species of commerce; and the interests of the States of the second order were constantly sacrificed to those of the great powers. The unfortunate King of Saxony, whose crime was his fidelity to Napoleon, was despoiled for the profit of Prussia and Russia, the first of whom obtained, beside the Electorate of Saxony, Swedish Pomerania, and a great portion of the territory between the Rhine and the Meuse. Russia acquired the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, under the name of the Kingdom of Poland, and on condition of ruling it only by means of a special and constitutional government. Austria recovered Lombardy and all its old possessions on the two shores of the Adriatic. Tuscany was given to the Archduke Ferdinand, Genoa to the King of Sardinia, and Parma to the ex-Empress Maria Louisa, but only for her life.* The foreign policy of all the States of Germany was rendered subject to the decisions of a Federal Diet, of which Austria was to have the perpetual presidency. Sweden obtained Norway at the expense of Denmark, from whom also Heligoland had been taken by England. This latter power, enriched by the colonies it had seized during the war, also retained the Cape of Good Hope, the Isle of France, Malta, and the Ionian Islands. It devoted great care to the formation of the kingdom of the Low Countries, which was composed of Holland and Belgium, under the rule of the House of Orange, and which seemed to it to offer a formidable barrier against France. In Italy the Legations were secured to the Pope;

Congress of Vienna.

* The reversion of the Duchy of Parma was given to the Queen of Etruria.

and in Switzerland the Congress maintained the state of things which had been established by the Act of Mediation of 1803, in spite of all the efforts of the Cantons whom this celebrated Act had deprived of their rights and privileges. Three new Cantons, those of Neufchâtel, Glaris, and Valais, were formed of some fragments of Napoleon's empire, and raised the total number of Cantons to twenty-two. At the same time declaration was made of the neutrality of Switzerland, and of some great principles of international law relative to the abolition of the slave trade and the free navigation of navigable rivers; principles which are still in force, to the advantage of the cause of humanity, of all the peoples of Europe, and the recognition of which was the best thing effected by this celebrated Congress.

The boundaries of France having been established by the peace of Paris, that power had but a very secondary influence over the resolutions of the Congress; nevertheless, Talleyrand opposed the encroachments of Russia, and in accordance with the instructions of Louis XVIII., pointed out that the island of Elba was too close to Italy and France, and insisted that Napoleon should be removed to a greater distance. He also demanded that Murat should be dethroned, and that the House of Bourbon should be replaced in possession of the kingdom of Naples and of the Duchy of Parma. His efforts had at first but little success; but Murat was informed of them, and being justly alarmed with respect to the retention of his possessions, he became reconciled with the great man whom he had abandoned, invited him to Italy, and promised him powerful support. Such was in February, 1815, the general position of Europe, when an astounding event suddenly startled it throughout its length and breadth.

Return of Napoleon from Elba.

On the 27th of February a brig of war was sailing cautiously up the Mediterranean, followed by six light barks. Quiet reigned on its deck, on which could be seen the glitter of arms, and it contained a few hundred men with bronzed faces, and of a most martial bearing. Anxiously and attentively they scanned with their eyes every sail which appeared on the horizon. Many of their heroic countenances paled as they discovered in the distance some ships of war, and already the words Elba and return passed mournfully from mouth to mouth. But in the midst of them there was one man who was apparently unmoved,

upon whom all intently gazed, who rejected every proposal for the delay of an immense and fatal enterprise, and who, pointing to France, said, "Forward!" It was Napoleon, who was once more about to appeal to fortune. On this occasion, as on his return from Egypt, but on this occasion to the misfortune of France, he escaped the enemy's cruisers, and on the 1st of March he disembarked in the Gulf of Juan, between Cannes and Antibes, with eleven hundred men, four pieces of cannon, and his three brave generals, Bertrand, Drouot, and Cambronne.

Napoleon, there is no doubt, had serious causes of complaint against the Bourbon Government, which had not paid him the annual subsidy of two millions stipulated for in the Treaty of the 11th of April, and which was necessary to him for the support of his household and the officers and soldiers who had followed him to Elba. He was not ignorant that the transfer of his person to the Azores, and the deposition of Murat, which had been eagerly urged by the representatives of Louis XVIII., had been discussed in the Congress of Vienna, and his anxiety respecting the future fate intended for him by the allies had been excited. Nothing, however, contrary to his interests had as yet been resolved on, and if Napoleon had listened to the dictates of humanity, the voice of France, and his duty towards her, he would doubtless have recoiled from the frightful idea of precipitating her, all exhausted as she was, and still bleeding from the wounds of twenty-five years' warfare, into the horrors of a new strife in which she must struggle alone against all. But still again his personal ambition and interests hardened his heart and blinded his eyes and his conscience. He heard, he said, an appeal in the complaints and clamours of those whom a reactionary government had disquieted or injured; and he failed to say to himself that his return was, with few exceptions, only desired by the army, and that, in fact, whatever might be the sufferings of France, his present proceeding could only plunge her into a sea of calamities, and bring upon her troubles infinitely greater than those which now excited her complaints. By tearing up the Convention of April 11th, he annulled all the obligations of Europe towards him, and whilst he was about to involve France in a criminal enterprise, and drag her to her ruin, he declared that he was about to deliver and avenge her!

The news of his landing spread around Louis XVIII. terror and consternation. The King convoked the two Chambers; and the Count d'Artois, with the Duke d'Orleans, was ordered to advance with troops upon Lyons in concert with Marshal Macdonald. Ney accepted the command of the troops spread over Franche-Comté, and took an oath of fidelity to the King. The Duke de Feltre replaced Marshal Soult as minister of war; and a royal decree declared Napoleon Bonaparte a traitor and a rebel, and enjoined all Frenchmen to treat him as such.

First measures of the Royal Government on hearing of the Emperor's return.

In the meantime Napoleon advanced by forced marches, and after having feigned to follow the Toulon and Marseilles road, had taken that of Grenoble, through the midst of populations amongst whom he hoped to find the most sympathy for himself and his cause; and he captivated them by the magical charm of his name, by the tricoloured flag which he displayed, and by the eloquence of his proclamations. He said to the people, "Citizens! I owe all to the people; as soldier, general, consul, Emperor, I am nothing but by the grace of the people. Raised to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without your consent is illegitimate. . . . . Your wishes shall be satisfied, and the cause of the nation shall even yet triumph. My return guarantees to you the possession of all the rights which you have enjoyed during the past five-and-twenty years." To the army he said, "Soldiers! In my exile I have heard your voice, and at its summons I have passed through all obstacles, all dangers. Tear down the colours which the nation has proscribed, and hoist this tricoloured cockade which you have borne in our great battles. The veterans of the armies of Sambre and Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, and of the West, are humiliated, their honourable wounds are disgraced. Soldiers! hasten to range yourselves beneath the banners of your chief; victory will march with us; side by side the eagle and the national colours shall fly from turret to turret till they rest on the towers of Notre-Dame." . . . .

Napoleon's march on Paris. March, 1815.

All Napoleon's hopes rested on the affection of the soldiers for his person, or the enthusiasm with which he had inspired them, and it was on their return to him that depended the success of his enterprise. A first attempt made on the garrison of Antibes had failed, and for some days Bonaparte marched without encountering any troops either friendly

or hostile. On the 3rd March he crossed the Durance by the Sisteron bridge, through a narrow defile, which a very feeble garrison in the fortress might have held against considerable forces; but the fort was undefended, and Napoleon passed through unopposed. In all the cities of the South the authorities, struck with stupor at the news of the Emperor's landing and of his approach, knew not what to resolve on, being equally incapable of acting in concert or of making themselves obeyed. It seemed to them as dangerous to oppose Napoleon as to allow him to advance unopposed. It was resolved, however, that Grenoble should be defended, and all the disposable troops in Dauphiné were concentrated there. A detachment formed of various species of troops, and commanded by a resolute officer, named Lessard, was sent some leagues beyond Grenoble to destroy the bridge of Ponthaut. This order had not been executed when, on the 7th March, the Imperial advanced guard, under General Cambronne, reached the Mure, and took up a position there. Commander Lessard fell back with his detachment into a strong position, closed the road against Cambronne's soldiers, refused to hold any communication with him, and threatened to fire if he advanced. Napoleon soon afterwards reached the spot, saw the danger of the situation, and perceived that the decisive moment had come. He ordered his grenadiers to reverse their arms, and advancing alone to within hearing distance of the battalion which blocked his path, he opened his overcoat and said, "Soldiers, it is I! do you recognise me? If there be one amongst you who wishes to kill his Emperor, here he is. He comes with bare breast to offer himself to your weapons." Admiration and enthusiasm took possession of every heart. The cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" arose, and was a thousand times repeated. The two bodies of troops fraternized, hoisted the same flag, and marched together to Grenoble. Soon afterwards, in the neighbourhood of Vizille, Colonel la Bédoyère hastened up with his regiment to join Bonaparte, whom the unfortunate young man almost worshipped. Grenoble and Lyons opened their gates in succession, and in the latter city Count d'Artois was so utterly deserted that he had to leave it with a single attendant. The soldiers everywhere responded to the appeal of their old general; Ney's corps followed the example; Ney himself was induced to do the same; Napoleon embraced him, and continued his march towards Paris. Monsieur

Napoleon at Mure.

He enters Grenoble.

Is joined by Marshal Ney.

now took, in the presence of the two Chambers, an oath to keep inviolate the charter of the Constitution; but it was in vain that Marshal Mortier and the garrison of La Fère repressed in the east a revolt excited by Generals Lallemand and Lefebvre-Desnouettes; in vain that Marseilles energetically declared in favour of the Bourbons; in vain that the Duke d'Angoulême in Languedoc and Madame at Bordeaux, the city in which the Bourbons were first proclaimed, gathered a few troops in support of the royal cause—Napoleon was already only a few marches distant from the Tuileries.

Louis XVIII. held a review in Paris, but the troops would not respond to the cry of "Vive le Roi!" The Monarch understood this silence, and, yielding to the force of necessity, he precipitately quitted his palace on the night of the 19th March, and hastened to Ghent, where Talleyrand soon afterwards joined him, and whither he was also followed by a few politicians who perceived all the rashness of Napoleon's enterprise, and in whose eyes the interests of France were identical with the House of Bourbon.

Louis XVIII. flies from Paris to Ghent.

On the evening of the 20th March Napoleon re-entered his capital, without having fired a single shot. His rapid march had been one continued triumph, and yet, perhaps, a sovereign resuming possession of his crown had never found himself in a more critical position than the Emperor on his return from the Island of Elba, during that period which is so unfortunately celebrated as the Hundred Days. France was exhausted and divided by factions; the immense majority of enlightened Frenchmen, satisfied with the promises of the charter of Louis XVIII., which they hoped to see faithfully carried out, remembered with terror the Imperial despotism; civil war threatened the South; the formidable Vendée arose in insurrection; the La Rochejacquelins, the Sapinauds, the Autichamps, raised the Bocage; the working classes in Paris, Lyons, and other cities began to utter sinister cries which recalled the worst times of the Revolution; and the whole of Europe was still in arms. Napoleon had accepted the Treaty of Paris, and had protested his intention of keeping the peace; but his couriers were arrested on the frontiers, the Allied Sovereigns placed no reliance on his assurances, and by a fresh treaty, signed on the 25th March, renewed amongst themselves the alliance of Chaumont. The Congress of Vienna declared Napoleon to be out of the pale of public and

Napoleon re-enters Paris, March 20, 1815.

Difficulties of the situation.

social law, and a million troops were preparing once more to pour down upon France. It was necessary, therefore, that Napoleon, if he were to reign, should receive from the hands of victory fresh and bloody consecration.

In such circumstances an almost unlimited authority was necessary to the head of the Government; but, constrained as he was to conciliate public opinion, Napoleon sought for the support of the constitutional party, many of whose members cherished republican sentiments, and would not have cared to entrust even a momentary dictatorship to the hero of the 18th Brumaire. The Emperor flattered its leaders, selected from amongst them most of his Ministers, and used the language of a friend towards the national liberties. But such language in his mouth was but a feeble means of success, for public opinion is only influenced by language which, if it be not sincere, may at least be accepted as such.

The first imperial decrees, dated at Lyons, were energetic. They declared the Chambers of Louis XVIII. dissolved; convoked the Electoral Colleges in an extraordinary assembly for the purpose of modifying the constitution of the empire in the interests of the people; abolished the old noblesse; declared all the property of the Bourbons sequestrated; and proscribed eleven persons, amongst whom were Talleyrand and Marmont. Resigning himself to an alliance forced upon him by necessity, Napoleon admitted into his council the celebrated Conventionalist, Carnot, as Minister of the Interior, and appointed Minister of Police, Fouché, Duke of Otranto, a man then influential with the Constitutionalists, and the only one capable, it was said, of directing the police in times of such difficulty. Finally he requested the celebrated Publicist, Benjamin Constant, to draw up an "act Additional to the Constitutions of the Empire." This act created, in the first place, two legislative Chambers, those of the Peers and the Representatives, the first hereditary, nominated by the Emperor, and the second elective. The other clauses of this act were transcripts of the principal portions of the charter of Louis XVIII. Napoleon submitted it to the people for acceptance, and a million consented to it, whilst four thousand ventured to reject it. The Emperor swore to keep inviolate this new constitution in a solemn assembly of the Electoral Colleges on the Champ de Mai, where the eagles were distributed amongst the regiments,

Champ de Mai.

and where Napoleon appeared with all the pomp of the Empire. The elections, which were almost entirely in favour of the constitutional party, were concluded, and the Chamber of Representatives assembled on the 3rd of June under unfavourable auspices for the Emperor. La Fayette reappeared there on the political stage, after twenty years of honourable retreat. The votes for the presidency were divided between him and Lanjuinais, and it was Lanjuinais, who was most hostile to the imperial government, who obtained the majority.

Liberal elections.

Military measures now occupied Napoleon's whole attention. The South seemed quiet, for Madame, after having for some time offered a courageous resistance in Bordeaux, had been compelled by General Clausel to abandon that city and quit the kingdom. The Duke d'Angoulême had been to some degree successful, and had made a rapid and perilous campaign on the Rhone; but soon, abandoned by his troops, he had found himself surrounded and made a prisoner, and having been set at liberty by the Emperor's orders, he had left France. But La Vendée was still in a state of insurrection, and, although kept in check by General Lamarque, it compelled Napoleon to detach twenty thousand men to occupy and reduce it. In the meantime his fortunes had already suffered a terrible blow in Italy, for the imprudent Murat, in spite of his advice, had attacked the Austrians at Tolentino, lost his army and his crown, and now wandered about a fugitive, whilst his vannquishers replaced the Bourbons on the throne of the Two Sicilies. These preliminary events, so disastrous to the imperial cause, compelled Napoleon to assemble an army on the southern frontier for the purpose of stopping the progress of the enemies whom Murat could alone have held in check, had he not by his foolish rashness precipitated his ruin. All Europe was now advancing with menacing front; the English under Wellington, and the Prussians under Blucher, occupied Belgium; a frantic enthusiasm for liberty excited the German Universities against Bonaparte; the whole of Germany rose against him at their summons, and behind it the Russian columns and Tartar hordes were already in motion.

Murat defeated at Tolentino. 1815.

March of the enemy's forces.

Napoleon again collected within a few days a formidable army from the soil of France. According to his own calculations, he required six hundred thousand men for the purpose of vanquishing Europe, and he had already gathered together by

Military operations, June, 1815.

prodigious efforts an army of three hundred thousand. Of this number a hundred and twenty thousand were marched upon Belgium. On the 12th of June he set out in person for his army, to give battle to Wellington and Blucher, who were each at the head of ninety thousand men. He hoped to be able to vanquish them separately, by throwing himself suddenly between them, after which he would be free to meet the Austrians and Russians. On the 16th he succeeded, by means of a rapid and secret march, in surprising the Prussians isolated from the English, and a sanguinary battle took place round the village of Ligny, on the plains of Fleurus, always glorious for the French arms. The battle of Ligny. The Prussians were vanquished by Napoleon, and lost a third of their army, about thirty thousand men, of whom eighteen thousand were killed or wounded; ten thousand French troops also fell on this fatal field. On the same day, at a few leagues' distance, another battle took place at the farm of Quatre-Bras, on the road Battle of Quatre-Bras. from Charleroi to Brussels, between a portion of the English forces and the French troops under Ney. This position was a very important one as a rallying point for the various corps of the English army; Ney could not take it until after heroic efforts which succeeded fatal hesitations, and the battle remained a drawn one. Nevertheless, Napoleon's principal object had been obtained by the results of the battle of the 16th of June, for he had separated the enemy's two armies. The Prussians were beaten, and the English might also be so before it could be possible for their routed allies to advance to their assistance.

The Emperor detached on his right Grouchy with thirty-five thousand men, commanded under him by Gérard and Vandamme, and ordered him to keep himself in constant communication with himself by his left, whilst at the same time he vigorously pursued the Prussians. The Emperor then marched in person with the rest of his forces, by Quatre-Bras, to meet the English, who fell back and occupied the position of Mont Saint-Jean in front of the forest of Soignies, which was several leagues in extent, and covered the city of Brussels. On the 17th a frightful storm broke up the roads, delaying the march of the French troops for many hours, so that it was only at the close of the day, and after great fatigue, that they could reach the foot of Mont Saint-Jean, which was occupied by the troops under Lord Wellington. The English army was partly hidden from the French by the undulations of the ground on the other side of

the hill, but at night the bivouac fires showed the whole extent of its position, and gave Napoleon reason to hope that he might fight it on the morrow before the Prussians, whom he believed to be held in check by Grouchy, should have time to join it.

The high road of Charleroi, traversing the forest of Charleroi, divided the plateau of Mont Saint-Jean and the valley which separated the two armies. A little in the rear of the English, and at the very extreme of the forest, stood the village of Waterloo, which was to give its name to the disastrous battle of the morrow. Wellington had very skilfully posted his army on the plateau on each side of the Brussels road. Trusting in the speedy arrival of the Prussians on his left, he had concentrated the bulk of his forces on his right and centre, and had occupied with a few battalions the Château d'Hougoumont and the farms of La Haye-Sainte and Papelotte, which were in front of his position, and which, being surrounded by orchards and woods, formed excellent natural defences. His arrangements having been completed, he held himself on the defensive, whilst Napoleon, drawing up his army at the foot of the hill, prepared to attack him.

Position of the English on the plains of Mont Saint-Jean.

The Emperor's plan was to take in the first place the advanced works, then to throw his right wing against the weak side of the English army, their left wing, to drive it back upon their centre, and to take possession of the Brussels road by driving the British army into the forest of Soignies. Napoleon reckoned that the arrival of Grouchy on his right, with at least a portion of his troops, would secure the victory. This plan of attack, says the historian of the Consulate and Empire, was worthy of the genius which conceived it, and would have been crowned with success if the Emperor's lieutenants had understood and executed his orders. The whole French army was deployed in a fan-shape, in three lines, in front of the English at the foot of the hill of Mont Saint-Jean. Ney commanded the first line, of which Reille's corps occupied the left, supported by Kellerman's cuirassiers, whilst D'Erlon was on the right, having behind him the magnificent division of the cuirassiers under Milhaud. Lobau's corps, on the second line, formed a reserve at the centre. The infantry and all the cavalry of the guard, posted on each side of the Brussels road, formed the third line, which was less in extent, but deeper than the two others. Seventy thousand French were thus opposed to seventy-five thousand English, Dutch, and

Napoleon's plan of attack.

Germans. Wellington had his head-quarters at Waterloo, and Napoleon at the farm of La Belle-Alliance, which commanded the whole of the position, and whence he could conveniently direct the attack.

It commenced by impetuous assaults on the advanced works which covered the enemy's position. The wood of Hougoumont, on the left, was first of all carried by General Reille, and desperate conflicts took place around La Haye-Sainte, which was many times taken and retaken, whilst Count d'Erlon's infantry attacked the English left. A formidable charge of the English, Scotch, and Irish dragoons—the celebrated Union Brigade—penetrated the serried masses of infantry, took two flags, and mowed down whole regiments with their sabres. The dragoons, however, were charged in their turn and cut down by the French cuirassiers and lancers. Meanwhile, Ney had taken La Haye-Sainte, and, excited by this success, had asked of the Emperor reinforcements, to enable him to make a decisive assault on the plateau itself, in the centre of the English army. But already, an hour since, Napoleon had perceived a moving shadow on the edge of the forest of Soignies, which he had hoped in vain to be the eagerly longed-for troops of Marshal Grouchy. The latter, fatally misled in his pursuit of the Prussians, had sought them on the right, in the direction of Wavre, whilst they were marching on the left to join the English at Mont Saint-Jean. In the meantime the sombre mass approached, vomiting fire upon the French troops, and turned out to be a portion of the Prussian army, the corps under Bulow. Napoleon instead of one army had now two to combat, and, before he could assist Ney on his left, it was necessary that he should cover and fortify his right. Lobau's corps, which was very inferior in numbers, was ordered to check the advance of the Prussians. The Emperor, however, granted to Ney the eight regiments of Milhaud's cuirassiers, although at the same time he ordered him to await his own directions before risking an attack. These fine regiments advanced to occupy the new position which had been assigned to them between the corps of Reille and d'Erlon, and drew along with them, in consequence of an unfortunate error, the whole of the cavalry of the guard. Ney, on perceiving this enormous and splendid mass of cavalry at his disposal, and seeing sixty pieces of English artillery ill protected before him, anticipated the Emperor's orders, took the cannon, fell like a tempest on many squares of English infantry, and destroyed them. Then, taking

Battle of Waterloo, June 18th, 1815.

with him, in spite of the remonstrances of their commander, Kellerman's cuirassiers and the last squadrons of reserve, he commanded and led eleven furious charges against the new squares of the enemy. He found before him living walls, which fell, half-destroyed, but which he could not drive back. Already a multitude of servants and persons in charge of the baggage covered the road to Brussels, and cried out that the battle was lost, but Wellington remained firm at the head of the third line, and opposed a calm and admirable tenacity to Ney's feverish impetuosity. Infantry was necessary to Ney to enable him to be victorious, and he urgently demanded it; but the Prussian corps of Bulow employed on the right all the infantry which Napoleon still possessed, with the exception of some battalions of his guard. Napoleon deplored the rashness of Ney as much as the absence of Grouchy; but as the audacity of despair was now prudence, he himself threw these heroic battalions, his sole reserve, on to the plateau on which Ney was in peril, and thus made a final effort to obtain the victory.

At this moment fresh Prussian columns debouched on the right. Blucher, who had concealed his movements from Grouchy, led them in person. His innumerable cavalry overflowed the plain and the sides of the hill, the theatre of this frightful struggle, and, enveloping our last battalions, which it isolated from each other, rendered the Emperor's charge impossible. Wellington now took the offensive in his turn. His third line, which was intact, was set in motion, and charged and overthrew the remains of the corps of Reille and d'Erlon, and of the French cavalry, which was now but an unformed and confused mass. The guard alone, formed in square, still fought in the midst of this moving sea of men, horses, cannon, and wreck of all kinds. Crushed by a storm of iron and fire, riddled with shot, and summoned to surrender, it closed its ranks at the very mouths of the cannon turned against it, and hurled back upon the English the heroic cry, "The guard dies, but does not surrender!" And thus ended this frightful battle, which was the funeral of the First Empire, and in which sixty thousand men, killed or wounded, were stretched upon the field. Napoleon, after having vainly invoked death, and exposed himself as much as the humblest soldier to shot and ball, was borne away in the general rout. He named the city of Laon as the rallying point of the remains of the army, and then quitted it, returning to Paris to inform the two Chambers himself of the disaster

of Waterloo, and to concert with them the means of defending the French territory.

Already sinister rumours of the battle of the 18th of June had circulated through the capital when Napoleon arrived at the Palace of the Elysée, and, whilst he was consulting with his brothers and his Ministers, the Elective Chamber commenced its sittings. The bearing of the representatives, already ill-disposed towards Napoleon, was sombre and threatening. Secretly instigated by Fouché, who, whilst he was the Emperor's Minister, betrayed him and treated with Louis XVIII., the representatives persuaded themselves that Napoleon was about to dissolve them. Lafayette shared in this fear, and, ascending the tribune, he laid before the Chamber a plan which would secure to the Chamber freedom of debate, and concentrate in them the sovereign power. This plan was accepted, and the Chamber decided, on the demand of Lafayette, that every attempt to dissolve it should be treated as a crime of high treason, and invited the Ministers to join it. These resolutions were also adopted by the Chamber of Peers. Seeing, in the next place, that Napoleon was the only obstacle to peace with the Allied Powers, who were ready to march upon Paris, the representatives, secretly instigated by Fouché, expressed a wish that the Emperor should abdicate, and threatened, in case he should refuse, to decree his dethronement. Napoleon saw his friends themselves in a state of consternation. The population of the faubourgs alone still greeted his ears with the cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" mingled with furious outcries against foreigners and traitors; but Napoleon could not resolve to summon them to his aid, and to sully his glory by letting them loose against the representatives of the nation. He rejected, to his great honour, the advice of those who urged him to attempt another 18th Brumaire, and signed a second abdication in favour of his son. He did not deceive himself, however, with respect to the efficacy of this act, and perceived that the crown which he could not retain on his own powerful brow would not pass to his son, a prisoner in the hands of Austria, a feeble infant who seemed to have only lived to render his father's fall more inevitable and rapid, by offering to all a spurious pretext for deserting the Emperor without betraying the cause of the Empire. The Chamber accepted the Act of

Return of Napoleon to Paris.

Resolutions of the Chamber of Representatives.

Treason of Fouché.

Napoleon's second abdication.

Abdication, but nevertheless avoided declaring themselves in any absolute manner for Napoleon II., and formed a Government composed of the Ministers Carnot and Fouché, Duke of Otranto, Generals Caulaincourt and Grenier, and the old Conventionalist Quinette. Fouché, who had betrayed the Emperor, was appointed President of this Provisional Government.

Napoleon quitted Paris, and from Malmaison, to which he retired, he turned his eyes towards America. Behind him innumerable enemies precipitated themselves upon France; the roads to Paris were open, and the English and Prussians entered them, leaving a dangerous interval between their columns. Napoleon followed on the map their rash course. He knew that Grouchy's corps, which had lost itself in pursuit of the Prussians on the occasion of the battle of Waterloo, had remained intact, that it had returned, and that in a few days a hundred and sixty thousand men might be assembled under his command, and cut off the enemy's retreat. His warlike genius was once more aroused; he wrote to the Provisional Government that he had conceived an infallible plan for the defeat and annihilation of the enemy, and asked to be allowed to fight them as a simple general only. This offer, however, was rejected, and the Emperor resigning himself to the necessity of quitting France, proceeded towards Rochefort, under the protection of General Becker. But the English cruisers blockaded the port, and there appeared no chance that Napoleon would be able to escape them. And now, giving way to a strange illusion, he flattered himself that a noble confidence on his part would triumph over political exigencies, and he wrote to the Prince Regent to demand of him to be allowed to sit, like another Themistocles, at the hearth of the British people, under the protection of their laws; and then embarked with his suite on board the English vessel, the *Bellerophon*. His letter was left unanswered; but orders were sent to conduct the illustrious suppliant to Saint Helena, and he was almost immediately conveyed, for the repose of the world, to the rock which was to be his prison and his tomb. And thus disappeared this wonderful man, for the last time, from the political stage; leaving behind him a great void, in which soon clashed together various and irreconcilable interests, the shock of which was long productive of a frightful turmoil, even as the sinking of a great vessel causes the waters to surge from their very depths.

Napoleon surrenders to the English. He is conveyed to Saint Helena.

## CHAPTER II.

FROM THE CAPITULATION OF PARIS AND THE RETURN OF LOUIS XVIII. TO THE CAPITAL, TO THE FALL OF THE MINISTER DECAZES.

*3rd July*, 1815—*20th February*, 1820.

THE Allies a second time opened France to the Bourbons. Louis XVIII., in a proclamation of the 28th of June, dated from Cambrai, said, "I come a second time to recall my misled subjects to their duty, to assuage the evils which I could have wished to prevent, and to place myself a second time between the allied armies and the French, in the hope that the regard which I believe to be felt for me may turn to their profit. I, who have never promised falsely, promise to forgive my misled subjects all that has taken place since the day when I quitted Lille, in the midst of so many tears, to the day when I re-entered Cambrai in the midst of so many acclamations. But the blood of my children has been made to flow by means of a treason such as the world has never yet witnessed, and the authors of this horrible plot will be pointed out to the Chambers as fit objects for the vengeance of the law." Proclamation of Louis XVIII.

Louis XVIII., however, had not yet been proclaimed in the capital. The French army, consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand men and five hundred pieces of cannon, encamped under the walls of Paris, and the Chamber of Representatives continued, amidst the clamour of arms, to discuss abstract constitutional theories, and to establish guarantees for the freedom of the nation. The English and the Prussians had, as we have seen, rashly advanced, leaving behind them a triple line of fortresses, and the victory might still have been disputed. Filled with the idea, however, of the horrible fate to which a fresh reverse might subject the capital of France, the Chambers and the head of the Government judged

it more prudent to negotiate than to fight, and on the 3rd of July a capitulation or military convention was signed at Saint-Cloud by three commissioners, in the name of the Provisional Government, and by Wellington and Blucher, the generals in command of the English and Prussian forces. By this convention it was agreed "that the French army should evacuate Paris, and retire behind the Loire, that private property should be respected, and public property also, with the exception of such as was connected with war, and the inhabitants of the city at the time of its capitulation should be in no way disturbed or annoyed in respect to their affairs, their conduct, or their political opinions."

Surrender of Paris, July 3, 1815.

On the 8th July the King once more entered Paris. Talleyrand was made president of the new ministry, and the regicide Fouché, who, by betraying Napoleon, had greatly conduced to the return of Louis XVIII., was rewarded by a place in the Council and the portfolio of police. Two lists of proscribed persons were immediately drawn up and published in a celebrated decree dated the 24th of July. By one of them seventeen generals and officers were summoned before a military tribunal; whilst the other contained the names of thirty-nine persons who were to be under the surveillance of the police until the Chambers should have come to a decision respecting them. Carnot was amongst them, and Fouché, his colleague in the ministry of the Hundred Days, signed the lists of proscription.

Lists of proscription.

The allied troops had entered the capital before the King, and their angry bearing gave reason to believe that they imagined that, this time, they had entered it less by virtue of a treaty than by right of conquest, and from the first day every one could understand how great were the evils which this second invasion had drawn upon France. The Prussians, especially, regarded with ferocious looks the monuments which were the trophies of the French victories, and it required a noble resistance on the part of Louis XVIII. to preserve the bridge of Jena from their brutal violence. Insulting at once the public mourning and braving its resentment, an insolent order of the day issued by General Muffling, the governor of Paris, directed the sentinels to fire upon any who should offend them by word, gesture, or look. M. Decazes, prefect of police, had this barbarous

Return of the allied troops to Paris.

order torn down, and this act of courage became the source of his high elevation. In spite of the capitulation the museums were pillaged; every State, every city in Europe demanded the restoration of the pictures and statues of which they had been despoiled, and Paris beheld with stupefaction the works of art which had been paid for by French blood seized and carried off.

Pillage of the museums.

The army of the Loire being at this time a source of continual terror to the invaders, the latter demanded its disbandment. It lowered its eagles and laid down its arms at the order of Marshal Macdonald, and no disorders accompanied its return to its hearths. Gouvion Saint-Cyr, the Minister for War, then planned the creation of a new army, and it was at this period that took place the organization of the Royal Guard.

Disbandment of the army of the Loire.

The composition of the Chambers underwent important modifications. The peerage, which in 1814 was hereditary or for life, according to the will of the monarch, was rendered, in August, 1815, entirely hereditary. Many peers of the first restoration who had sat during the Hundred Days were deprived of their positions, and the King nominated ninety-two new ones. A decree dated the 13th of July submitted many articles of the charter to the revision of the legislative power, and convoked the electors on the following 14th of August for the purpose of electing a new Chamber of Deputies. The elections were to be made in two stages, by Cantonal Colleges and Departmental Colleges. The old electoral lists were filled up at the will of the prefects; a great number of old Knights of Saint Louis were arbitrarily appointed electors, and transmitted to the new Chamber the violent reactionary spirit by which they were themselves animated. Most of the elected members belonged, in fact, to the class called Ultra-Royalist, and joined the Chamber not only with ideas most hostile to the Revolution, but also with a desire for vengeance, and with the confidence, too often rash, inspired by victory after a cruel defeat.

New composition of the two Chambers.

Ultra-Royalist elections of 1815.

It was now that became manifest the inextricable difficulties in which the Government of the Restoration was involved. Whilst blaming the reactionary Chamber of 1815, we must not confound with the mass of passionate men who formed its majority the superior minds which en-

deavoured, by inspiring it with their own ideas, to bestow upon France an organization founded on elevated principles, but which had ceased to be in harmony with the manners and interests of the greater number.

Political parties. The Royalist school and the Liberal school.

Men of talent and of high character, such as Messieurs Bonald, Bergasse, and Montlosier, figured at the head of the Royalist school, the doctrines of which they formulated in their writings. This school based its political system less on the rights of the people than on tradition and facts consecrated by time. The Liberal school, on the contrary, regarded liberty as the natural possession of human nature, and based its theories on logic and the general will. The especial object of the first of these schools was to extend the influence of the aristocracy and the clergy; whilst the second, as regarded in its best aspect, had for its aim to bestow upon the greatest possible number of men the social advantages and rights which had formerly only belonged to a limited number of privileged individuals. There was, therefore, a reciprocal and invincible opposition between the fundamental opinions of the Royalists and those of the Liberals, and, at a period when there were so many bitter memories in men's minds, it was very difficult to establish a stable order of things in France, under a dynasty connected by its past, its affections, and even by gratitude, to the men whose principles were rejected by the new generation. The struggle between the two parties lasted fifteen years, and commenced in 1815. Each appealed to what was obscure and ill-defined in the charter, either with the object of destroying it or of exacting from it more than it really promised. The Royalists at first had the advantage. It was difficult for Talleyrand to maintain his position in a Chamber fraught with the resentments of the Hundred Days, and the Duke de Richelieu was ordered to form a new Cabinet.

This statesman, a friend of the Emperor Alexander, whose life had been passed almost entirely abroad, had acquired in his government of Odessa a great administrative reputation; he was but slightly acquainted with France and the mode of action proper in a representative government, but he often supplied what he wanted in this respect by the inspiration of an upright and generous heart. President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs, he selected as his colleagues—

Composition of the Ministry of the Duke de Richelieu.

M. Barbé-Marbois as Minister of Justice; M. de Vaublanc and subsequently M. Lainé, as Minister of the Interior; M. Dubouchage as Minister of Marine; and M. de Corvetto as Minister of

Finance. The direction of the police was entrusted to M. Decazes; and Clarke, Duke de Feltre, was for some time Minister for War, being succeeded by the illustrious Gouvion Saint-Cyr. In May, 1816, M. Barbé-Marbois retired, when the Ministry of Justice was temporarily given to M. Dambray, Chancellor of France, who was succeeded by Baron Pasquier, a member of the preceding Cabinet under the presidency of M. de Talleyrand. About the same time M. Molé succeeded M. Dubouchage as Minister of Marine. The position of affairs was deplorable and difficult. France, entirely disarmed, seemed to be at the mercy of the European powers, and the latter only sought how to turn their victory to its ruin. The division of our territory was the subject of the secret deliberations of their Ministers, and the draught of a treaty on the subject was drawn up. Louis XVIII. was informed of the fact, and a copy of the proposed treaty was clandestinely obtained and submitted to his inspection. The Monarch, who was wanting neither in dignity nor patriotism, was exceedingly indignant, and demanded an interview with the Emperor Alexander and Wellington. "My lord," he said to the latter, "I believed when I re-entered France that I was to reign over the kingdom of my ancestors; it appears that I was deceived, and I cannot remain here under any other conditions. Will your Government consent to receive me if I seek an asylum in England?" There was greatness of soul in these words of the old King, and Alexander, deeply moved, exclaimed, "No! no! your Majesty shall not lose your provinces; I will not allow it!"

The powers renounced the project of partition, and M. de Richelieu hastened the conclusion of the treaty which finally defined the burdens and sacrifices which they imposed on France. Their demands were reduced to five heads—1st. The cession of the territory comprising the fortresses of Philippeville, Marienburg, Sarrelouis, and Landau; 2nd. The demolition of the fortifications of Hunningen; 3rd. The payment of an indemnity of seven hundred millions, without prejudice to the debts due from the French Government to the private persons of all the States of Europe; 4th. The restoration of the department of Mont Blanc to the King of Sardinia; 5th. The occupation between three and five years, if the allies should think fit, of a line along the French frontiers by an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, to be supported by France. This sad treaty was signed on the 20th November, 1815.

Treaty of the 20th of November, 1815.

The insolent tyranny and cruel demands, supported by a million of foreign troops, were not the only evils which France had to suffer in consequence of the disastrous events of the Hundred Days. Several departments of the south were long a prey to civil war and a bloody anarchy; and this fatal period was also distinguished by some horrible assassinations. After the battle of Waterloo free companies assailed Marseilles, gave themselves up to the most furious excesses, and massacred a corps of Mamelukes who were in garrison within its walls. A ferocious mob murdered Marshal Brune at Avignon; and the brave General Ramel was assassinated at Toulouse. In the department of Gard the reaction manifested itself under an appearance of religious fanaticism; and at Nîmes, at Uzès, and other places, assassins ran through the streets in the open day, crying out, "Death to the Protestants!" Monsters led on by a Trestaillon, a Truphéme, and a Graffan, renewed the massacres of the 2nd September, massacred the Calvinists even in the prisons, outraged their wives, and burned their houses; and all these atrocities remained unpunished, although committed before the very eyes of the local authorities. The Government, powerless to repress them, long remained silent on the subject, and the Chamber of 1815 called to order deputy d'Argenson, who demanded an enquiry into them. The voice of justice and humanity arose from a foreign House of Assembly. Lord Brougham invoked the intervention of the English Government in favour of the Protestants in France, and the English Parliament was moved by his indignant accents. In many places intended victims were only saved from the butchers by Austrian bayonets. At Nîmes General Lagarde was assassinated by the ruffians whom he endeavoured to restrain, and a prince of the royal family, the Duke d'Angoulême had twice to hasten to this desolated city before he could succeed, by firmness and prudence, in stopping the effusion of blood.

Civil wars. Massacres in the south. Assassinations.

The session was opened on the 7th October, and the Chamber of Deputies, which received the name of *introuvable*, gave a free vent to its violent and reactionary passions. Opposed to the immense majority in this Chamber, at the head of which were Messieurs Villèle, Corbière, and La Bourdonnaye, was a minority of sixty members, led by Messieurs Serre, Royer-Collard, and Pasquier, who eloquently, though vainly, opposed most of the acts of this too famous session. The Chamber demanded exceptional laws, which were adopted

The Legislative session, 1815—1816.

as soon as presented. One of these suspended individual liberty, another punished seditious cries with transportation, and a third subjected periodical publications to the censorship; Provostal Courts were established from which there was no appeal; and finally, on the discussion of a law of amnesty, Messieurs La Bourdonnaye and Duplessis-Grénedin proposed to form various categories of criminals which might be arbitrarily made to include many thousands of Frenchmen. The committee directed to make a report respecting this law sanctioned the plan of categories, as well as that by which it was proposed that the war contribution imposed by the allies should be defrayed by confiscations. It proposed, moreover, through its speaker, M. de Corbière, that the regicides should be excluded from the amnesty. The two first projects were rejected by very small majorities, but the Chamber adopted the last, and condemned to perpetual banishment the regicides who had signed the "Acte Additionnel," or who had been employed by the Government of the Hundred Days. This measure touched Fouché himself, who was then the French Ambassador at Dresden, and who died in exile.

Violent and reactionary measures of the Chamber of Deputies.

Bloody executions preceded the passing of this vote of amnesty. The young La Bédoyère was the first victim; and after him Ney, the bravest of the brave, invoked in vain before the Chamber of Peers the benefit of the capitulation of Saint-Cloud; he was condemned to death and executed.

Execution of La Bédoyère and of Marshal Ney.

Lavalette, Director-General of the Posts during the Hundred Days, only escaped capital punishment through the devotion of his wife and the aid of three generous Englishmen who favoured his escape. When the Chamber of Deputies learned that he had eluded its grasp it burst out into menaces against the ministers, whom it held responsible for the event.

Escape of Lavalette.

In the course of the year 1816 many persons who had been mentioned in the decree of the 24th of July were arrested and tried. The brothers Faucher, of La Réole, both generals, inseparable in death as in life, were shot at Bordeaux; Generals Mouton-Duvernet and Chartrand suffered the same punishment; and General Bonnaire, still more unfortunate, had to bear a gross degradation. Some others, Lefebvre-Desnouette, the two brothers Lallemand, Rigaud and Savary, were condemned to death *par contumace*. About the

Numerous condemnations to death and torture.

same time a vast conspiracy was the cause of much bloodshed at Grenoble. A practised intriguer, named Paul Didier, hoisted the tricoloured flag ostensibly in the name of Napoleon II., but really with the object of substituting the Duke of Orleans for Louis XVIII. He got together a band of peasants and endeavoured to raise Grenoble, which was under the command of General Donnadieu, who speedily put down this mad attempt. Under his orders moveable columns spread terror through the country, and made numerous prisoners, twenty-five of whom, after having been tried by a provostal court, were put to death. In several departments the reactionary spirit manifested itself in disgraceful acts of violence and odious scandals. In the Gard, for instance, the court of assizes acquitted the assassin of General Lagarde, Trestaillon, and his accomplices, whilst the councils of war passed sentence of death against many Protestants suspected of Bonapartism.

Didier's plot at Grenoble.

The Chamber, amidst all this bloodshed, continued to advance towards the achievement of its objects, which were, first, the reestablishment of legitimate royalty on its old basis; second, the formation of local independent administrations, so organized as to give great influence to the territorial and ecclesiastical interests; third, the creation by law of a powerful territorial aristocracy; fourth, the reestablishment, financially and politically, of the French clergy.

If this Chamber had proposed to itself to diminish the excess of administrative centralization by establishing a new order of things in harmony with the new and legitimate interests created by the Revolution and the progress of time, its object would have been worthy of praise. But it was not so. It desired to build up a political and social system which should be entirely in favour of the old aristocracy and the influence of the clergy; and hence it resulted that its aims could only be productive of struggles which had no useful or durable result.

Amongst the laws submitted to the Chambers by the Government none seemed, and with good reason, more important than the electoral law. The law proposed by the ministers retained the indirect system of election, and the cantonal and departmental colleges gave votes to a multitude of officials, and renewed the Chamber of Deputies by fifths. If this plan were adopted the Government would have the supreme influence over the elections. A committee appointed by the Chamber of Deputies, of which M. de Villèle was the mouth-

Proposed electoral law.

piece, made important modifications in this plan proposed by the Government, and, subject to these modifications, the Chamber adopted it; but the Chamber of Peers rejected it, and the electoral law was therefore lost. The reactionary tendencies of the majority reappeared in the discussion on the budget.

Its rejection.

The elective chamber, in spite of a formal engagement entered into by the King in the previous year, deprived the State creditors of the best guarantee for the payment of their debts, by declaring that the State forests should not be alienated, and that the church should recover possession of the property not yet sold which had belonged to the old clergy of France.

A series of measures tinged with the same spirit was voted or proposed by the majority. The law of divorce was abolished; the clergy were authorized to accept every species of gift; and finally, it was proposed to place the university under the superintendence of the bishops, and to bestow the civil registrarships upon the parish priests.

The prudent resistance which the King opposed to the hastiness of the elective chamber was odious to the members of the majority. Louis was suspected by them; they openly accused him of revolutionary tendencies; boasted that they were more royalist than himself, and leagued themselves with the members of his own family for the purpose of opposing and frustrating his wishes. It was this chamber which first appealed to the example of England when claiming a species of omnipotence for the legislative power, and attempting to reduce the monarch to a position which was afterwards described in the celebrated maxim—"The King reigns, but does not govern."

The King had announced, on his return from Ghent, that thirteen articles of the charter would be submitted for revision, and it was evident that the chamber intended to make this a pretext for annihilating the charter altogether. The Count d'Artois and his friends of the Pavilion Marsan, who accused the King's government of being too Liberal in 1814, and who imputed to this cause the catastrophe of the Hundred Days, shaped the course pursued by the Chamber in 1815. The Prince already exercised a great influence by means of a society which was at the same time political and religious, the ramifications of which extended from the court to the depth of the provinces. To this first and skilful organization he added the no less

Influence of the Count d'Artois, chief of the reactionary party.

powerful one of the National Guard; all the inspectors and all the officers of which immense body were selected by himself from amongst the extreme royalists. France now found herself pursuing a course contrary to her new institutions, and the representative monarchy was itself in peril.

Decree of September 5, 1816.

Listening, therefore, to the suggestions of his own reason, and the earnest advice of the ministers, Richelieu, Decazes, and Lainé, Louis XVIII. issued the famous decree of the 5th September, which dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, fixed, according to the text of the Constitution, the number of deputies at two hundred and sixty, and declared that no article of the charter should be revised. This decree was a thunderbolt for the violent portion of the reactionary party, who received it with indignation and rage. M. de Châteaubriand, the most eloquent and enlightened member of this party, and the only member of it, perhaps, who, relying upon legitimacy as the foundation of the social order, sincerely desired the maintenance of the Constitution, replied to the decree of September by "The Monarchy according to the Charter," a work which created a great sensation in Europe, and caused its author's disgrace.* The command of the National Guard was taken from Count d'Artois, and the result of the new election was such as answered the hopes of the ministry.

Marriage of the Duke de Berri.

Shortly before he confirmed his authority by the decree of the 5th September, the king had endeavoured as far as possible to secure the perpetuity of his race, and had demanded for his nephew, Charles Ferdinand, Duke de Berri, the hand of the Princess Marie Caroline de Bourbon, daughter of the King of the Two Sicilies. The marriage was celebrated in the month of June, 1816.

In the meantime the miseries of the country were at their height. Oppressed by a hundred and fifty thousand foreign troops, who, distributed amongst her fortresses, overburthened it with ruinous charges, and torn by domestic factions, France had, in addition, to bear the horrors of famine. The continual rains of 1816 inundated the plains, destroyed the hopes of the farmers, and spread contagious diseases amongst the cattle. All these

* "In this celebrated work," says the author of a recent and excellent history of this period, "the most advanced principles of modern Liberalism were strangely allied with ideas the most repugnant to new France."—Viel-Castel, "History of the Restoration."

calamities failed to stifle the explosions of political hate, and in the year 1817 the late tragic scenes of Grenoble were reproduced at Lyons, where General Canuel was in command, and where a conspiracy was discovered. The voice of vengeance, rather than of justice, was heard at the trial of the accused, and the political scaffold was inundated with blood.

Disturbances at Lyons. More executions.

A new concordat had been signed at Rome, through the exertions of M. de Blacas, the French ambassador to the sovereign pontiff. This treaty considerably extended the number of bishoprics, which had been fixed at fifty by the concordat made with Napoleon; but a law on the subject being presented to the Chambers, was rejected, and the king limited the number of bishops to that of the departments.

Legislative Acts. Session 1817, 1818.

Some political laws were adopted in the course of this session, and one of them fixed certain prudent limits to the law passed in the previous session, which suspended individual liberty. But the most important legislative act of this session was the electoral law, which, for the first time since the restoration, sanctioned a legal course in the nomination of deputies. It established direct elections, and fixed the qualifications of electors at three hundred francs, and of those eligible for election at a thousand francs. The Chamber was to be renewed by fifths, and there was to be but one college for each department. This law, proposed by the Government, was adopted; it was the greatest concession which had yet been made to the constitutional spirit, and its results proved the extreme nature of the difficulties by which the reigning dynasty was surrounded. The discussion of the budget was stormy, and the Government, which was vehemently opposed on this point by MM. Villèle and Bonald, proposed to give, as a dotation to the *caisse d'amortissement*, the 150,000 hectares of woods which a previous majority had given to the clergy. Four millions of rents, only, secured by the old property of the church, which still remained unsold, were voted for the clergy as an indemnity for what they had lost. The Chamber of Peers ratified this plan; and two days later, on the 26th March, the session was closed.

Electoral Law, 1817.

Laws of great importance were introduced in the following year. France possessed at this period an army only in name; volunteers but ill supplied the voids in our legions, and there was an urgent necessity

for reestablishing the military forces of the kingdom on a respectable footing. Marshal Gouvion Saint-Cyr, Minister for War, proposed for this object the law of recruits. Its principal objects were to restore the law of conscription as it prevailed under the empire, to deprive the King of the unlimited power of granting commissions, of which a third were to be given to non-commissioned officers, and to render promotion very greatly dependent on seniority. This law was contrary to the article of the charter which abolished the conscription throughout the kingdom; but it nevertheless greatly softened for young soldiers, as well as their families, the odious rigours of the Imperial conscription, and its necessity being generally felt, it was adopted. Individual liberty ceased to be suspended, but the periodical press remained subject to the censorship. By means of an artifice, however, which took from many journals their periodical character, men of talent were enabled to express their party views almost unshackled. The Liberal and Royalist opinions had for their principal organs, respectively, *La Minerve* and *La Conservateur*. The spirited pens of Benjamin Constant, Jay, Etienne, and de Jony, secured the immense success of the first of these publications, and the second owed its popularity to the talents of MM. Châteaubriand, de Lamennais, and Fiévée.

Law on the organization of the army.

The Minerva and the Conservateur.

The two sets of opinions by which France was now so unequally divided, seemed to become from day to day more irreconcilable. The Ultra-Royalist party testified the most bitter resentment against the decree of the 5th September, and its irritation increased when the King, on the urgent representation of M. Decazes, deprived the Count d'Artois of all real authority over the National Guard, of which he was only allowed to retain the honorary command. This measure raised a fresh storm against its author, and the Ultra-Royalists unanimously demanded either the dismissal of the ministry or serious alterations in its composition.

The illustrious head of the cabinet, the Duke de Richelieu, deserved well of his country at this time, by successfully employing his influence with Alexander and his allies for the purpose of obtaining the prompt withdrawal of the foreign troops from the French soil. This measure, moreover, was nearly being adjourned in consequence of an imprudent and unfortunate step, which

Efforts of the Duke de Richelieu to liberate French territory.

was disavowed by all the prudent men of the Royalist party, and the author of which was one of the confidants of the Count d'Artois, M. de Vitrolles, a Minister of State, and a zealous conductor of the first negotiations which led in 1814 to the return of the Bourbons. At the instigation of the Prince, M. de Vitrolles wrote a memoir addressed to the allied sovereigns and their ministers, in which he expressed the most serious anxiety with respect to the internal state of the kingdom. "Everything was to be feared," he said, "from the explosion of revolutionary passions as soon as the allied armies should have been withdrawn, if their retreat should not be accompanied by a change in the ministry, and the dismissal of those of its members who had exacted from the King the decree of the 5th of September, and the dissolution of the Chamber of 1815." This memoir, entitled "A Secret Note," came to the knowledge of the Minister of Police, M. Decazes, who published it in the Government journals, invoking the condemnation of France upon the party by which it had been dictated, and showing that that party was in favour of the occupation of France by foreign troops. Nothing contributed more than this Secret Note to increase the distance which separated the independents or Liberals from the Royalists, and to render the Bourbons unpopular by representing them as possessing their crown at the will of foreigners, and only retaining it by the aid of their support.

The useful influence of M. de Richelieu combated the evil effects produced on the minds of the allied sovereigns by the memoir of M. de Vitrolles. Thanks to him, the Emperor Alexander and his allies, assembled in conference at Aix-la-Chapelle, consented to evacuate the French fortresses and to recall their armies, and fifteen millions of stocks inscribed in the great book of the public debt sufficed to liquidate the debt which France owed abroad. Shortly after this great event, which distinguished the year 1818, and to which M. de Richelieu had the glory of attaching his name, that Minister gave in his resignation, believing as he did that he ought to retire in favour of the popular names of Manuel and Lafayette, which had recently issued from the electoral urn. In return for the services which he had rendered to his country, the Chambers voted him a gift of fifty thousand livres of stocks; but although Richelieu had no fortune he declined to

Evacuation of France by the foreign armies.

Resignation of the Duke de Richelieu. His disinterestedness.

accept for himself this magnificent reward.* He was at the head of the Government at a very difficult period, and the imperious force of circumstances frequently compelled him to be deaf to his own generous impulses. On quitting the head of affairs he left behind him the reputation of a man of honour, whose character was superior to all the dignities and lofty functions which he had filled. Alarmed at the result of the last elections, which were for the most part in favour of the Liberals, he had expressed a desire that the Ministry should form an alliance with the Right of the Chamber,† and that the law of elections should be modified. His wishes in this respect were not shared either by M. Decazes, who was then in high favour with Louis XVIII., or by some others of his colleagues. The Chamber of Deputies, at the commencement of the new session, having declared itself energetically in its address to the King against any modification of the electoral law, the retirement of the President of the Council was decided. The Chamber of Peers, however, on the proposition of one of its members, M. Barthélemy, one of the proscribed directors of the 18th Fructidor, voted a resolution in favour of a change in the electoral law. This resolution, which was vehemently opposed by the ministers and Royer-Collard, was rejected by the deputies. The conflict between the two Chambers

* The following is an extract from the noble letter sent by Richelieu on this occasion to the President of each of the two Chambers:—

"MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT,—

"I am too proud of the testimony of good-will bestowed upon me by the King, with the concurrence of the two Chambers, to think of declining to accept it; but I learn from the journals that it is intended to bestow upon me, at the expense of the State, a national recompense. I cannot prevail upon myself to allow the burdens by which the kingdom is already oppressed to be increased on my account. If, during my ministry, I have been able to do any service to France, and to contribute to the release of its territory from foreign occupation, I am not the less distressed at the knowledge that my country is oppressed by enormous debts. Too many calamities have fallen upon it, too many of its citizens have suffered misfortunes, and it has still too many wounds to heal, for me to suffer my own fortunes to be increased at its expense. The esteem of my country, the good-will of the King, and the testimony of my own conscience, are sufficient recompense for M. Richelieu."

In spite of this letter the Chambers voted M. de Richelieu a dotation of fifty thousand livres of stocks, which he accepted as a national reward, and then transferred as an endowment to the hospitals of Bordeaux.

† The Right side of the Chamber was that on which sat the extreme members of the Royalist party. The extreme members of the Liberal party sat opposite them on the left. The moderate members of each party formed two great factions, which were named the Right and Left Centre.

became day by day more virulent, and it appeared urgently necessary for the purpose of reestablishing quietude in the bosom of the Legislature, to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, or to modify the votes of the Chamber of Peers.

Several members of the Cabinet, MM. Lainé, Molé, Pasquier, and Roy,* withdrew with the Duke of Richelieu; and the King, at the suggestion of M. Decazes, appointed General Dessolle President of the Council. M. Serre received the seals, and Marshal Gouvion Saint-Cyr retained the portfolio for war. M. Louis was placed at the head of the finances, and M. Portal at the head of the marine. M. Decazes obtained the portfolio of the Interior, and was in reality the head of the new Ministry. The result of the elections of 1817 and 1818 was to give a majority to the moderate Liberal party, and it was to be feared that there would no longer be any species of harmony between it and the Chamber of Peers.

Dissolution of the Cabinet, and formation of a new Ministry under General Dessolle, 1818.

Relying on the support, in the Chamber of Deputies, of the Left, which gave it a Liberal and constitutional majority, the Ministry presented in the course of the session several laws favourable to the public liberties; the most important of which were those referring to the press and the journals, the independence of which had been hitherto provisionally suspended. They were proposed by M. Serre, Keeper of the Seals, and tended to secure the liberty of the press, whilst at the same time guaranteeing the maintenance of order and the public peace. The first of these proposed laws authorized the free publication of all non-periodical writings, whilst at the same time it declared every attack on good morals to be punishable. Two others contained the regulations to be enforced in the case of periodical publications and journals, in respect to which M. Serre was content to demand the registration of the names of the proprietors and responsible editors, and the deposit of a moderate security. The principal articles of those proposed laws prohibited the anticipatory seizure of journals and periodicals, and referred to the judgment of a jury all crimes committed through the press, with the exception of libels against private persons, which remained subjects of inquiry by the correctional police. No one, finally, was to be allowed to prove the truth of defamatory allegations,

Legislative Session, 1818-1819.

Law respecting the press.

* M. Roy had shortly before replaced M. Corvetto as Minister of Finance.

except in cases in which they were made against persons acting in a public character. This latter article, which rendered persons in authority responsible to all for the manner in which they performed their duties, was supported by Royer-Collard, especially, with the most vehement eloquence. . . . "If you determine," he said, "that it is not to be permitted to tell the truth with respect to the acts of the public authorities, you will consequently decide that society does not belong to itself, that it is the property of officials, and that they possess it as they might possess a feudal territory. . . . If you reject this article, you must either resolve that for the future you will have no history, or at least must fix a certain number of years after which it will be lawful to speak the truth with respect to the actions and the words of public men. But to-day the nature of our Government and the necessities of the nation demand that our history should every day commence for us, and that posterity should be our public." The three laws proposed by the Keeper of the Seals were adopted, after an animated discussion, by a large majority in each Chamber.

The state of the nation now began to be tranquil; foreign troops no longer encumbered its soil; commerce, industry, and agriculture flourished, and public credit began to revive; everything, in fact, gave promise of a happy future. But party spirit was still ardent and implacable. The Royalists refused any species of alliance with the sincere Constitutionalists, and were unwilling to make the slightest liberal concession; whilst the Liberals, for their part, knew not how to be patient, and compromised the future for the sake of obtaining a temporary triumph. There were many distinct factions in the bosom of the Liberal party, the most violent of which was the revolutionary party, which, looking upon the Bourbons as the irreconcilable enemies of the Revolution, hoped to overthrow them. The deputies belonging to this party sat at the extreme Left in the Chamber, whilst at the Left Centre were the Constitutionalists, who holding above all things to the guarantees given by the charter, believed that in its rigorous observance alone lay the safety of France. In the bosom of the latter party there existed a small group of men whose political opinions were based on certain theories of an elevated and abstract nature, and who allied themselves with the wiser members of the Right, refusing to regard the rights of the crown as distinct from those of the

Different factions of the Liberal party.

country, and considering them as equally inviolable. The members of this party were named the Doctrinaires, and the most prominent of them were MM. Royer-Collard, de Broglie, Camille Jordan, and de Barante, in the Chambers, and M. Guizot in the press. The Ministry, during the legislative session of 1818 and 1819, was constantly in harmony with this party. Towards the end of that session, however, a violent rupture took place between the Cabinet and the extreme portion of the Liberal party. Many petitions had been presented for the purpose of obtaining the formal revocation of all the exceptions made in the last law of amnesty. The object of these petitions was to obtain the recall of all who had been banished, not by means of individual pardons such as were frequently solicited and obtained, but by a general act of the legislature. M. Serre rejected those petitions which sought to open France to all who had been proscribed without distinction, and exclaimed, "In the case of the regicides, never!" This expression deeply irritated the Left of the Assembly, and was the first sign of the complete rupture which soon took place between M. Decazes and the independent or Liberal party. In the same session the budget was first divided into two distinct laws, that of expenses, and that of receipts. The first were fixed at a sum of eight hundred and sixty-nine million four hundred and sixteen thousand francs, and the latter were estimated at eight hundred and ninety-one million four hundred and thirty-five thousand francs. The legislative session was closed on the 17th of July, 1819.

The Doctrinaires.

Rejection of a petition in favour of the exiles.

Expenses and receipts.

The elections which took place in this year for the renewal of the third series of the Chamber of Deputies, were chiefly made under the ever-increasing influence of the Liberal party. The electors yielded, as too often happens, to the suggestions of violent and passionate men. Many of the members chosen were openly hostile to the Bourbons, and the name of the Conventionalist Grégoire was one of those drawn from the urn.* The Royalist party uttered a cry of horror, and repulsed Grégoire from the Chamber.

Liberal elections, 1819.

Election of Grégoire, 1819.

Seriously alarmed at the result of the elections and at the imperious demands of the Liberals, Louis XVIII. yielded to the solicitations of his

* The Abbé Grégoire was an old Conventionalist bishop of Blois, who in the first sitting of the Convention had demanded the abolition of royalty.

brother and family, and resolved to modify the electoral law; and M. Decazes, now considering as necessary what he had some months before looked upon as useless and dangerous, thought he should best forward the monarch's views by withdrawing from the Left and allying himself with the Right Centre. This frequent oscillation according to the necessities of the moment, to which was given the name of "see-sawing," although often useful on the part of a king, could not but compromise the character of a Minister under a constitutional government. Several of the colleagues of M. Decazes understood that, if they could no longer persevere in the line of conduct on which they had entered, they should give in their resignations; they did so, and retired with the public esteem. These were Messieurs Dessolle, Louis, and Gouvion Saint-Cyr, who were replaced by MM. Pasquier for foreign affairs, Roy for the management of the finances, and Latour-Maubourg for war. M. Decazes formed the new Cabinet, and received the title of President of the Council. His course of conduct, which had become undecided and wavering, irritated the Liberals without conciliating the Royalists; and the latter never relaxed in their attacks until a frightful event enabled them to overthrow him, and transferred the government to their hands.

M. Decazes' change of opinion, and leaning towards the Right Centre.

Modification of the Cabinet. M. Decazes President of the Council.

The Duke de Berri, second son of Count d'Artois, was assassinated on the evening of the 13th of February, 1820, as he was leaving the opera, by a wretch named Louvel. He lived but a few hours after receiving the fatal wound, and expired in the arms of the royal family, pardoning his murderer. This prince, who was endowed with noble qualities, and had been married but a few years to a young princess, the grand-daughter of the King of Naples, had been looked on as the last hope of the eldest branch of the Bourbons.* His death, the results of which were at once foreseen, spread terror throughout Paris and all France. The Royalists held M. Decazes responsible for it, and one deputy, M. Clausel de Coussergues, even carried party passion so far as to accuse him of the crime at the tribune. In vain did the Minister, for the purpose of appeasing his enemies, hasten to submit to the Chambers exceptional laws directed against individual liberty, and against the press,

Assassination of the Duke de Berri, 1820.

* Louis XVIII. had no children, and the marriage of the eldest of his nephews, the Duke d'Angoulême, with the daughter of Louis XVI. was sterile.

as well as a new law for the regulation of elections. He was unable to quell by these means the storm on the Right, whilst he raised another tempest against him on the Left. Royalists and Liberals combined to bring about his fall. He still resisted, for his power was rooted in the affection felt for him by the monarch; but the Count d'Artois and the Duchess d'Angoulême so earnestly demanded of the latter the dismissal of his favourite, that their wishes were at last granted. M. Decazes received a dukedom, and the embassy to London, and M. de Richelieu accepted the presidency of the Cabinet, which retained all its members with the exception of its head, and in which M. Siméon replaced M. Decazes as Minister of the Interior.

Fall of M. Decazes, and second Ministry of the Duke de Richelieu, 1820.

The greater portion of Europe was at this time in a state of violent effervescence, and the prediction expressed by the celebrated saying, "The French Revolution will make the tour of the world," seemed about to be verified. The convulsive movements which had so long agitated France extended far and wide, and its volcanic shocks made themselves felt from the shores of the ocean to those of the Adriatic. The European sovereigns had induced their peoples to share their own hatred for Napoleon by flattering their love of independence, and promising them liberal institutions as a reward for a vigorous resistance to the encroachments of the French Emperor. But when the struggle was over, when the common enemy had been crushed, they saw danger in those very sentiments by means of which they had lately obtained such powerful support; forgot their promises; refused to their subjects the concessions demanded by the progress of time and the advance of the popular intelligence; and exerted themselves to the utmost to stifle or to punish their subjects' liberal tendencies. Thus, Ferdinand VII. appeared to have only returned to Spain for the purpose of chastising a portion of those who had defended his throne. He had promised, not the maintenance of the Constitution drawn up by the Cortes of Cadiz in 1812, and studded with the defects of the French Constitution of 1791, but the gift of institutions in accordance with the enlightenment of the people, and favourable to the public liberties. He had scarcely, however, resumed the crown after having escaped from the prison of Valençay, when he reestablished the Inquisition, reigned without constitutional control, and behaved like

Revolutionary effervescence in Europe.

Spain.

despot towards the most distinguished men of his kingdom—the Martinez de la Rosas, the Torrenos, and the Arguelles—whom he exiled to the burning rocks of Africa; whilst his defenders found themselves mixed up in the same prisons with the partisans of King Joseph, against whom they had fought. The army, deprived of its best officers, revolted, and the Isle of Leon was the first scene of the insurrection which burst forth, in January, 1820, amongst the troops intended to subdue the Spanish colonies of South America. Catalonia arose almost at the same time at the voice of Mina; Galicia had already proclaimed the Constitution of the Cortes; and the insurrection spread in succession to every city. Finally, Count d'Abisbal, who was sent to fight the rebel army of the Isle of Leon, hoisted the same flag as it at Ocana. Madrid received the news of this event with enthusiasm, and Ferdinand, having no other alternative but to abdicate or to swear to maintain the Constitution, swore to maintain it. Arguelles, Torreno, and Martinez de la Rosas passed suddenly from the prisons of Africa to the Council Chamber of the monarch, and inaugurated their Government by abolishing the Inquisition and suppressing the order of Jesuits in Spain. The Government was without resources, and decreed the sale of the immense possessions of the monks, the result of which was that sixty thousand religious persons actively excited the populace against it. The *contre-coup* of this vast movement made itself felt in Portugal. This kingdom, since the flight of the family of Braganza, and during the war, had been subjected to an English Regency, which governed it as though it had been a colony of the British isles. The Portuguese, aroused by a feeling of nationality, drove away the English authorities, and recalled their old sovereign, John IV., who left the Regency of the Brazils to his son, Don Pedro, and returned to reign over his old subjects, at the price of accepting a liberal charter drawn up on the model of the Spanish Constitution.

Portugal.

Italy, groaning under the Austrian sceptre, was equally agitated. In every portion of that kingdom there were formed societies of Freemasons and Carbonari, linked together by the determination sooner or later to free their country from foreign domination, and to form the various States of the peninsula into a federal Republic. The kingdom of Naples was in a state of the greatest excitement. Ferdinand IV. had recovered in 1815 the sceptre of that country, where Murat, after the battle of Waterloo, had been taken and shot. There, also, secret

Naples.

societies plotted a political revolution, and the signal for it appeared at the town of Nola. The Bourbon regiment sallied forth from the barracks of that town on the 2nd July, 1820, with flying ensigns, and with cries of "Vive la Constitution!" Two other regiments joined it, the Carbonari gathered in masses, and General Pepe raised the capital. At his summons the people invested the palace, and proclaimed the Constitution of the Spanish Cortes. Ferdinand IV. and his son adopted it, and swore to maintain it. This revolution in Sicily was accompanied by frightful massacres.

Whilst Europe thus burst forth in revolution in the south, there was great agitation in Prussia and the Northern States of Germany, which in vain awaited the liberal institutions which had been promised by their respective sovereigns. No satisfaction being granted to actual necessity and legitimate desires, guilty passions were aroused, and stirred society to its depths. Everywhere, in fact, where princes refused to their peoples political liberties and a national representation, conspirators formed plots and secret assassinations. It was in the name of liberty and equality that their members banded together, and what they demanded was a political and social revolution. A violent demagoguism inflamed the universities. The poet Kotzebue, the defender, in his writings, of the rights of monarchs, fell at this period beneath the dagger of the young Charles Sand, who had distinguished himself in the war of German independence. Tens of thousands of voices enthusiastically repeated the name of the assassin, and tens of thousands of hearts vowed to worship his memory. The revolutionary fever which overran the Continent threatened England also, and spread rapidly in the East, where it aroused from their long lethargy the descendants of the Greek heroes. There, at least, the insurrection was really a movement in favour of freedom. Its object was the deliverance of Christian Greece from the foreign yoke of the Mussulmans; the genius of Miltiades and Themistocles reawoke in its ruined cities after a slumber of two thousand years, and the cry of patriotism and liberty, springing from the walls of Souli and the rocks of Epirus, already awoke the echoes of Marathon and Salamis.

Germany.

Greece.

## CHAPTER III.

FROM THE FALL OF THE MINISTER DECAZES TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS XVIII.

*29th February*, 1820—*16th September*, 1824.

THREE absolute monarchs, the Emperor of Austria, the Czar, and the King of Prussia, had signed in 1815 a treaty famous under the name of the Holy Alliance, by which they undertook to base their mutual relations on the most sacred principles of Christianity, and to have no other objects in their policy but the interests of their subjects, the maintenance of religion, peace, and justice. This treaty had appeared after the Congress of Vienna, and its real object was the repression of the revolutionary spirit, which had displayed itself in every direction in a manner very threatening to social order. M. de Metternich, in the name of the Emperor of Austria, his master, convoked with this object, at Carlsbad, a congress at which were present all the members of the Germanic Confederation, and at which he himself exercised a sovereign influence. This congress took energetic measures for the destruction of secret societies, and armed the Diet with formidable powers for the exercise of an active surveillance and the establishment of rigorous police regulations in the various States which were members of the Germanic body, without reference to their particular constitutions. A few months afterwards the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia consulted together at Troppau in Silesia, on the means of stifling the revolution in Spain, Portugal, and the kingdom of Naples. Being assembled at a later period at a new Congress at Laybach, they invited the old King of Naples, Ferdinand IV., to proceed thither to join them.

The Holy Alliance.

Congress of Carlsbad and of Troppau. Powers given to the Germanic Diet. 1820, 1821.

Congress of Laybach, 1820.

Whilst the three allied sovereigns thus set themselves in direct opposition to the revolutionary spirit, France was enduring the unfortunate consequences of some of the elections of 1819,

Legislative Session, 1820.

and the fatal catastrophe of February, 1820. M. de Richelieu supported in the Chamber the exceptional laws presented by M. Decazes, the first of which suspended individual liberty. In speaking against this law General Foy uttered these eloquent words—"Let us act," he said, "so that the profit of a sublime death be not lost to the royal house and the public morality; and so that posterity may not be able to cast upon us the reproach, that at the funeral obsequies of a Bourbon the liberty of the citizens was immolated to serve as a hecatomb." His efforts, and those of the whole Left of the Chamber, were powerless, and individual liberty was again suspended. The second exceptional law presented by the Minister reestablished for a year the censorship of the journals. Royer-Collard, in the course of the discussion of this law, poured forth the grief and terror which he felt at seeing the Government depart from the course on which it had entered by the decree of the 5th of September, and abandon the moderate Liberals for their opponents. He could expect nothing but disorder and confusion from this change of tactics on the part of the Government. "Anarchy," he said, "which had been driven from society by the universally felt necessity for order and repose, had found refuge in the very heart of the State. It seemed as though the Government ignored it, and had no consciousness of its strength. . . no enduring will, no well-defined object. The royal standard which the decree of the 5th of September had planted in the midst of the nation seemed to wander about inconstant and uncertain. Where it was seen yesterday, it could not be found to-day. In the meantime the minds of men became desponding or irritated, and filled with gloomy presentiments. An irrepressible anxiety oppressed them. Whilst still full of life the citizens of France were present, as it were, at their own obsequies, without power or courage to interrupt them, and time was flowing on and each day was devouring them. . . . " The law was adopted, and the discussion respecting it was succeeded by still more angry debates on the new electoral law.

Exceptional law for the suspension of individual liberty and censorship of the Press.

This last law was, in fact, of decisive importance to the destinies of the Restoration; for it was evident that its result would be to deprive the middle and industrial classes of almost all their political influence, to the profit of the great landed proprietors. M. de Richelieu and his colleagues flattered themselves that by supporting it

Electoral law.

they secured the preponderance of the Right Centre or Royalist party, on which they now relied; but eventually it was seen that all the influence lost by the Left speedily passed from the Right Centre to the extreme Right or counter-revolutionary and Ultra-Royalist party, which was no less dangerous to the Crown than the Ultra-Liberal party. The project drawn up by M. Serre, which was afflicted by an incurable disease, was greatly modified by a committee of the elective Chamber, and still more so by the Chamber itself. The law, as it was adopted, raised the number of deputies to four hundred and thirty, of which two hundred and fifty-eight were to be nominated by the district colleges, consisting of electors paying taxes to the amount of three hundred francs; whilst a hundred and seventy-two were to be elected by the colleges of departments, which were to consist of a fourth part of the most heavily-taxed electors of the department. The latter voted in the two colleges, and thus possessed a privilege over the others which was considered as a deviation from the charter, and which caused this new electoral law to receive the unpopular name of the law of the double vote. It was eloquently defended by the Ministry, and the most eminent members of the Right and Right-Centre, MM. de Villèle, de la Bourdonnaye, Lainé, &c. All the factions into which the Liberal party was divided, united for the purpose of opposing it, and were represented at the tribune by General Foy, Benjamin Constant, Casimir Perier, Royer-Collard, Camille Jordan, Lafayette, and Manuel. During the three weeks occupied by this memorable debate, the Chamber was a field of battle in which the opposed parties fought with each other to the death. The excitement of these debates spread beyond the walls of the Chamber; and violent conflicts took place between the troops and the pupils of the schools, who were supported by a portion of the Parisian populace. The law was eventually passed by a small majority in the midst of sanguinary *émeutes*, and the session was closed on the 22nd of July.

Stormy discussions. Riots in Paris.

The stormy debates on the electoral law caused a most disastrous feeling of excitement throughout the whole of France. The Liberal party found itself disarmed by it, and appeared to believe that all the fruits of the Revolution were threatened with destruction. It lost all hope of obtaining any preponderance in the State by legal methods, and, as too frequently happens in the case of those who despair of obtaining

the victory by legitimate means, it had recourse to dark and guilty tactics, to conspiracies and plots. The army, influenced by the same motives which had alienated it from the Bourbons in 1814, was still filled, in spite of much necessary weeding, with discontented men, full of anxiety with respect to their future fortunes, ready to second any movement hostile to the Government, and connected with many secret societies. A vast military conspiracy, which had ramifications in every part of the kingdom, was discovered in Paris on the 20th of August, 1820. The leaders of the plot in the garrison of Paris were Major Bernard and Captain Nantil; the first made revelations, the second fled, and the conspiracy was crushed. A great number of their accomplices in every rank of life were arrested and taken before the Court of Peers. In the midst of the profound excitement caused by the discovery of this plot and the debates of the preceding Session, the Duchess de Berri gave birth to a son who received the title of the Duke de Bordeaux, and whose birth, hailed with enthusiasm by the Royalists, seemed to promise a prolonged possession of the throne of France to the eldest branch of the Bourbons.

Military conspiracy in Paris, August, 1820.

The elections which now took place, in which the colleges of departments for the first time made their numerous selections, were almost all favourable to the Royalists. The majority of the deputies thus elected belonged to the extreme Right of the assembly, and the chief political influence speedily passed from the moderate members of the Royalist party to be possessed a second time by the men of 1815 and the reactionists. Disappointed in his hopes, M. de Richelieu felt compelled to give a new pledge to the Royalists by admitting to the council M. Lainé, as well as MM. de Villèle and Corbière, who exercised great influence over the Right side of the elective chamber. They all three entered the chamber as ministers without portfolios, and the general direction of public instruction was given to M. Corbière. The following legislative session showed how vain were the hopes in which the Ministry still indulged that they would be able to carry on the government by the aid of the moderate men of the two parties, or, in other words, of the two Centres of the Assembly. The members of the Left Centre who remained faithful to them formed a very insignificant portion of the Assembly, the whole Left having been reduced by the late elections to a hundred deputies, who were all deeply irritated

Royalist elections, 1820.

at the conduct of the moderate ministers, and who, after having taken part in the compilation of the decree of the 5th of September, had, by means of the electoral law, paved the way for the victory of the party against which that decree had been directed. But although deprived of the power given by numbers the deputies of the Left possessed the strength which is given by passion when united with talent. They numbered amongst them men devoted to the principles of 1789, which they eloquently defended. All the factions of the Liberal party, from the Doctrinaires to the irreconcilable enemies of the Bourbons, were represented amongst them by their leaders. Opposite to them were confounded, under the name of Royalists, the men attached to the legitimate monarchy as it had been made by the charter, and the much larger number who, looking upon the charter as an unfortunate legacy of the Revolution, hoped, as they could not destroy it, at least to be able greatly to modify, by the aid of fresh laws, the effects of its principal clauses.

Party animosity.

It is impossible for us to understand the difficulties of the situation, and the impossibility of procuring the acceptance of a reasonable and moderate policy, if we do not transport ourselves in imagination to the midst of this stormy period, and if we do not remember that the opinions of the immense majority of men are formed by their recollections, their habits, their private interests, and their passions. The whole of the generation which had been in existence at the close of the last century was not yet in the tomb. Many of those who had lost everything by the Revolution were now opposed face to face to those who had gained everything by it, and for these two classes of men ideas had a vastly different mode of expression, and words themselves, even, had a different meaning. The former saw in every deliberative assembly a National Convention, in every Liberal a Jacobin, and in the charter the written and odious sanction of the outrages of which they had been the victims. In the eyes of the latter the Bourbons were but the representatives of a detestable system of government, and the old emigrant royalists, the enemies of France, men whose influence could not but be the source of continual danger. The very same actions were lauded, or branded as infamous, according as they were accomplished under the white flag or the tricolour; and religion, invoked by the one party as a main support of their cause, was hated by the other as the inseparable auxiliary of privileges and absolutism. The former closed their eyes to

the necessities of the present times, and the latter could not comprehend the teachings of the past, or the influence of tradition on political and social order. Each party was equally inspired by blind hatred, fury, and illusions, so much the more profound, because neither party could perceive the dangerous consequences which must result from the realization of their extreme and opposite views.

What could be done, in such a state of things, by the upright, experienced, and wise men who sat in the Cabinet, the Richelieus, Pasquiers, and Serres, incessantly beaten as they were by the waves of conflicting passions, and almost equally hated by the Ultra-Royalist and Ultra-Liberal parties, each of whom regarded as a crime any concession granted to the other? The three Ministers who were members of the Right, and whom M. de Richelieu had admitted to the Council at the close of the late elections, and especially MM. de Villèle and Corbière, remained immovable and silent in the midst of the most irritating debates, and systematically refrained from giving any support to the Ministry, which had solicited their aid, but was not sufficiently in accordance with their genuine opinions. During the previous session, and the first months of the new session (1820-1821), however, the troubled state of many portions of Europe bordering on France, where the cause of the foreign revolutionists received the deepest sympathy, was a salutary check to the Ultra-Royalists. The spirit of insurrection might triumph in Spain, at Naples, and in Piedmont, and then cause an explosion in France, and the Right of the Elective Chamber did not as yet venture to treat as entirely vanquished the Revolution, with which it was possible that they might have to deal on the morrow. But in the spring of 1821, when all the insurrections of the populations of Italy were crushed, and the Austrians, after an easy triumph, were masters of the whole Peninsula, the Royalist party in France regarded itself as victorious along with them, and the majority in the Chamber of Deputies again openly displayed the ardent passions which had animated the Chamber of 1815.

Legislative Session, 1821.

The new intentions of the Royalist party manifested themselves in May, 1821, during the debate on a proposed law, which was one of the great events of the session, and the only object of which was to apply the amount of extinct ecclesiastical pensions to the endowment of twelve new bishoprics, the improvement of vicarages and curacies, and the repair of

The law of endowment for the clergy.

churches. This project, although dictated by the most benevolent intentions with respect to the interests of religion, was nevertheless violently opposed by the members of the Right, as insufficient and too restrictive of the rights of the church and the monarch. These deputies, in fact, cherished a secret hope of obtaining the execution of the concordat concluded in 1817 between the Holy See and France, but which had not become a law of the State. The opposition attempted, through the lips of M. de Bonald, the speaker of the committee, to completely change the character of the ministerial plan, but the eloquent efforts of M. Pasquier succeeded in preserving its principal clauses. The number of new bishoprics, which the Government had proposed should be twelve, was, in principle, raised to thirty, and the choice of the places where these sees should be founded was left to the King. The proposed law, as thus modified by the Chamber of Deputies, was adopted by that of the Peers, and the condition of the clergy was then made pretty much what it remains at the present day.

Law on the grants of the Imperial Government.

The Royalist opposition in the Elective Chamber burst forth in the most furious manner on the occasion of the proposal of a law relative to the hereditary grants bestowed by the Imperial Government, as rewards for glorious military and civil services. These grants had been secured on the property, in conquered territories, which formed part of the Emperor's "extraordinary domain," and the remains of which, valued after the peace of 1812 at four millions of "rentes," had been incorporated with the State property by a financial law of 1818. The State had thus become the debtor, although in a very diminished proportion,* of all those on whom grants had been bestowed under the Empire. The law proposed by the Government in March, 1821, granted rentes inscribed on the great book of the public debt to all the surviving grantees, divided into six classes; those coming under the first class to receive a thousand francs of rente, and those of the latter a hundred. This proposed law was an act of reparation which gave some slight recompense for enormous losses, and offered some slight alleviation to great sufferings, especially in the case of a multitude of poor invalided soldiers, widows, and orphans. The Right of the Chamber, however, vehemently opposed it, and demanded that the

Stormy debate.

* The "extraordinary domain" produced, before the peace of Paris, forty millions of rentes.

soldiers of Condé's army, the Vendeans and the Chouans, should be allowed, as well as the old grantees of the Empire, to become sharers in what remained of the Imperial "extraordinary domain." In the course of the debate the most outrageous expressions were made use of on either side of the Chamber. The Emigrants and Vendean heroes on the one side, and the glorious veterans of the Revolution and the Empire on the other, were alternately stigmatized as traitors and rebels. It was an unfortunate period, in fact, in which the dominant party regarded patriotism as treason against the sovereign. General Foy eloquently replied to the bitter invectives of the Ultra-Royalists, and each of his words found an echo in new France.

The Ministry, blamed and insulted even by both parties, was unable to preserve to the new law its original character, and, as passed, it recognised the possession of no absolute rights by the grantees, and only bestowed life pensions on those and the children of those who were still living, whilst it also equally rewarded out of what remained of the Imperial domain the services rendered by the armies of the Vendeans and that of Condé. These violent debates were brought to a close at the moment when the trial of the persons concerned in the conspiracies of the 20th of August was about to commence in the Court of Peers. The latter reckoned amongst its members many of the most illustrious men of the Empire. A large portion of its members bitterly resented the insults which had been heaped on the old army in the other Chamber, and were thus inclined, perhaps, to look less harshly on the military conspirators brought before them for judgment. Most of the conspirators were acquitted, and the indulgent tendencies of the judges displayed in the sentences passed on those who were found guilty, one of whom only, Captain Nantil, who had fled, was condemned to death. The Chamber of Peers, however, had accepted the laws passed by that of the Deputies, whilst nevertheless displaying a great desire to struggle against the encroachments of the Ultra-Royalists. This germ of resistance was developed at a later period, when the latter had become possessed of the supreme power, and the Chamber of Peers became the focus of a serious and popular opposition.

**Trial and judgment of the conspirators, August 20.**

The revolutionary spirit, which had but recently worn so serious an aspect throughout Europe, was now everywhere crushed. As has already been stated, it had had to succumb in every portion of the Italian

Peninsula. It had been resolved, in the preceding year, at the Congress of Laybach, by the three allied sovereigns and the King of the Two Sicilies, that an Austrian army should be sent to Naples. This army, in the spring of 1821, had entered the Abruzzi. The Piedmontese, ill advised, had chosen this moment for an insurrection, and, a military revolt having burst forth at Alexandria, the constitution of the Cortes of Spain was proclaimed at Turin. The King of Sardinia, Victor-Emmanuel, immediately abdicated in favour of his brother, Charles-Felix, who, instead of joining the insurgents, hastened from Modena at the head of the Austrian troops to combat them. Austria triumphed in Piedmont as at Naples; the Neapolitan army, commanded by General Pepe, was shamefully defeated at the very first onset, and the whole of Italy, at the end of May, 1821, was in the power of the foreigner.

Austria crushes the Revolution in Naples and Piedmont.

The Emperor Alexander was then informed of the insurrection of the Greeks. This revolution had no connexion with the one which had just been suppressed in Italy; but he saw in it only a new conspiracy of Carbonarism, and abandoned his unfortunate co-religionists. The heroic city of Souli succumbed before the ferocious Ali Pasha; and England, by an odious treaty, sold to the barbarian the city of Parga, in which, to satisfy the vengeance of the Sultan Mahmoud, eighty priests, together with the venerable Patriarch of Constantinople, and a multitude of Greeks, perished in that capital by the most ignominious punishments. The Klephtes of the Mountains, the Greeks of Moldavia and Wallachia, relied on the support of the Czar, and ran to arms at the instigation of Botzaris, Mavrocordato, and Ypsilanti. Overwhelmed by numbers, they were almost all destroyed. The brave Ypsilanti, after having performed the most heroic actions for the faith of the cross and liberty, was taken prisoner by the Austrians, and languished for four years in chains, from which he only escaped to die.

Continuation of the Greek revolution.

Massacre of Parga.

A great event, the news of which had only recently reached Europe, caused a powerful sensation there. Napoleon had ceased to exist. The man who had been victorious in fifty-two battles, and disposed of the sceptres of the universe, had expired at Saint Helena on the 5th of May, 1821, in the midst of a few faithful friends, after several months of frightful agony, and after a captivity of

Death of Napoleon at Saint Helena, 1821.

six years. Napoleon had been sent to the grave by a liver complaint, the progress of which had been accelerated by an unhealthy climate, by the cruelty of his gaoler, Sir Hudson Lowe, the governor of the island, and, more especially by the devouring activity of a genius which, after having had the whole world for its sphere of action, could now only feed on bitter regrets. The reestablishment of order in France, and the great creations of Napoleon, are his best titles to renown, although his marvellous victories have carried the glories of the French arms to the highest point they have ever attained. But his unbounded ambition brought great disasters on the country which he had saved by his wisdom, and twice laid it open to the inroads of foreign armies. The calamities which followed these invasions, and the blood of two millions of men spilt during his reign in innumerable battles, show at what price a victor acquires his glory. Such was the prestige attaching to this wonderful man, that when eighteen hundred leagues distant from Europe, he still filled it with his name, whilst his mighty image seen from afar on its solitary rock in the midst of the ocean, was a perpetual object of terror for some, and of hope for others. His death hurried many of the latter into culpable and desperate enterprises, whilst by delivering their adversaries from a salutary fear, it allowed them to abandon themselves with less reserve to imprudent or rash reactionary projects.

At the same time a secret power invaded the court, the Chambers, and all the branches of the public administration. During the last ten years men of sincere piety, such as the Viscount de Montmorency and the Abbé Legris-Duval, had formed in France an influential society, which was generally named "the Congregation," the object of which, at first, was simply the performance of good works and the duties prescribed by a fervent spirit of devotion. It had affiliated itself to the Jesuits; and the latter, who were not permitted to reside in France as members of the order, had founded many religious houses there under the name of "Fathers of the Faith." They had powerful supporters amongst the members of the Royal Family itself, and Louis XVIII. having been earnestly entreated in their behalf, consented to tolerate them, without, however, recognising their legal existence. The Congregation, being imbued as they were with the most reactionary principles, became, under the patronage of MM. de Polignac and de Rivière, a most formidable obstacle to the

Origin of the Congregation.

Entry of Jesuits into France.

Ministers Decazes and Richelieu. The Restoration had opened to it the field of politics, and from thenceforth religion, which is so holy and respected when its aims are but spiritual and moral, was mixed up with the intrigues of ambition. Hypocrisy, which had been so fatal to morals at the close of the reign of Louis XIV., reappeared in that of Louis XVIII. and his successor. Outward acts of devotion performed by disbelievers, became for many a means of obtaining honours and fortune; the Government thereby lost much of its moral authority in the eyes of the people, and the French had the misfortune to blame religion for the scandalous acts of those who outraged it by pretending to invoke it.

Elections of 1821.

The elections of 1821 still further increased, in the Chamber of Deputies, the Right side at the expense of the Liberal Left, and the Ministers without portfolios, MM. Lainé, de Villèle, and Corbière, now quitted the Cabinet, to which they were no longer willing to lend the support of their names, and which they left, at the commencement of the new session, face to face with an ardent Royalist majority resolved to overthrow it. The Liberals, still more irritated against the Government, whom they accused of having given up the elections into the hands of their adversaries, openly leagued themselves with the latter for the purpose of procuring its fall. They combined to insert in the address, in answer to the speech from the throne, a phrase which attacked the policy of the Crown in its relations with the European powers at the Congresses of Troppau and Laybach, and this phrase, although vehemently opposed by the Cabinet, was retained by a majority of a hundred votes.

Coalition of Liberals and Ultra-Royalists in the legislative session, 1821-1822.

Louis XVIII., when the address was presented to him by a deputation of the Chamber, refused to receive it, and uttered some words which showed the offended dignity of the monarch. The Count d'Artois, the recognised leader of the Ultra-Royalists, would have been much better able than his brother to defend the Cabinet against his too ardent friends, and he had promised M. de Richelieu to moderate their zeal and their demands, but he forgot his promise, and abandoned the Minister to their resentment. M. de Richelieu and his colleagues, strong in the favour of the monarch, endeavoured in vain to carry on the struggle, and presented to the elective Chamber two laws for the prolongation of the censorship and the increased stringency of the law repressive of the abuses of the

press. The extreme Royalists, whose new object was to overthrow the Cabinet, affected an ardent love for the liberty which they wished to restrict, and a horror of the censorship, greatly resembling in this a certain number of their colleagues of the Left, who, after having been but recently the humble servitors of imperial despotism, disguised themselves as champions of the public liberties. A fresh vote of the Chamber rendered the resignation of the Government indispensable. M. de Richelieu surrendered his portfolio into the hands of the King; his colleagues followed his example, and a new Cabinet was formed in December, 1821, by the exclusive influence of the extreme Right. The supreme power thus returned to the hands of the Ultra-Royalists, and constitutional France entered upon a new crisis from which she was destined only to issue when the throne should have been overturned upon the charter torn to shreds.

Resignation of M. de Richelieu. Dissolution of the Ministry. December, 1821.

The most influential members of the new Cabinet were M. de Peyronnet, the Keeper of the Seals, M. de Villèle, Minister of Finance, and M. de Corbière, Minister of the Interior. Viscount Matthieu de Montmorency obtained the portfolio for Foreign Affairs, and the Duke de Belluno that for War. M. de Villèle already possessed great influence in the Council, and was not long before he became its head. His rise had been rapid, and he united to remarkable talents a great knowledge of public affairs; but he had not strength sufficient to check the fury of those whose blindness he deplored. He attempted to struggle against them in vain, and was hurried away by the dangerous passions which he did not share. The Congregation, satisfied that it would be able to control him in spite of himself, aided him to power, with the intention of exercising it itself. The appointment of the pious Viscount de Montmorency as one of the Ministers gave it a place in the very bosom of the Cabinet, and its members obtained the principal employments and offices under every Ministry. Thenceforth the Government and the Chamber of Deputies followed unanimously a reactionary course. It is not probable that they proposed to themselves to provoke a counter revolution, and to suppress the constitution; but their fatal policy tended to limit, to sap, and to a certain extent to annul, most of the guarantees given by the charter to the public liberties and the interests born of the Revolution. One of the first acts of the Ministry was to take from juries the right of de-

Ultra-Royalist Ministry.

M. de Villèle.

Political laws of 1822.

ciding respecting crimes committed by the press, and to pass two measures respecting it of a very serious nature. According to the first, the political tendency of a series of articles might constitute an offence against the laws, although no one of them taken by itself could be so construed; and according to the second, the censorship, in certain serious circumstances, might be reestablished. This law, which was presented in 1822, was passed by a great majority.

In the meantime secret societies were organized in every direction, and Carbonarism extended its vast ramifications throughout the kingdom in every direction. Its dangerous spirit rapidly penetrated the schools and the army, and the military conspiracy suppressed at Paris in August, 1820, was followed, during the two ensuing years, by many military plots, excited by the Carbonari in various corps and various parts of the kingdom. Seditious outbreaks took place in the cavalry school of Saumur, which, although they were suppressed, attracted the hopes of rash conspirators in this direction. General Berton assembled a troop of young men, soldiers and half-armed peasants, and marched at their head beneath the tricolour. He seized the city of Thouars in the name of Napoleon III., and marched upon Saumur, which he could not carry. Being now abandoned by most of his followers, he took to flight and was arrested. About the same time there burst forth a military revolt at Belfort, to which the illustrious General Lafayette himself was not a stranger. The Government speedily crushed this revolt, and at the same time most culpably laid a snare, of which the ex-Colonel Caron was, at Colmar, the imprudent victim. Two squadrons, with the intention of discovering his accomplices and compromising him, set forth one evening from Colmar and Neuf-Brisach, under the command of quartermasters, the officers being disguised in the ranks. This troop, traversing the neighbouring country, induced Caron and a friend of his, a riding-master named Roger, to join it. It marched under their orders, and drank with them, and when the latter, deceived by these perfidious demonstrations, uttered the cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" the soldiers threw themselves upon them, bound them, and handed them over to the authorities. A few days afterwards Caron was shot. No circumstance did more than this at this period to compromise

Progress of the Carbonari.

Conspiracies of 1822.

The Bonapartist plot of General Berton.

Military revolt at Belfort.

Plot of Caron and Roger.

the Government and to dispose men to regard the Ministers and the police as the sources and originators of all disturbances.

The year 1822 witnessed still more executions for political crimes. Berton was taken before the Court of Assizes at Poictiers, and the Attorney-General Mangin pointed out, without actually naming them, the most influential deputies of the Left as the General's accomplices. His words excited in the Chamber stormy discussions, which, whilst failing to throw any light upon the subject, still further envenomed the party animosities. Berton and two of his accomplices lost their heads upon the scaffold; a third committed suicide. Paris was soon afterwards the theatre of an afflicting scene. Four young sub-officers in garrison at Rochelle, having been convicted of Carbonarism and accused of having been engaged in a revolutionary plot, excited the sympathy of the public by their youth and their firmness. Their guilty project had not been carried into execution, but they were nevertheless condemned to death, and marched to the scaffold through the midst of a populace inspired at once by pity and resentment. It was thus that the Government of the Restoration thought that it might once more obtain protection against criminal plots and too real perils by means of rigorous chastisements.

Trial of General Berton.

Conspiracy of four subalterns in the garrison of La Rochelle.

Their execution.

A new Congress of Sovereigns now assembled at Verona, at which was discussed the important question of the Spanish revolution. Great disturbances, rendered inevitable by the weakness and the perfidy of Ferdinand VII., had broken forth in the capital of that country, and atrocious crimes—the assassination of the Canon Vinuesa, amongst others—had been committed, and compromised the revolutionary cause. It was in vain that Morella and Ballesteros endeavoured to restrain the men of violence, and to reestablish calm. Sanguinary combats took place between the populace and the Royal Guards, and recalled the frightful scenes which had taken place in Paris on the 10th of August. Ferdinand, whose life was in danger, carried his dissimulation so far, it was said, as even to sign decrees of death against his too faithful but powerless defenders. In the meantime the monks, who had been partially despoiled of their possessions, roused the inhabitants of the provinces, organized guerillas, and directed a vast counter-revolutionary movement

Critical state of Spain.

in Catalonia. A famous Trappist, Don Antonio Maragnon, had formed a formidable band of guerillas and marched at their head, crucifix in hand.

Regency established at the Seu d'Urgel.

He had taken by assault the fortress of Seu d'Urgel, and a Regency was established there, consisting of the Marquis de Mataflorida, Baron d'Eroles, and the Archbishop of Tarragona, which borrowed loans, and issued proclamations in the name of the King, whom it supposed to be in captivity. In a short time it found itself at the head of an army of twenty-five thousand men, who assumed the name of the Army of the Faith, took possession of many places in Navarre and Catalonia, and penetrated into Aragon. The Constitutional General Mina put this army to rout, retook the places which it had seized, and left no hope to the Royalists save in French intervention. The yellow fever, which desolated Barcelona, had some time since made Louis XVIII. resolve to post a cordon of troops on the Pyrenees frontier under pretext of sanitary precautions, and these troops might at any moment be converted into an army of invasion. Such was the state of things in Spain when the Congress commenced its sittings at Verona.

Army of the Faith.

MM. de Châteaubriand and Matthieu de Montmorency represented France at Verona, whilst M. de Villèle obtained at Paris the Presidency of the Council. Lord Wellington was the representative of England at the Congress. The suicide of Lord Castlereagh and the elevation of Mr. Canning to the Premiership of the English Ministry were grounds for expectation that the foreign policy of that power would undergo great modifications. When, accordingly, French intervention in Spain was proposed, Lord Wellington opposed it, and M. de Villèle hoped that it might even yet be avoided or adjourned. But the Congregation and the majority in the Chamber of the Deputies were eager for war; M. de Châteaubriand was inclined for it, and the efforts of M. de Montmorency rendered it inevitable. The contagion of the Spanish revolution appeared dangerous to France, and more especially to Italy, in the eyes of the Royalists, of M. de Metternich, and the three Allied Sovereigns, and they unanimously resolved to suppress it. The Ambassadors of Russia, Austria, and Prussia immediately quitted Madrid. The Ambassador of France, General Lagarde, was not yet recalled; M. de Châteaubriand succeeded M. de Montmorency at the head of Foreign Affairs.

Congress of Verona, 1822.

The movement which carried the French Government into a counter re-

volutionary course triumphed over the pacific inclinations of M. de Villèle. Louis XVIII., bowed down by infirmities and age, no longer reigned save in name. Monsieur really wielded the sceptre, and wished for war; and the Chamber of Deputies, which was completely in accord with him on this point, displayed its zeal by the violence of the debates which took place on the vote of supplies for the expedition. It expelled Manuel, the deputy of La Vendée, a man very hostile to the Bourbons, who had made a speech which the majority of the Chamber considered to be a justification of regicide. The Chamber interrupted him and voted his expulsion. Manuel declared that he would only yield to actual force, upon which the President Ravez called upon the National Guards on duty to remove him, and Sergeant Mercier, their commander, having refused to exercise the will of the Assembly, Manuel was seized by gendarmes on his bench and dragged out of the Assembly. The whole of the members of the Left followed him, and declared that they all considered themselves assaulted and expelled in the person of Manuel.

Legislative session of 1823. Expulsion of Manuel from the Chamber of Deputies.

The extraordinary credits asked for the Spanish campaign were granted, and from thenceforth war appeared inevitable. A numerous army was already assembled on the Pyrenees frontier, the command of which was taken at the end of March by the Duke d'Angoulême, who had under him, as chief of his staff, General Guilleminot. The duke found the army on his arrival unprovided either with sufficient means of transport or provisions, and entered into onerous obligations to a wealthy banker, who offered to provide what was wanting, and who imposed upon the prince most grossly. The army entered the field on the 6th April, and on the frontier, at the pass of Bidassoa, encountered a battalion of insurgents bearing the tricolour flag. Frenchmen who had been engaged in the military conspiracies, and amongst others Captain Nantil and Colonel Fabvier, marched at their head, and advanced towards the troops to fraternize with them, crying "Vive l'Empereur!" "Vive la France!" General Valin, however, dispersed the insurgent battalion with his artillery, and the success of the campaign was secured. The army, in fact, was under the orders of the Oudinots, Monceys, and Molitors, old heroes of the empire, and the Spanish guerillas, so fatal formerly to the French veterans, this time fought with France. The victory could not be doubtful.

The Spanish war, 1823.

The French army speedily arrived at Madrid, which the Cortes had quitted, carrying with them Ferdinand VII., first to Seville and then to Madrid, after having declared him dethroned on account of imbecility. This audacious and guilty measure was very likely to prolong the war. Negotiations were entered into with the moderate constitutional generals, such as Ballesteros, Morillo, and d'Abisbal, and about the same time the prince generalissimo formed, in a spirit of conciliation, a Spanish Regency at Madrid, under the presidency of the Duke of Infantado, with the intention of keeping in check the members of the old Junta of Seu d'Urgel, whose blind violence, excited by the fanaticism of the Army of the Faith, threatened Spain with a murderous reaction. This army and the populace only awaited the arrival of the French troops to give themselves up to acts of cruel and base vengeance. The French soldiers interfered between them and their victims, and were speedily looked upon with hatred and distrust by the very persons they had come to assist. It was with the intention of preventing these scenes of brigandage and murder that the Duke d'Angoulême issued the celebrated decree of Andujar, which prohibited the Spanish authorities from arresting any one without the sanction of the French officers, and placed the editors of the journals under the direct protection of these officers. This decree was full of wisdom, and in conformity with the prince's whole course of conduct during this campaign; but it deeply offended the Regency at Madrid, and by no means tended to render the Cortes at Cadiz more tractable. The latter, thoroughly acquainted as they were with the character of Ferdinand, had no faith in the effect of the promises of the Duke d'Angoulême, who pledged himself to obtain liberal institutions for them from their King. They rejected all the propositions which their weakness should have induced them to accept, and the French troops then performed some gallant feats of arms. They attacked the formidable batteries of the Isle of Leon; the Trocadero was taken in the prince's presence; Cadiz submitted; and Ferdinand VII. was immediately set free.

Decree of Andujar, August, 1823.

Capture of the Trocadero. End of the Spanish war. October, 1823.

The war was at an end, and punishments began. Ferdinand chose as his Ministers men inspired with the most violent party spirit. The execution of Riego signalized his return to the throne, and the intervention of the French in favour of other victims was unavailing. No precautions had been taken, in fact, at the Congress of Verona to pre-

serve Spain from the misfortunes of a sanguinary reaction. The immense expenses of the war remained a burden on France, and the only fruit she gathered from this brilliant and onerous campaign was the ingratitude of those for whom she had made so many sacrifices. Such is the prestige, however, which in France always attaches to victory, that, during the first moments which followed the success of the French arms in Spain, the impression caused by that success was very favourable to the Ultra-Royalist party, the sole authors of the war. It enabled them to carry most of the partial elections which followed the campaign, and M. de Villèle conceived the idea of establishing his power on a mutual good understanding between the Government and a septennial Chamber, or one elected for seven years.

Besides the opposition of the Left, there was now formed in the Chamber another, which was no less hostile to the Ministers, whom it accused of being lukewarm in the Royalist cause. MM. de la Bourdonnaye and Delalot were its energetic leaders. Each of these men was imbued with ideas which were rather aristocratic than monarchical, and demanded that the landed interest should have a great share in the direction of affairs. They violently accused M. de Villèle of having failed to fulfil his pledges with respect to this matter, and the latter hoped that, by convoking a new Chamber whilst the impression produced by the Spanish campaign was still recent, he might procure one entirely devoted to his views, and thus be enabled to crush a double and fatiguing opposition. The King and his Council shared the opinions of the Minister; the Chamber was dissolved, and every preparation was made for a general election.

Elections of 1824.

Nothing could be more scandalous or more fatal to the moral authority of the Government than the manner in which were conducted the elections of 1824, which took place at the commencement of the year. Circulars threatened the officials who had the superintendence of the elections with dismissal if they did not support the ministerial candidates, and many of them responded to the wishes of the Council by having recourse to fraud and displaying the most base servility. Cavillings of every kind with respect to the Liberal electors, arbitrary erasures and insertions in the electoral lists, and the issue of false polling tickets, were abuses which were permitted, encouraged, and even rewarded by the Ministers, who, obstinately persisting in governing

in a spirit opposed to the general feeling of the nation, could only maintain their position by calling to their aid trickery, bribery, and violence. Some eminent men took an active part in these deplorable manœuvres, and a mandate issued by Clermont Tonnerre, Archbishop of Toulouse, showed the end to which they tended, and betrayed the secret hopes and intentions of the victorious party. The Archbishop demanded the restoration of the ancient privileges of the Church of France, the reestablishment of all the solemn fêtes, of the rights of the clergy as they formerly existed, and of many religious orders which at this period were not allowed to reside in France. Finally, he expressed a hope that the civil power would become lodged in the hands of the clergy. This rash manifesto was suppressed by the Council of State, at the suggestion of M. Portalis; but it revived the old disputes between the clergy and the magistracy, and aroused the opposition of the Royal Courts to the encroachments of a too violent party and the demands of the Cabinet.

Mandate of the Archbishop of Toulouse.

The result of the elections surpassed the hopes of the Royalists, and nineteen Liberal deputies only were elected. This monstrous abuse of the influence of the Government over elections had always been in France, since the fall of the old system of things, one of the most fatal effects of an excess of administrative centralization, and the successive governments who have momentarily obtained a factitious support in the suffrages exacted by themselves have always ultimately found in them one of the decisive causes of their fall. It is in this that consists, perhaps, the greatest danger of such parliamentary and representative governments as that of the Restoration in France. Under these forms of government, in fact, it is understood that the nation is to take part in the conduct of its own affairs, and it is by means of the elections that it exerts its influence; but if those elections are not the genuine expression of public opinion, they represent only the party which is in power; and then the latter, intoxicated with its own apparent strength, and released from every salutary check, no longer holds public opinion in any account, but crushes and represses it until, like steam, it explodes, overthrows everything in its way, and threatens destruction not only to the monarchy, but to social order. Such is the spectacle presented to us by the history of the Restoration during its last years.

Result of the abuse of administrative power during the elections.

The electoral law of the double vote had already given far too large a proportion of the seats in the elective Chamber to that class of rich landed proprietors amongst whom were many men belonging to the old families which had been victims of the Revolution, and who regarded the charter either as a fatal legacy of a detested period or a temporary necessity. The Government had fallen once more into the hands of their friends, and the general elections of 1824, conducted, as they were, under the immediate influence of the Government, had given to their party an immense majority in the elective Chamber, from which the Liberal opposition had almost disappeared. But the ground which the latter had lost in the Chamber it had gained beyond its walls in public opinion, which had become disquieted and irritated by the reactionary tendencies of the Government, by its subservience to the clerical party, by many of its past acts, and by all those which it was proposing to accomplish.

As the court and the ministry refused to take into any account the general opinion or the wishes of the country, the problem which remained to be solved was, how to reduce public opinion to silence by a series of counter-revolutionary measures, by the aid of which the Congregation and the Ultra-Royalists flattered themselves that they might increase the authority of the territorial aristocracy and the clergy, and render their influence in the kingdom dominant and enduring. Time was an indispensable element in the solution which was to be effected of this difficult problem by the aid of a devoted majority. The period of five years assigned by the constitution as that during which the deputies were to sit was, in the opinion of the Government, too small for the accomplishment of this great purpose, and at the opening of the legislative session, in March, 1824, the king, in his speech to the Chamber, announced that two laws of great importance would be submitted to them. The object of one of these laws was to substitute for the quinquennial and partial renewal of the elective chamber directed by the charter, its entire and septennial renewal; and the other referred to the conversion of the rents inscribed on the great book of the public debt. The adoption of this latter law, the monarch asserted, would allow of a great diminution in the taxes, and close the last wounds left by the Revolution.

Legislative session.

These two proposed laws were simultaneously presented by the ministry, the first to the Chamber of Peers, and the second to that of the

Deputies. To the objections that the entire and septennial renewal of the charter would be contrary to certain articles of the charter, it was replied that those articles were not fundamental ones, and the law, after having been accepted by the peers, was submitted to the Elective Chamber, in which it was energetically opposed by the Liberal opposition, and especially by Royer-Collard, who carefully set forth all the advantages of the partial renewal prescribed by the charter and the danger of violating it by the suspension of the elections during seven years. He pointed out that the entire and simultaneous renewal, if effected freely, would be too rude a shock for any government, and that if it were not effected freely it would throw the whole of France into the hands of the Ministers by means of the administrative centralization at their disposal. "It is to centralization," said the orator, "to that monstrous power which has been raised on the ruins of all our institutions, that is confided the guardianship of all our political rights. . . . In the absence of freedom of elections all ministerial responsibility disappears, and it is thus that the representative government has been disgracefully perverted; instead of elevating it degrades us; instead of encouraging the common energy and cherishing the principle of honour which is our public spirit and the dignity of the nation, it stifles and proscribes it." Royer-Collard demonstrated with all the eloquence of conviction and of talent the urgent necessity which there existed, for the purpose of holding in check an oppressive and unlimited centralization, institutions which should be the guardians of the rights of all, and which would be capable of sounding the alarm whenever society should find itself attacked. Without such institutions, he said, representative government was but a phantom and a name. All his efforts, however, were fruitless, and the law was passed by a large majority.

The septennial laws.

Speech of Royer-Collard.

The second project met with a very different fate. It was connected, in the minds of its authors, with a plan for the reimbursement of the losses suffered by the old emigrants or their families by means of the resources which its adoption would give to the treasury. Its object was the conversion of the five per cent. rentes, which amounted to a hundred and forty millions, into three per cents., at the price of seventy-five per cent.; and bankers were engaged to furnish the necessary funds for the repayment at par of those holders of five per cent. rentes who might decline to accede to the

Proposed law for the conversion of rentes.

proposed exchange. This plan, useful as it would be to the Government, appearing in some respects opposed to the engagements entered into by them, and adverse to the interests of the numerous class of "rentiers," excited much angry feeling. The Chamber of Deputies adopted it; but it was rejected by the Chamber of Peers; a fact which was in some degree due to the tacit opposition of M. de Châteaubriand. M. de Villèle immediately demanded the dismissal of his colleague, which he obtained, and by this violent proceeding hastened his own fall. Châteaubriand, extremely irritated at his dismissal, at once commenced a conflict with his late friends and colleagues, the motives of which were by no means justifiable, but which was not the less implacable and to the death. He attracted to his side many deputies of the Right, and the nucleus of a new party was formed, which was styled by their adversaries the party of defection, and of which the *Journal des Débats* became the active and formidable organ.

Its rejection by the Chamber of Peers.

Dismissal of Châteaubriand.

Party of defection.

M. Hyde de Neuville, the French ambassador at Lisbon, adopted at this period an extremely bold line of conduct. On the 30th of April the Infant Don Miguel, who was the representative of the absolute party, and supported by the queen mother, had put himself at the head of the troops in that capital, and kept King John VI., his father, a prisoner in his own palace; at the same time throwing several ministers and many eminent persons into prison, and loudly announcing his intention of restoring to the royal authority its ancient prerogatives. M. Hyde de Neuville, together with the English Ambassador, assisted John VI. to recover his sceptre, and Don Miguel was driven from Portugal. The French Ambassador incurred the blame of the Ultra-Royalists for having declared against the prince, who appeared, although a rebel, to be the incarnation of the principles of absolute power; and whilst the Liberal press reproached the French Government with its retrograde tendencies, the journals of the opposite party bitterly accused it of dilatoriness in satisfying the demands of the extreme Royalists.

Disturbances in Portugal.

The Government now put into force those articles of the law which permitted it to prosecute journals on account of the general tendency of their articles. It brought several editors to trial in the Royal Courts, and in almost every case the magistrates made common cause with the press against the Court and

Prosecution and acquittal of numerous journalists.

Cabinet. The Government rendered the opposition of the judges still more determined by censuring their judgments. The law of 1822 enabled it to reestablish the censorship in case serious circumstances should render this measure necessary, and, as the Ministers saw a serious danger in the acquittals pronounced by the Royal Courts, they reestablished the censorship on this ground alone, and thus declared themselves in direct opposition to the magistracy. The clergy obtained at this period the appointment of a Minister for ecclesiastical affairs. The first appointed was a bishop, M. de Frayssinous, and the direction of public instruction was made one of his functions.

Reestablishment of the censorship.

The King was now at the edge of the tomb. On Sunday, September 10th, he could not hold an audience, and a few days later he was stretched on his death-bed, surrounded by the members of the royal family. He directed his Ministers to act in concert with his brother; and in the last interview which he had with Monsieur, he said to him, "I have been as Henry IV. was, and I have the advantage over him, in that I am dying in my bed at the Tuileries; do as I have done, and you will also have as peaceful and tranquil an end. I forgive you any annoyances you may have caused me, by reason of the hopes I have formed of what will be your conduct as king." The old monarch then called down upon all his relations the benediction of heaven, and laying his hand on the Duke de Bordeaux, the last and feeble offspring of his race, he said with a voice full of emotion, as he looked at his brother, "Let Charles X. preserve the crown for this child." He gave his last sigh, after a protracted agony, and Charles X. was King.

Last moments of Louis XVIII. September, 1824.

His death.

During many years past Louis XVIII. had been unable to walk. Suffering from incurable disease in his legs, and tormented by the gout, he had perceived, long before his death, that his intellectual faculties were failing him, and was compelled to abandon the direction of public affairs to his brother. It was at the close of the Spanish war that the King's health was most seriously affected, and it is not to him that is to be attributed the course pursued by the Government after the elections of 1824.

His character.

Louis XVIII. was not exempt from a strong and natural predilection for the system of things under which he had been born, but he could appreciate the necessities of France, and the charter to which he affixed

his name was the foundation in France of political liberty. Endowed with a judicious and cultivated mind, he sought the society of men acquainted with ancient and modern literature; he was ready of speech, and many happy sayings fell from his lips. When he had appointed a certain time for an audience or a ceremony, he was always present at the exact time named. "For punctuality," he said, "is the politeness of kings." He was almost always present, even to the close of his life, at the grand court receptions, and when he was urged to spare himself this fatigue, he said, "A King of France ought to die openly." He is reproached with having been cold-hearted, and the blood of some of the victims of the dissensions in France is a burden upon his memory; but when he permitted those persons to be executed he regarded their death less as an act of vengeance than as one of political necessity. Sincerely attached to the Constitution which he had adopted, it is only just to take into account the strong family influences against which he had to struggle. The charter was, in his eyes, the anchor of safety; relying upon it, he braved many storms and escaped numerous rocks. Overwhelmed at length, however, by many infirmities, and a naturally indolent nature, which was more ready to be influenced than to influence others, he displayed in his latter years more solicitude for repose than for the possession of power. He resigned his sceptre, to a certain extent, and unhappily for France, into the hands of his relatives and those of his favourite Minister, in the presence of a factious and reactionary majority, and thus abandoned himself, as much through weakness as conviction, to the dangerous current which in his best days he had known how to direct and govern.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE REIGN OF CHARLES X.—THE REVOLUTION OF 1830—ACCESSION OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

*16th September*, 1824—*9th August*, 1830.

THE nearer this history approaches its conclusion the greater are the difficulties with which the writer has to contend. When under the impression of facts caused by passions which are not yet extinct, and in the presence of men who have survived them, and who have the right to appeal to posterity from the precipitate judgments of their contemporaries, it is necessary to remember that the first duty of an historian is to be true, not for the sake of any one set of opinions or any one party, but solely for the sake of morality and the interests of all. It is, therefore, of the highest importance that the narrator of facts should never lose sight of the source from which they have risen; that he should acknowledge, on the one hand, that popular views have not always been inspired by disinterested, generous, and sincerely patriotic motives; and, on the other, that many acts, the results of error or prejudice, and justly condemned by public opinion, were free from any criminal intention.

Political opinions of Charles X.

Some of these considerations are applicable to Charles X. Attached by all his feelings to the ancient system of things whilst reigning under the new, and a Catholic monarch and devoted to Catholicism at a period when the most influential portion of the nation regarded it with much more distrust than favour, he looked upon all who had defended the principles of the Revolution as indiscriminately guilty of the prolonged calamities of France, always suspected them in spite of the devotion which many of them had displayed for the monarchical cause, and constantly refused to enter into relations with them. Averse to all violent reaction, and naturally benevolent, he loved popularity, and protested his respect for the charter; but at the same time, whilst accepting and swearing to maintain it, he would not admit

that it had established in France powers which were rivals of his own, or a government which did not spring from his own sole authority. He only regarded the two Chambers as bodies in possession of political powers more extensive, doubtless, than those of the Parliaments and the ancient States of the kingdom, but which did not possess more extensive rights than those assemblies. "In France," he said, "the King consults the Chambers, and pays great attention to their advice and remonstrances; but when he does not think fit to accept their advice, his own will must be accomplished." From this false idea which he had formed of the representative government founded on the charter, arose all the disturbances which took place during his reign, and the ruin of the monarchy. Finally, Charles X. regarded as dangerous and humiliating to his crown any concession to public opinion; and whilst the latter clung with ever-increasing eagerness to the articles of the charter respecting civil equality, the balance of power, and the public liberties, and angrily protested against the interference of the Church in the affairs of the State, the King was full of anxiety to reconstruct upon their old foundations, as far as possible, the authority of the throne, the aristocracy, and the clergy. He believed that this was the only means of securing the safety of the monarchy and of France; and that he was fulfilling a holy duty by advancing towards this end, whilst he failed to observe the abyss which opened before him.

This prince, in the course of a long career, had been one of the small number of men whose political career had never varied, and who had but very seldom had reason to reproach themselves with having made concessions to opinions which they did not share. The French had long foreseen the storms of the new reign; and yet such is the power of gracious words and pleasant manners, and such the facility with which the French, forgetting first impressions, frequently pass from a feeling of prejudice to one of hope, that the accession of the new King at first appeared popular. "No more halberds!" he had said to the guards who had prevented the crowd from approaching him. This saying, and others equally happy, together with the suppression of the censorship, were regarded as favourable omens at the commencement of the reign. But whilst releasing the press from the censorship, Charles X. did not repudiate the acts of a Minister whom it condemned, but on the contrary, accepted them, by maintaining him in power. Then those of the mode-

rate Liberals who had been too ready to hope, were disabused, and public opinion, which had every day become more irritable and more exacting, was exasperated by a series of unpopular projects presented in succession to the Chambers during the sessions of 1825 and 1826. We will only here refer to the most important of them.

Legislative session of 1825.

The first of these plans, already announced by the late King in his last speech to the Chamber, proposed to grant to the emigrants or their heirs a milliard of francs, as an indemnity for the possessions of which they had been dispossessed during the Revolution. This plan, equitable though it was in itself, was nevertheless rejected by the Liberal party and the citizens as anti-national, because, of all the victims of the Revolution, it only indemnified those who had passed over to the side of the foreigner, or taken up arms against France. It was vehemently attacked in the Chamber of Deputies, and, from very different motives, by members of the extreme Right as well as by those of the Left. The first, and amongst them were MM. de la Bourdonnaye and de Beaumont, did not consider that the plan offered the emigrants sufficient reparation. The King, they said, had not the right to declare them dispossessed of their confiscated estates, by bestowing upon them a totally inadequate remedy. General Foy, on the other hand, attacked the plan bitterly and passionately; reminded the Assembly that the immense majority of its members were at once judges of and interested in the proposed plan of indemnity; and presented a petition from the members of the Legion of Honour who had been deprived of their allowances from 1814 to 1821. "At the time," he said, "when you are preparing to serve up so sumptuous a banquet to the emigrants, it would be as well to give a few morsels of bread at least to the old mutilated and distressed soldiers who had carried the glory of the French name to the end of the world." The two Chambers passed to the order of the day, and adopted the law which gave an indemnity to the emigrants or their heirs.

Proposed law for an indemnity to the exiles.

The law is voted.

While this law was being discussed in the Chamber of Deputies, that of the Peers was deliberating with respect to a project relating to the female religious communities. The principal object of the proposed law, which legalized the communities already established, was to render a simple royal decree

Debate in the Chamber of Peers of a project relating to female religious communities.

sufficient for the establishment of new ones. An analogous proposition had been discussed in the previous year in the same Chamber, and it was sufficient evidence of the pressure exercised on the Government by the religious party, the real object of which was to establish a precedent which would subsequently allow the authorization, by a simple decree, of communities of men, and sanction the existence of the Society of the Jesuits, and of the numerous establishments which they already possessed in numerous parts of France in despite of the laws to the contrary. No law on this subject could be more unpopular than that presented by the Keeper of the Seals. M. Pasquier pointed out its dangers in several remarkable speeches, and succeeded in defeating it by means of an amendment which forbade the establishment of any new female community without the sanction of the law, and which was adopted. To this proposal succeeded one on the law of sacrilege, which punished with death the theft of sacred vessels from churches, and the profanation of the consecrated host with the punishment inflicted on parricides. This law, the proposal of which had been exacted from the Government by the Congregation, and which was even more unpopular than the previous one, was supported by M. de Bonald with all the violence of theological passion, and encountered in each Chamber numerous and eloquent adversaries, and, amongst others, MM. de Broglie, Lanjuinais, Pasquier, and Portalis, in that of the Peers, and Royer-Collard in that of the Commons. It was denounced as a return to the barbarities of another period, as mixing up theology with legislation, and especially as being contrary to the equal liberty of worship established by the charter. The two Chambers, however, passed the law; that of the Peers simply cutting out the clause which inflicted the aggravated punishment suffered by parricides, mutilation before death.

Law relating to the punishment for sacrilege.

In the following session (1826) the Government proposed a law, according to which, in default of the formal expression of any wish on the subject on the part of the testator, a considerable privilege would be created in favour of primogeniture in the case of all estates paying land taxes of three hundred francs or upwards. If the authors of this scheme had confined themselves to the prevention of an indefinite division, which, by reducing patrimonial possessions to dust, as it were, is destructive to the existence of families of influence; if they had, with this object,

Session of 1826.

Law relating to the right of primogeniture.

confirmed the paternal authority, and allowed to fathers a greater freedom in the disposal of their property, the plan would have satisfied a necessity which was more and more felt every day. But the endeavour to substitute the power of the law for the will of the head of the family, for the purpose of re-establishing in France a territorial aristocracy, wounded one of the most nervous fibres of a democratic people, and betrayed a design to drive France back towards the social order of the old system. On this account, especially, it excited a great feeling of animosity against its authors; few acts of the Restoration were more strongly opposed to public opinion, and how violently can scarcely be understood but by those who lived in those agitated times. Presented to the Chamber of Peers by the Keeper of the Seals, it was strongly opposed, and none of its opponents displayed more skill and talent than Baron Pasquier. He set forth the absurdity of a project which, in case of its adoption, would bestow upon the Government the unheard-of power of making or unmaking eldest sons by raising or lowering by a centime only the taxes on land, and thus giving it a new and most formidable influence over families. He showed that all the efforts that might be made to re-establish an aristocracy in France must fail, if they were not the genuine offspring of the social system and of public opinion; and he pointed out that the best means of attaining this end would be the extension of the paternal power, and the enlargement of the functions and independence of the general and municipal councils and the royal courts. The Chamber of Peers rejected the law, with the exception of the clause which extended the rights of a testator as to the disposal of a portion of his property. This decision made a great sensation throughout the kingdom; Paris illuminated, and the Chamber of Peers shared for a time with the chief magistracy the popular favour.

**Debate thereon in the Chamber of Peers.**

**Speech of M. Pasquier.**

**Rejection of the proposed law.**

This long series of reactionary measures, which were so fatal to the moral authority of the Government, was interrupted in 1825 by the solemnities of the consecration. Charles X. appeared at Reims, surrounded by all the old pomp of the royal majesty, took there an oath to preserve the charter inviolate, and received the crown at the hands of the archbishop, in the midst of an ancient ceremonial, which was little in harmony with the ideas of the age, and in

**Coronation of Charles X., 1825.**

which the new generation, unfortunately, could only see an inopportune act of deference towards the clergy.

The Liberal party in France had soon afterwards to deplore a great loss in the death of Foy. A hundred thousand citizens, including the most distinguished merchants, lawyers, soldiers, and men of letters, attended his funeral, and adopted his children in the name of the country, at the open tomb of their father, the most eloquent opponent of the Government. The Court regarded this manifestation of feeling as a seditious movement, and continued to follow the dangerous path along which it was urged by the impatient wishes of those by whom it was surrounded, when a formidable adversary of the Congregation and the Jesuits suddenly appeared to contend with them. M. de Montlosier, an old defender of the ancient feudal liberties and the prerogatives of the aristocracy, denounced the vast organization of the Congregation as dangerous to the existence of religion in France and to the safety of the State; and M. de Frayssinous having let fall at the tribune an avowal of the existence of Jesuits in the kingdom, M. de Montlosier appealed to the laws against their re-establishment in France in the Royal Court of Paris. The latter having declared itself incompetent to proceed against them, M. de Montlosier immediately applied to the Chamber of Peers, which, at the suggestion of M. de Portalis, received the petition, as far as it referred to the existence in the kingdom of a society not legally authorized, and referred it to the president of the council. Upon this the Government resolved to shackle the press, which denounced the Jesuits to the country, and to stifle the opposition in the Chamber of Peers, which invoked against it the rigours of the law.

**Funeral of General Foy, 1825.**

**M. de Montlosier denounces the Jesuits.**

To effect its objects, it was now necessary for the Government to reduce the number of electors who were most lightly taxed, and who belonged to the classes most attached to the liberal cause; and it accordingly presented a proposition for the reduction of the land-tax, which was most vehemently opposed by Royer-Collard. "This reduction," he said, "would diminish by many thousands the number of electors, and especially of those who, being most in contact with the working classes, place the Elective Chamber in relation and harmony with the masses of the people.

**Proposed change in electoral law.**

**Speech of Royer-Collard.**

Should such relations continue, and the elective power be more and more absorbed by the upper classes, the representative character of the Government would be destroyed, and the Chamber would no longer be anything but a senate, which would not know France, and which France would not recognise."

The session of 1826 was closed in July. Public opinion, irritated by so many measures dictated by a policy contrary to the national feeling and subservient to the Congregation and the Jesuits, burst forth into complaints and menaces. From this profound discontent, which was in itself a great evil, there sprang also, as the consequence of a natural reaction of the public mind, an unfortunate tendency to confound Royalty and the Government in one common blame; a fatal disposition which is but too readily recognisable in many publications of the period. The great philosophical and literary movement which commenced under the Empire, on the one hand, in the first works of Maine de Biran and Royer-Collard, and on the other in those of Châteaubriand and Madame de Staël, had received from the shock of political opinions in the following period a powerful impulse; and the brilliancy of the literature of the Restoration would alone attach to it a sufficient share of glory. But as time went on the productions of the traditional Royalist and Catholic school became rarer and rarer, whilst those of the Liberal school multiplied and inundated France. In all the speeches, in all the writings of the Liberal Constitutionalists, a tribute of praise was paid to the charter and to the free institutions of England, and to the respect due to national rights. There was thus formed a public feeling which powerfully inspired the eminent professors of the Sorbonne, the great publicists, the romance writers, and the poets, and which was the life-blood of many works and periodical publications, amongst which were distinguished "The Encyclopædia of the Nineteenth Century," "The Censor," and "The Globe." The latter especially attracted attention, and counted the Doctrinaires amongst its most eminent contributors. These journals inserted in their columns brilliant articles, very liberal in tone, and containing very elevated views with respect to political matters, administrative and financial, and did not then foresee that they would so soon have to apply their own theories to practice, and to answer to France for their acts.

State of the public feeling.

Political tendencies of the universities, literature, and the press.

But whilst in these productions, some of which were justly celebrated,

whilst others were worthy of respect for various reasons, elevated, bold, and more or less adventurous doctrines were associated with a sentiment of respect for the monarchy, the latter was attacked at its foundations by other works which were very popular, and which were fraught with profound irony, systematic bitterness, and all the prestige of talent. Amongst these writings, some of which had the importance of political facts, the most spoken of and widely read were the famous pamphlets of Paul-Louis Courier, and some of the songs of the national poet Béranger. About the same time two men of rare intellect, MM. Thiers and Mignet, appeared in the literary world, and founded in France a new literary school. They had devoted themselves to the mission of elevating the character of the French Revolution by excusing the faults of that period, by the aid of a doctrine as false as it was dangerous, that of fatalism. Their works, which they have themselves subsequently judiciously modified, were received at first with enthusiasm by a public animated by a thousand various passions. They overstepped their own object, and powerfully assisted to revive in France the Republican party; a formidable phantom which was soon to stand face to face in the political arena with those who, without intending to do so, had invoked it. Some Utopians, in the first rank of whom were Saint Simon and Charles Fourrier, dreamt at this period of the reconstruction of the social edifice on principles as remote from the genuine principles of Christianity as from the laws sanctioned by the study of human nature and the experience of ages. Their doctrines slowly penetrated the masses, and found favour with minds which in other times would only have treated them with indifference or disdain. It would be unjust to hold the Government of the Restoration responsible for the manifestation of these ideas; but it may fairly be said that the extreme irritation caused amongst almost all classes by a long series of imprudent and unpopular acts, disposed an over-excited and passionate public to accept blindly too many writings whose only title to favour consisted in an ardent and irritated opposition to the ministerial policy.

In the meantime M. de Villèle, in spite of his increasing unpopularity, persisted in clinging to power, and his ambition became day by day more violent and jealous. Determined to be the sole master of the position, he had successively removed from power the most eminent men, MM. Decazes, Lainé, Richelieu, and Châteaubriand, all of whom had powerful

friends in the Chamber of Deputies. He at the same time stood aloof from the extreme members of the old Right, and by this exclusive and personal policy the number of his opponents increased. Finally, he had lost the majority in the Chamber of Peers, and already found himself very weak in that of the Deputies. He resolved to strike in the person of the press the most formidable opponent of his power, and at the commencement of the following session, Peyronnet, the Keeper of the Seals, presented to the Deputies a law, the object of which was to restrain the liberty of the press within the narrowest limits in respect to pamphlets and books, and to stifle it altogether in respect to journals and periodicals. The proposed law excited an almost universal feeling of indignation, and, at the suggestion of Charles Lacretelle, who was zealously supported by Châteaubriand, Lemercier, Jouy, Michaud, Joseph Droz, Alexander Duval, and Villemain, it appointed a committee of its members to draw up a petition to the King for the withdrawal of the project. This petition Charles X. refused to receive, and replied to it by the infliction of punishments; depriving MM. Villemain, Lacretelle, and Michaud of their offices. The law, which was adopted by the Chamber of Deputies, was vehemently opposed in that of the Peers. The Cabinet foresaw that, even if this Chamber accepted it, it would at least reject its most rigorous clauses, and saved it from so dangerous an operation by withdrawing it.

Proposed law against the liberty of the press.

Protest of the French Academy.

This news was received with acclamations by the populace of Paris, already a prey to a formidable excitement, the symptoms of which were displayed in the midst of *feux de joie* and popular cries. Fresh and irrefragable signs of the general feeling were manifested every day; and it was impossible to doubt the sincerity or the power of a public opinion which was supported by all the greatest and most esteemed bodies in the State, the peerage, the high magistracy, the Institute, the ministry, and even the wisest and most eminent men of the Royalist party. There was a species of insanity in the refusal to recognise all the dangers of the course on which the Government had entered, when there were seen in the ranks of the Opposition all the great incorporated bodies, which are the Conservative elements of states, that fact being in itself an infallible sign that a revolution was imminent. And yet the Cabinet persevered,

The opposition became general. Irrefragable symptoms slighted by Ministers, 1827.

determined to brave everything, as though struck by blindness and fascinated by the deceptive prestige of a factitious parliamentary majority, the result of the double vote, and torn from France by an unlimited administrative centralization.

Charles X., whilst thus opposing every liberal feeling, was nevertheless anxious that the French should be personally attached to him. He had long been hurt at the silence of the people when he passed amongst them, and after having witnessed the enthusiasm of the Parisians on the occasion of the withdrawal of the law respecting the press, he ordered a general review of the National Guard for the following Sunday. On that day the whole of Paris proceeded to the Champ de Mars, where sixty thousand men were under arms. The King passed through the ranks and appeared satisfied with the manner in which he was received, but in almost every instance the cry of "Vive le roi!" was mingled with a shout of hostility against the ministers. Some voices even insulted the princesses present at the review, and whilst defiling before the Minister of Finance, a battalion uttered threatening imprecations. The King had already uttered some gracious words when, at the instigation of the princesses and MM. de Villèle and Corbière, he felt bound to avenge the offended members of his family and his Council; but he did not distinguish the innocent from the guilty, and confounded them in the same punishment. Paris learnt on the following day that its National Guard was dissolved. The Liberal press and the Opposition journals vehemently reproached the President of the Council with being the author of this inconsiderate act of vengeance, and immediately after the session the censorship was arbitrarily re-established. A strong opposition against the decree which so abruptly dissolved the National Guard arose in the Chamber of Peers, and appeared also in the Chamber of Deputies, where the minority hostile to the Ministers increased every day in strength. Already many members belonging to every party had declared that although a recent law had sanctioned the septenniality of the legislature, the trust they had received at the hands of the electors was only for five years, and that, consequently, they could not retain their seats for any longer time in the chamber. M. de Villèle now, therefore, resolved to secure the duration of his power and the execution of his plans by the election of a new septennial parliament which should be more docile than the

Review and disbandment of the National Guard.

existing one. He consulted the prefects with respect to the state of public feeling in their departments, and received from them complaisant answers which were in many cases inexact, but which in most cases assured him that the results of the elections would be favourable to his plans. Relying on these assurances, he no longer hesitated, and in November, 1827, appeared the decree by which the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved. The Electoral Colleges were convoked, and seventy-six peers created, most of the latter being members of the majority of the old Chamber and large landed proprietors whose great fortunes recommended them to the Royal favour.

Dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies. Creation of Peers, 1827.

The Cabinet had overstepped the mark, and the hour had arrived in which it would have to come to a serious account with public opinion. There had already been formed, since some time; with a view to the approaching general elections, a society which became celebrated under the name of the society Help Yourself and Heaven will Help You, of which many eminent members of the Liberal party, and amongst others M. Guizot, were the most active founders. Its object was to prevent electoral frauds, to watch the electoral lists, and to stimulate the zeal of those electors who belonged to the Liberal party. Its efforts were powerfully supported by the periodical press, which, according to law, became released from all its shackles as soon as the elective Chamber was dissolved. Three influential journals—the *Débats*, the *Constitutionnel*, and the *Courier Français**— waged a desperate war against the Cabinet, whilst a multitude of other publications at Paris and in the departments were the passionate organs of the general feeling. Public opinion, so long misconstrued, crushed, and braved, now exploded simultaneously in every part of the kingdom. Its force was irresistible, and it triumphed, this time, over the administrative centralization. All the members of the Left who had been rejected in the preceding election reappeared, and were sent back to the Chamber by the arrondissement colleges. Many of them returned to it deeply irritated, disposed to make the most violent resistance to the policy of the Cabinet,

Outburst of public opinion. Liberal elections, 1827.

* The *Débats* was conducted at this period by its proprietors, the brothers Bertin, with the assistance of Bequet, Hoffman, Salvandy, and Châteaubriand. The principal writers on the *Constitutionnel* were Jouy, Arnaud, &c. A distinguished publicist named Châtelain edited the *Courier Français*.

and with this object to adopt measures little compatible with the necessities of the moment and the dictates of wisdom. The choice of the departmental colleges was in general favourable to the Royalist party, which had recently become dominant in the bosom of the Chamber; but, nevertheless, an imposing constitutional majority had issued from the electoral urn. It was in vain that M. de Villèle still endeavoured to retain office by sacrificing those of his colleagues who were the most compromised; and in vain that he exhausted every species of combination for the formation of a Council in harmony with the new Chamber, and in which, at the same time, he might himself have a place. He was compelled at length to confess his powerlessness, and fell before that public opinion which he had too haughtily disdained.

Fall of the Villèle Ministry, December, 1827.

The Council of which he was a member had, during the administration of five years' duration, injured numerous interests dear to the middle classes; and, whilst it day by day aroused fresh and formidable hatreds against the Government, it also day by day deprived the people of some of their natural strength and means of resisting authority. By transforming the Government officials into blind instruments of electoral manœuvres, it lowered them in public estimation. It offended the army by the favour it displayed towards those who speculated on religious conversions in the regiments; and alienated the Royal Courts by condemning their judgments, whilst it disgusted the University by closing the normal schools, and suspending the course of lectures delivered by the two illustrious professors, MM. Guizot and Cousin, whose learned teachings at that time shared with the eloquent lessons of M. Villemain the attention of studious youth. Finally the Government, by dissolving the National Guard of Paris at a time when the institution was still very popular, aroused an enemy to itself in every family in the capital.

A few more satisfactory measures, however, were effected by the Ministry in its financial operations and its foreign policy. M. de Villèle favoured the increasing credit which France now began to enjoy, the efforts of its manufacturing industry, and its trade with other nations. It was not able, as it desired, to follow the example of England, by causing the recognition by France of the independence of the Spanish colonies, but it at least emancipated the old colony of Saint Domingo, on condition of the payment of a considerable in-

Independence of Saint Domingo recognised by France.

demnity to the dispossessed colonists; and by the treaty of the 6th July the French Government joined with those of England and Russia for the purpose of putting a stop to hostilities between Turkey and Greece. The son of Mehemet-Ali, Ibrahim Pacha, having been summoned to his aid by the Sultan, arrived in the Morea with a formidable fleet, in which was embarked a great portion of the military strength of Egypt, and had it not been for the intervention of the powers, the Greeks, who were utterly exhausted, must have been lost. Ibrahim refused to observe the armistice prescribed by the powers, and this refusal led to the celebrated battle in which the French squadron, under Admiral de Rigny, together with the English and Russian squadrons, attacked and destroyed the Egyptian fleet in the port of Navarino. This victory saved the Greeks and raised them to the rank of a nation. France learned the news with joy, and hailed it as a brilliant dawn for resuscitated Greece. Its enthusiasm was shared by the English people, who were pleased to attribute the honour of this triumph to the great Minister whose loss it deplored. Canning was no more.

Treaty of England, France, and Russia for the emancipation of Greece, July 6, 1827.

The battle of Navarino, October, 1827.

Signs of storm now began to appear at the two extremities of Europe. The Emperor Alexander had died in 1825, and the Emperor Nicholas, raised to the throne by the renunciation of his elder brother Constantine, had not ascended it till after terrible conflicts, which gave every expectation of an agitated reign. About the same time, in Portugal, after the death of King John VI., Don Pedro, the eldest of his sons, renouncing the crown of that kingdom in favour of his daughter Donna Maria, had bestowed a Constitution on that kingdom under the auspices of England. The friends of Don Miguel, the partisans of absolute power, prepared to run to arms, and civil war had already burst forth amongst the Portuguese, whilst in the neighbouring kingdom of Spain the people hovered between anarchy and despotism. The other parts of Europe were peaceful. France then entered, but too late, upon a more constitutional course; the Government which it had now obtained appeared to understand the situation, and took pains to satisfy the wishes of the country.

Troubles in Portugal. Abdication of Don Pedro in favour of his daughter Donna Maria. Usurpation of Don Miguel, 1826.

The new council was formed on the 4th January, 1828, and consisted of MM. de Martignac, Portalis, De la Ferronnays, De Caux, De Saint-Cricq, and Hyde de Neuville, to whom the King added M. de Vatimesnil and Feutrier, Bishop of Beauvais. There was no president of the council, but M. de Martignac, a talented and judicious man, who was very ready of speech and full of tact, gave his name to the new Cabinet. The Chamber of Deputies, presided over by M. Royer-Collard, who had been elected by seven colleges, blamed in the first place, in its address to the King, the acts of the late Government, and was on the point of bringing against it a formal accusation. The position of the new Cabinet was doubly difficult; most of its members had hitherto given too few pledges of devotion to the liberal cause to be able completely to reassure public opinion, and did not offer sufficient to the extreme Royalist party to satisfy the Court. From thence arose distrust on the part of the Court, and impatient demands on the part of a twofold opposition. The Government, however, being loyal, skilful, and prudent, and supported by the right Centre, made great and honourable efforts to surmount the difficulties of the position, and the Chambers, at its suggestion, adopted some important laws conceived in a liberal spirit. One of these abolished the censorship, and others sanctioned the system of speciality in the great divisions of the budget, and the permanence of the electoral lists, and controlled the action of Government officials in respect to elections. Finally, the right of interpreting the laws was recognised as belonging to the three branches of the Legislature.

Accession of the Martignac Ministry, January, 1828.

Legislative session, 1828,1829

Legislative enactments.

In respect to foreign affairs, the Government responded to the wishes of France for the safety of Greece by sending fifteen thousand men to the Morea, under General Maison. Ibrahim fell back before them, Greece was freed, and Capo d'Istria established a regular Government there. In respect to domestic affairs, the obstacles in the way of the Government became more numerous day by day, but they nevertheless courageously worked at their painful task. Their most difficult achievement was the issuing of two decrees, which prohibited the Jesuits to take part in the instruction of youth. By one of these decrees the secondary ecclesiastical schools were placed under the common law, and by another it was

Expedition to the Morea. Enfranchisement of Greece.

ordained that no one should either teach in, or direct them who belonged to any society not authorized by law. These decrees were the most painful concession which Charles X. made to the demands of the age, and no sacrifice could have cost him more. The Congregation felt itself wounded by them to the heart, and the King was surrounded by cries of anger and indignation. The remembrance of the forced concessions which the monarch had made to his ministers speedily changed to aversion the distrust with which they had inspired him, and from thenceforth he watched with secret satisfaction the imprudent conduct of the Left, which, alarmed at the presence in the Chamber of a numerous minority imbued with principles irreconcilable with the wishes of the middle classes, and conscious of the indissoluble links which connected this minority with the reigning dynasty, was more eager in its demands for strong guarantees against the return of its adversaries to power, than for the passing of laws for the good of France. It was this feeling which principally tended, in 1828 and 1829, to give an unfortunate character of impatience and irritation to that party in the Elective Chamber. The Ministry eagerly desired to increase its strength by associating with itself some of the eminent men of the left Centre; but all its attempts in this direction were frustrated by the King's invincible dislike for every portion of the Liberal party.* Charles X. regarded the prerogatives of his crown as superior to the charter; he was indignant at the very idea that his right to select his ministers was shackled and limited by circumstances; and to yield on this point was, in his opinion, equivalent to abdicating. He had already done violence to his feelings by taking from the extreme Right a minister whose opinions were not the pure expression of his own sentiments, and he was resolved not to take another step towards the Left. In his eyes, in fact, a cabinet belonging to the right Centre, and composed of men who were equally devoted to the King and attached to the charter, was the veritable representative of the Constitutional party; he was astonished, therefore, at the opposition which his Government still

Decrees touching the Jesuits.

Grievous dissensions between the King and the Ministry.

* The Ministers submitted to the King a note in which they described their position and the necessity there was of securing the support of the majority by conciliating the moderate Liberals and the Royalists, and presenting laws which would obtain their votes. This note concluded with some sad and prophetic words respecting the dangers which threatened the crown of Saint Louis, were any different policy adopted. Charles X. left it unanswered.—Barante's "Life of Royer-Collard."

encountered, and he was fond of repeating that no concession which the crown could make would satisfy the liberals. He hoped that the moment would come when the ministers who, he considered, had been forced upon him by public opinion, would be condemned by it, and he trusted to be able to find in their dismissal by the popular voice a reason or a pretext for returning to the men of his choice.

Charles X. made at this period a journey in the Eastern departments where the favourable reception bestowed upon him by the populace, at all times eager to see a king, deceived him with respect to the state of public feeling, and a check suffered about the same period by the Ministry made him resolve to carry into execution his fatal designs. Two important laws, one of which related to the organization of the municipal councils, whilst the other regulated those of the departments and the arrondissements, were submitted to the Chamber of Deputies. The extreme Right refused to support them, forgetful of the doctrines entertained by it in 1815 with respect to local franchises; and a portion of the moderate Liberals, on the other hand, made common cause on this occasion with the revolutionary Liberals, who were not less dangerous than the Ultra-Royalists to the constitutional monarchy. In acting thus they committed a great fault, and did not sufficiently take into account the difficult position of, and the praiseworthy efforts made by, a Ministry in every respect worthy of esteem, and even more liberal than it had ventured to appear. The latter, bound to conform to the formal orders of the King, had announced that no modification of the proposed laws would be permitted; and a small majority having declared in favour of an amendment, they were immediately withdrawn. The Court rejoiced in the defeat thus suffered by the Cabinet, Charles X. resolved to dismiss his Council, and on the 8th August, 1829, after the vote for the budget of 1830, and the close of the session, appeared the decree which created a new cabinet.

Coalition to overturn the Ministry.

Defeat of the Martignac Ministry.

Three noteworthy men, the Prince de Polignac, and MM. de la Bourdonnaye and De Bourmont, were made members of the new cabinet, as a species of defiance to public opinion. The first, who was endowed with some most estimable qualities, was the living expression of the Congregationist party; the second represented all that was most violent in the unpopular chamber of 1815; and the third, an old leader of the Chouans, was only known to the people

Formation of the Polignac ministry, 1829.

and the army as a deserter from the French camp at Waterloo. MM. de Blacas and de Damas had had the chief share in the formation of the new cabinet; and the latter, known for his anti-constitutional opinions, was made governor to the Duke de Bordeaux. The counter-revolution was thus openly announced; but the classes most attached to the constitution had acquired strength, for they had obtained from the Martignac ministry, by means of the law relating to the press and the electoral law, two powerful arms, and, being now capable of resisting, they resisted. On the 8th of August the monarchy was launched on a rapid slope, and hurled into the abyss.

As soon as the names of the new ministers were announced the press passed by turns from expressions of rage to those of insulting pity, from disdain to threats. The society of "Help yourself and Heaven will help you" prepared, in case of a dissolution, to make a vigorous resistance to the Court by means of the elections; and in every part of the kingdom a vast association was formed for the prevention of the dreaded imposition of illegal taxes. The Court only saw in these great and formidable movements a conspiracy, of which the object was the overthrow of the throne; when the truth was, that if there were any conspiracy, it was a conspiracy on the part of a great part of France to save the charter which it believed to be in danger. The object, as it was, of so much distrust and such violent attacks, the Council continued to protest its respect for the institutions of France, and M. de la Bourdonnaye was even sacrificed by his colleagues to public opinion. M. de Montbel succeeded him, and the ministers, presided over by M. de Polignac, appeared at length before the Chambers.

On the 2nd of March, Charles X., displaying for the last time all the pomp of royalty, declared, in the presence of the assembled deputies and peers, his firm intention to maintain equally intact the institutions of the country and the prerogatives of the crown. The composition of the address from the deputies in answer to the speech from the throne gave rise to a very animated debate, in which two already famous men, MM. Guizot and Berryer, made their entrance, on opposite sides, into parliamentary life. The address which was proposed pointed out to the King that the composition of his new cabinet was dangerous and threatening to the public liberties; explained that the necessary harmony between the political views of the Government and

Address of the 221, 1830.

the views of the nation did not exist, and entreated him to re-establish it. An amendment tending to soften this phrase, which was considered as irritating, was proposed, and M. Guizot rose to combat it. "By the frankness of our words, gentlemen," he said, "by the frankness of our words, we can alone inform the Government of the truth, gain its attention, and dissipate its illusions. Let us beware, then, of diminishing their force; the truth has already sufficient difficulty in gaining admittance into the council chamber of kings; let us not send it thither pale and enfeebled." The amendment was rejected, and two hundred and twenty-one members, against a hundred and eighty-one, voted for the memorable address. Charles X., after having heard it, displayed much irritation, and declared that his resolutions were known and would remain immutable. The Chamber was prorogued and then dissolved. The King issued a decree which again convoked the electoral colleges; the two hundred and twenty-one signers of the address were almost all re-elected, and the Opposition was reinforced by many new members.

Dissolution of the Chambers. General election.

In the meantime the Cabinet had endeavoured to obtain some popularity by means of a great military success, and an affront offered to the French consul gave the ministry a fortunate opportunity of purging the sea of the Barbary pirates. An expedition against Algiers was determined on, the command of the army being given to M. de Bourmont, and that of the naval forces to Admiral Duperré. The city was taken, and the Cabinet and Court received with delight the news of this brilliant conquest; but Paris shared but very slightly in their joy, for it understood that this victory would render them still more rash, and feared that it would take more from the liberties of the nation than it would add to its glory.

Capture of Algiers, 1830.

The political struggle at length approached its termination; the general result of the elections was known, and the Ministry found itself in front of a majority still more compact, impatient, and hostile. Most of the members of the majority, however, did not wish for the overthrow of the throne, and were sincerely attached to the constitution; but at this period, as in 1791, the Court, to its misfortune, could not distinguish between the Constitutionalists and the Revolutionists, and was obstinately resolved to look upon the charter, which was the buckler of the dynasty, as the scourge of France. To be devoted to the Constitution was, in the

eyes of the Court, to be the enemy of the Court; and thus, by refusing its support to the men who wished for the charter *with* the Bourbons, it inclined them to join those who wished for the charter without the Bourbons.

Alarming omens.

The dynasty now hung on the edge of the abyss, and had reached that fatal point at which the fall of a government is foreshadowed by the most infallible symptoms. Almost all the men eminent for knowledge and talent had passed over to the ranks of the Opposition, and those even who had originally been the most energetic in the support of this dynasty, and who had the greatest personal interest in keeping it on the constitutional path they had traced out for it, had for the most part become the chiefs of the Opposition. Finally, inspiring the citizens, as it did, with an invincible feeling of distrust by means of the very success which in other times would have confirmed its authority, it saw the country reject the glory which it offered it, and found that many imputed to it as crimes, not only the faults which it had really committed, but even the calamities which it endeavoured to prevent. Many departments, in fact, were at this period desolated by numerous fires, and public rumours went so far as even to accuse the Government of being the author of them.

Blindness of the Court.

The period for the assembling of the Chambers drew near, and that species of madness which is the sure forerunner of the ruin of empires filled the palace of the King of France. Strange reports circulated at Saint-Cloud, the residence of the Court, where the manifestations of public feeling were attributed only to the pernicious influence of a Committee which really existed, but to which the Royalists attributed an exaggerated power. It was that alone, they said, which alienated France from its King. Had the public funds fallen in value since the appointment of the new Ministry? It was the work of the Committee. Did the inhabitants of the South give a brilliant reception to General Lafayette on his return from the United States? It was the Committee which had ordered their acclamations. Did the people, on the contrary, remain cold and almost indifferent at the news of the conquest of Algiers? "It was," said the Royalists, "because the Committee had commanded them to be silent." The discovery of the members of this Committee, and the punishment of some of them, was all that was wanting, according to the Royalists, for the restoration of order and the suppression of the Revolutionists. The name of Napoleon was in every mouth, and those who had formerly overwhelmed it with insults now

could not sufficiently laud it. "There must be another 18th Brumaire," said the courtiers; "force and boldness must be employed, and the support of the populace might be relied on." A few charcoal burners and market porters had gone in procession to Saint-Cloud, and had made use of an expression which was repeated by the Court with much complacency. *Maître charbonnier est maître chez lui.* After that, was it possible to doubt that the people were Royalist at heart, and would support the cause of the crown?

Such were the expressions of most of those whom the King admitted to his intimacy. The only person who might have been able successfully to oppose a rash resolution which it is not probable she would have approved, Madame the Dauphiness, was absent, and everything contributed to deceive the unfortunate Prince, who was only too inclined to deceive himself. His spirit obeyed a higher and still more irresistible influence. Charles X., and in this his minister resembled him, believed that he had a great mission to fulfil, and that a great duty had devolved upon him to stifle Liberalism, to establish his government on exclusively religious and monarchical bases. He had persuaded himself that the fourteenth article of the charter, which authorized the King to issue decrees for the safety of the State, also authorized him to leave the path of legality if the State, being in peril, could not be saved by legal measures. In his eyes the safety of the monarchy depended on the continuance in office of the ministers he had appointed, and the triumph of the throne over a Chamber which he accused of wishing to overthrow it. At the same time he was not conscious that he was tearing the charter or perjuring himself when he made the article above named an excuse for violating it. The blood-stained form of his brother was incessantly before him. "Louis XVI.," he said, "was taken to the scaffold because he always yielded;" and Charles X., forgetting that the great art of governing consists in knowing when to yield and when to resist, thought that he should save his crown and his head by never yielding.

Personal disposition of the King.

During the last days of July the King remained inflexible; but his Ministry still deliberated, and either because it hesitated or because it wished to change public opinion, sealed letters were sent to the members of the two Chambers convoking them for the 3rd of August. Five members of the Council spoke of

Convocation of the Chambers for the 3rd of August.

the danger of having recourse to violent and illegal measures; but as the King, by interpreting every refusal as a sign of weakness and an abandonment of himself at the moment of danger, had thus transformed the question of State into one of honour, a blind feeling of devotion was alone attended to. On the 28th of July the *Moniteur* published an explanation drawn up by M. de Chantelauze, and followed by the famous decrees signed on the previous evening, which suppressed the liberty of the press, annulled the late elections, and arbitrarily created a new electoral system. All the members present in Paris were willing to share the responsibility of these decrees, and they were countersigned by the Prince de Polignac, Chantelauze, the Count de Peyronnet, de Montbel, de Guernon-Ranville, Baron Capelle, and Baron d'Haussez. The member of the Council most capable of making the military arrangements necessary to the carrying out of these decrees, Bourmont, the Minister of War, was still in Africa; the Prince de Polignac took his place, and was so certain of success that he took no extraordinary means to secure it.

Decrees annulling the Charter, July 26, 1830.

A prolonged and sullen murmur spread through Paris at the publication of these decrees, and on the following day there appeared in the opposition journals an energetic protest, signed by forty-three of their principal contributors or editors, amongst whom were MM. Charles de Remusat, Thiers, Mignet, Armand Carrel, Bande, and Chatelain. They declared that they could not submit to illegal decrees, and urged the deputies to resist them; to regard themselves as legally elected, and to protest with themselves. Orders were given for the destruction of their presses, and a struggle took place in the printing offices, which was speedily transferred to the streets, in which the multitude on the same evening broke down the insignia of monarchy, with the cry of "The Charter for ever!" and improvised numerous barricades. Paris was declared in a state of siege, and Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, was placed in command of the King's household troops, of the guards, and of the troops of the line, the total number of which in Paris did not exceed twelve thousand. He led them against the insurgent populace, occupied all the strategical points, and summoned additional regiments from the neighbouring garrisons. But already the Hôtel de Ville, abandoned by the two prefects, had fallen into the hands

Protest of the Journalists.

Rising of Paris.

Revolution of 1830. The three days of July.

of the insurrectionists; new men, without any regular authority, commanded there in the name of the people; the tricolour was raised there, and the word "Republic" was echoed again and again by the excited crowd. A portion of the Opposition deputies who were in Paris, having assembled at the house of one of them on the morning of the 28th, recognised the necessity of determining on some common plan, and of seizing the reins of authority for the purpose of saving France from despotism and anarchy. Of this number were MM. Casimir Périer, Lafitte, Lafayette, the elder Dupin, Charles Dupin, Guizot, Villemain, Sebastiani, Benjamin Constant, Salverte, Audrey de Puiraveau, Maugin, &c. They voted, with some modifications, a declaration drawn up by M. Guizot, in which they forcibly protested against the decrees of the 26th, and declared themselves legally elected, and incapable of being replaced save by virtue of elections conducted according to the forms ordained by the law. Sixty-three signatures were appended to this protest, being those of the deputies actually present, and of those of their absent colleagues whom the first supposed willing to join with them.

Declaration of the Opposition deputies, July 28.

On the 28th almost the whole of Paris fell into the hands of the insurgents. Numerous uniforms of the recently dissolved national guard had appeared, adorned with the tricoloured cockade, in the midst of the populace, and the pupils of the Polytechnic and the other great schools, forcing the gates of their establishments, had everywhere become leaders of the insurrection. No military precaution had been taken by the Government before the conflict; the soldiers were left without food, and murmured; and some companies of the line laid down their arms and fraternized with the people. The royal guard and the rest of the troops, assailed in every direction, and overwhelmed with projectiles hurled from the house-tops, and with musket balls fired from behind walls by invisible enemies, fought valiantly, and fell back upon the quarter of the Louvre and the Tuileries, to which, on the evening of the 28th, the defence on the part of the authorities was already limited.

On the morning of the 29th the deputies who had drawn up the protest signed on the previous evening, in compliance with the wishes of the chief citizens, made Lafayette commander-in-chief of the national guard, and nominated a municipal committee charged with the duty of providing for the safety of life and property, and of

Municipal commission.

providing for the government of the city. This committee, with Lafayette and his staff, immediately took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, where it installed itself in the midst of a crowd excited by victory, but which knew how to respect itself by prohibiting on pain of death devastation and pillage.

The Court and the King during the three days.

Beside the spectacle of a capital rebelling in the name of the charter and of the violated laws, that which was presented at Saint-Cloud in the interior of the royal residence was not less interesting. Some courtiers of high rank, whose intelligence was quickened by the imminence of the danger and the experience of misfortune, had been terrified when they saw the decrees of July, and confined their secret apprehensions beneath an uneasy silence, whilst the men who at every moment had access to the ear of the prince, and those of an inferior rank who peopled his court, had for the most part abandoned themselves to a mad delight. Charles X., in their opinion, began at length to act as a monarch, and at this time only was a king. This rash crowd passed swiftly to a state of despair as blind as had been its exultation. But he who almost alone of all in the palace attracted any real interest was the King, the author and first victim of the prodigious catastrophe which was now enacting. He hid from every eye, under a calm, unmoved countenance, the secret of his distracting emotions. Filled with the ideas with which the heart is affected when it is about to perform a solemn and painful duty, inspired with a confidence in the celestial protection, and deaf apparently to the mournful sound of the tocsin which sounded afar the last hour of the monarchy, Charles X. sought at the foot of the altar for the confidence which he could no longer derive from those around him. He would doubtless have reproached himself with destroying the slight remains of confidence which still lingered in the breasts of his followers had he himself shown any signs of despair. There was a strange rashness in his conduct during the latter part of his reign, but there was also majesty in the serene glances of the old monarch as he stood, still firm and resigned, on the crumbling ruins of his throne.

On the morning of the 29th the struggle still continued in the capital with all that increasing audacity with which the multitude had been inspired by the success of the previous evening. The country around

Paris had risen, and cut off communication with the city. The royal army was devoid of the necessary supplies, and as it received neither provisions nor reinforcements, was much discouraged; and, reduced in numbers by wounds, death, and desertion, it was unable to maintain its position in Paris. The Louvre, which was ill defended, was taken by the people, and Marmont ordered a retreat upon Saint-Cloud. The King, however, remained inflexible in the midst of those who entreated him to revoke his fatal decrees. Men of great weight—M. de Semonville, grand referendary of the Chamber of Peers, and M. d'Argout—hastened to him in the hope of overcoming his resistance. Their efforts were seconded by those of M. de Vitrolles, an old servant and friend of Charles X., who in 1814 had taken a very active part in the negotiations for the recall of that prince and his family. They united in entreating the monarch to pronounce the only word which, they said, could save the crown, whilst the conflict in the capital still lasted. The King refused to believe in the extent of the peril, but at length, when Marmont had evacuated Paris, and had reappeared at Saint-Cloud with the remains of his battalions, Charles X. yielded, revoked his decrees, and ordered the Duke de Montemart to form a Ministry. But it was too late; too much blood had been spilt, and the Municipal Committee of Paris rejected the Court's overtures. The danger of the latter grew greater every hour; whole regiments appeared in the ranks of the insurgents, and Paris was preparing to march upon Saint-Cloud. During the night of the 29th July Charles X. retreated to Versailles. When, at day-break, he traversed, for the last time, the palace which had so long witnessed the royal pomp and splendour; when, surrounded by his family, he gazed at the infant whose glorious destinies had been hailed by so many thousands of voices; when he saw him prepared to go with him to the land of exile, tears ran down the cheeks of the old discrowned man, and a painful anguish stifled his words. A few hours later Charles X. was at Trianon, and the Parisian victors at Saint-Cloud.

Taking of the Louvre. Evacuation of Paris, July 29.

The decrees of July 26 revoked.

Retreat of the King to Versailles.

There was, however, much reason to fear that the union maintained amongst the citizens of the immense capital during the conflict would be broken at the moment of selecting a new Government. Some wished to

establish a republic; and others, who were the immense majority of the citizens, desired to retain a monarchical and constitutional government. But to effect this it was necessary to find a man already elevated above all by his private position, and who had given incontestable pledges of his devotion to the public liberties. Such a man existed, and France possessed him in the person of the Duke d'Orleans. Still young at the period of the Revolution, this prince had adopted the national colours, and fought in the first great battles in which the French arms distinguished themselves. When proscribed he had known how to preserve, by the aid of his talents, an honourable independence. When re-established in his titles and dignities, he gave his sons a popular education. He had been the intimate friend of General Foy, and was still the friend of the men most eminent in literature, science, and of the tribune; and he alone, after the three days' struggle, appeared capable of rallying France by the influence of his name, and restraining the revolutionary flood which was ready to burst all bounds. This opinion was that of the deputies who had spontaneously assembled at the Palais Bourbon, and, at the suggestion of Benjamin Constant, they voted a declaration to the effect that his Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans should be requested to proceed immediately to the capital for the purpose of exercising there the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.* The declaration at the same time expressed a wish that the colours raised by the insurrectionists should be retained as those of the nation.

The Duke d'Orleans summoned to Paris as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

A deputation which was appointed to carry this declaration to the prince found him at the Château de Neuilly, his usual summer residence, and succeeded in overcoming his hesitation. He promised to go to Paris, and had his appearance there preceded by a proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of the capital, in which he repeated the wish expressed by the deputies. "I will do all I can," he said, "to preserve you from civil war and anarchy. . . . The Chambers are about to reassemble, and they will consider the means of making the laws respected and maintaining the rights of the nation. The charter will henceforth be a truth." On the following day the prince entered Paris. Time pressed, for the insurrectional movement in defence of the

Proclamation of the Duke d'Orleans.

* M. Villemain abstained from voting, as he did not consider, he said, that he was furnished with any authority to change a dynasty.

charter threatened every moment to become a republican movement. The royal insignia were trampled under foot, and everywhere were written on the walls in great letters these too-significant words, "No more Bourbons; France chooses to have a Republic!" The Place de Grève and its neighbourhood were filled with numerous groups heated and excited by demagogic orators, whilst the busts of democrats of sinister memory—Robespierre, Marat, and Saint-Just—were carried through the streets. At the same time the Hôtel de Ville was occupied by men in blouses or with naked arms, brandishing their guns and sabres, and who had seen with much anger the installation of the Municipal Committee. The latter exercised their functions with difficulty, and ran great risk of being overpowered. Lafayette alone, through the prestige attached to his name, preserved some authority over the tumultuous and threatening mob; but, surrounded and even overpowered as he was by Republicans, he appeared a prey to a fatal irresolution. The cause of monarchical government seemed only capable of being saved by the immediate presence of the Lieutenant-General; for it was certain that otherwise a Republic would be proclaimed. The deputies, informed of the real state of affairs, proceeded in a body to the Palais Royal, where they read to the prince a declaration, which he approved, respecting the new guarantees claimed for France; and from thence went in procession to the Hôtel de Ville, opening with some difficulty a passage through an armed and wrathful multitude. The Duke d'Orleans then visited the Municipal Committee, which resigned its powers into his hands after which Lafayette handed to the duke a tricoloured flag, conducted him to a balcony, and presented to the assembled people the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. The prince displayed the flag and embraced the old general amidst the acclamations of the moved and appeased crowd. From this moment the Duke d'Orleans was recognised without opposition in Paris and the departments as the head of the new Government.*

The deputies accompany the Duke d'Orleans to the Hôtel de Ville.

The 3rd of August had been appointed by the fallen Government as the day for the opening of the Chambers; this day had already come,

* If we may quote a very well-known saying, the genuineness of which, however, has been often contested, Lafayette, on presenting the Duke d'Orleans to the people, said—"Behold the best of Republics."

and a great number of peers and the majority of the deputies were in Paris. They commenced their sittings, and the first care of the deputies was to render the charter harmonious with the new position of the country by introducing into it certain modifications, some of which had been long desired, whilst the others were now demanded by public opinion or public clamour.

Modification of the Charter.

The Chamber, at the suggestion of one of its members, M. Bérard, voted the following resolutions:—The too-famous article fourteen disappeared from the charter; the Catholic religion ceased to be recognised as the religion of the State; the liberty of the press was irrevocably established by the abolition of the censorship; the Chambers were endowed, equally with the monarch, with the initiative in the presentation of proposed laws; it was decreed that no more commissions and extraordinary tribunals should be created, and that France should resume the tricoloured standard; the age of Deputies was fixed at thirty, and the duration of their office to five years. It was agreed that the constitution of the Chamber of Peers should be settled at a later period, and the effect of this decision was the abolition of the hereditary peerage. Finally, the preamble by which Louis XVIII. declared that he granted the charter to his subjects was suppressed as injurious to the national dignity. The charter, thus modified, was followed by particular enactments, by which the Deputies abolished all the peerages established by Charles X., and declared that it was necessary that France should obtain by separate laws:—1. That all crimes of the press, and political crimes, should be submitted to the judgment of a jury; 2. The responsibility of ministers and other Government officials; 3. The re-election of Deputies promoted to salaried offices; 4. The annual voting of the contingent for the army; 5. The organization of the National Guard, and their right to take part in the appointment of their own officers; 6. The legal confirmation by the State of officers in the army; 7. Departmental and municipal institutions founded on the elective system; 8. The freedom of education; 9. The abolition of the double vote in the election of Deputies. The acceptance of the charter thus drawn up was made the formal condition of the elevation of the prince to the throne.

Additional enactments.

In the meantime the fugitive royal family, which had retired from

Versailles to Rambouillet, and which was threatened in this last retreat by twenty thousand Parisians, who had run to arms to force them to fly, abandoned this plan, and went slowly and for the last time into exile.* On the 16th of August it embarked at Cherbourg for England. Before quitting France Charles sent to the Chambers his abdication, and that of the Dauphin, his son, in favour of the Duke de Bordeaux; but whatever may be the advantage in a regular government of the principle of hereditary right in the transmission of the sceptre, it only has absolute control over those who admit the divine right of kings, and in order that this principle should be practically applied at the close of a successful revolution, it must be admitted and recognised by the victors themselves. On this occasion it was not so, and what other power was at the disposal of the partisans of the hereditary succession? The Royal Guard no longer existed; a portion of the troops of the line had fraternized during the conflict with the National Guard and the people; many regiments had driven away their officers, and all had spontaneously adopted the tricolour, and given in their adhesion to the Revolution. In this state of complete disorganization, in the midst of a blood-stained capital, in which raged so many furious passions hostile to the eldest branch of the Bourbons, and even to monarchy itself, the accession of the Duke de Bordeaux was a chimera, whilst the proclamation of the royal infant would have provoked an irresistible explosion which would have led to the proclamation of a republic and a civil war. The Deputies thought thus, and, rejecting the clause to which Charles X. and the Dauphin had attached their abdication, called to the throne his Royal Highness Louis Philippe d'Orleans and his male descendants in perpetuity. The Peers immediately assented to the views and acts of the other Chamber, and salvos of artillery announced the royal sitting of the morrow. On that day, the 9th of August, 1830, the Duke d'Orleans, accompanied by his eldest sons, the Dukes de Chartres and de Nemours, went in solemn procession to the Palais Bourbon, where were assembled the Peers, the Deputies, the diplomatic corps, and nume-

Retreat and embarkation of the royal family at Cherbourg. Abdication of Charles X. and of the Dauphin.

Royal sitting. Accession of Louis Philippe I. August 9th, 1830.

* The Prince de Condé, who was more than seventy yearsof age, did not accompany his family from France. He recognised the new Government, and a few days afterwards was found dead, hanging to the fastening of one of the windows of his bed-room. This death has been attributed to suicide, the cause of which is unknown.

rous other persons. He took his place on a seat placed before the vacant throne, and after the reading of the declaration of the two Chambers, he uncovered, and raising his hand, said, "Before God, I swear faithfully to observe the constitutional charter with the modifications expressed in the declaration; to govern only in accordance with the laws, to give good and exact justice to every one according to his deserts, and in every action to have in view only the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French nation."

The prince, after having formally signed this oath, ascended the throne, and from this moment was recognised as King of the French, under the name of Louis Philippe I.

# BOOK V.

## SECOND PERIOD OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND PARLIAMENTARY MONARCHY.

THE REIGN OF LOUIS PHILIPPE—THE REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY, 1848—THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY.

1830—1848.

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### CHAPTER I.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS PHILIPPE TO THE DEATH OF CASIMIR PÉRIER.

*August*, 1830—*May*, 1832.

IT is less a history than a simple sketch of the last reign which I here propose to present to the reader. These times are too close to us to be seen in a sufficiently clear light, and for impartial hands to be able to remove the veils which have been thrown over facts by enthusiasm, interested feelings, or the prejudices and implacable hatreds of another age. Having arrived, however, at the close of my task, I should be afraid of leaving it too incomplete if, after having shown the vicissitudes which had preceded the establishment of the Constitutional and Parliamentary government in France in 1830, I did not attempt to give a brief description of the immense difficulties which it encountered in the second period of its existence, the great things which it accomplished, and the circumstances and faults which caused its fall. I will confine myself to narrating the principal facts, and will only enter into details when they are indispensable to a comprehension of the general course of events.

Preliminary remarks.

The Revolution of July is amongst those of which the reason will be recognised by the wise spirits of posterity; but every political or social revolution, whatever may be its causes,

and within whatever limits it may be confined, contains within itself dangerous germs of agitation, discord, and anarchy; excites an infinitely greater number of even legitimate desires than it is able to satisfy; places in the rank of the victors, side by side with those whose only desire is to make the right prevail, all those who are inspired with a feeling of animosity for the system of social order, either by misery, a spirit of pride, hatred, or envy,—the crowd of men, in fact, who esteem their rights commensurate with their pretensions, and who consider it so much the easier to overthrow a new government because it has only cost a few efforts to destroy that which seemed firmly established by a long existence.

The Revolution of 1830 did not escape the perils which are more or less incident to all revolutions; but whilst the object of the latter is generally the overthrow of established institutions, the purpose of the Revolution of July was, on the contrary, the defence of the constitution and the violated laws. This was, doubtless, a great advantage, but it nevertheless concealed a danger, for it disposed many eminent men who had assisted or sanctioned the work of July to misconceive the nature of that great event, and to persuade themselves that it only remained to keep the victors within proper bounds, and to resume on the morrow the conduct of affairs at the precise point at which the previous Government had left them. A great and fatal error! Society had been too deeply shaken by this prodigious revulsion to allow it to pass over without the creation of new necessities and interests, and together with many illusions some legitimate and great hopes. The Revolution of 1830, although it had for its principal object the maintenance of the charter, was nevertheless, when we consider its first causes and its general bearing, a powerful and almost unanimous reaction of the country against the acts which the last Government had accomplished by the aid of the electoral and aristocratic law of the *double vote*. This great movement was favoured and accelerated by all the liberal and popular theories extolled during fifteen years by the men of the left Centre and of the Left, now in power. Its principle was eminently democratic, in the best acceptation of the word;* and this fact it was necessary to take into account, and perilous to forget.

* I have already said that, in my eyes, the principle of democratic government rests on the obligation to elevate the moral status of the peoples, to increase the general comfort, and to make the greatest possible number of persons sharers in the benefits of civilization.

The new Government thus found itself placed—more completely, perhaps, than any other Government—between the danger of exaggerating its principle and that of deserting it—of losing its friends without gaining over its adversaries.

Cruel deceptions towards the working classes followed the Revolution of 1830. They were seriously injured by the commercial perturbations, the interruption to labour, and the stagnation of affairs, which are the inevitable results of all revolutions, and they were irritated at having obtained only an increase of suffering and wretchedness from an event which was the result of their own victory. The new Government was thus condemned, at its birth, to defend itself against the hostility of a portion of the masses, without being able to rally to its side the most conservative forces of human society. It was supported neither by the territorial aristocracy, which was almost wholly attached to the fallen Government, nor by the clergy, whose secret distrust or open hostility it had almost incessantly to contend with. It had to struggle, even amongst the middle classes, with many parties equally hostile, with the partisans of legitimacy or hereditary succession, with the Republicans, with whom were confounded the Bonapartists, at that time few in numbers, and with the members of secret societies, in which were elaborated communism and socialism, and which, after having assisted to destroy one Government, sought to destroy all. It appeared before a multitude of enemies, in the midst of a population over excited by a victorious insurrection, without the prestige either of traditional right or legitimacy, or of the authority of a great affirmative and national vote, which it unwisely did not seek to obtain. Its error in this latter respect was so much the greater because it would certainly have obtained such a vote if it had demanded it, and because many of those who had concurred with the Elective Chamber in placing the dynasty of Orleans on the throne, denied that that Chamber possessed the absolute right of disposing of the crown without first appealing to the country.*

* I am very far from sharing the opinion of Rousseau with respect to the power of universal suffrage, and I know all that can be said with respect to the abuses and dangers which would result from its daily application either to foreign or domestic affairs. I believe, however, that it would have been wise to have had recourse to it in 1830, on the occasion of the accession of a new dynasty to the throne. Louis Philippe had, doubtless, been accepted as its sovereign by France, but in not having this acceptance sanctioned by a popular vote, his Government was led astray, in my

The Government of July, threatened as it was by so many enemies within, had also declared and secret enemies in most of the foreign Governments, which looked upon its establishment as a danger to all thrones. Amongst the European Powers it had but one ally, Great Britain, which was then engaged in the great question of its Parliamentary Reform, and whose sympathies were enlisted in favour of a revolution in some respects analogous to that which had confirmed its own liberties and power.

The new Monarchy necessarily derived its chief strength from the middle or citizen class, for whom, in our own days, there has been so much affectation of contempt. This citizen class, it must be admitted, possessed but little breadth of view, and but a very moderate practical experience in free government; it was easily led away by party feelings, and accessible, as much by reason of its pretensions as its necessities, to the seductions of power, without the salutary restraint of religious belief, which, by purifying and moderating our desires, leads us to follow the paths of duty, resignation, and sacrifice. But, on the other hand, it was the offspring of those men of ardent and liberal convictions who were the chief agents of the prodigious movement of '89; it was anxious to continue their work, and it found in the Charter and the principles avowed by the new Government the faithful expression of its wishes. Enlightened by its interests, it had recognised order and security as the very conditions of its existence. A stranger to every spirit of caste, it had no defined limit, but was everywhere, being connected by more than one link with the aristocracy, and having profound ramifications amongst the whole of the labouring classes. All-powerful in the cities and towns of any importance, it possessed the larger portion of the moveable property of the nation, and reckoned amongst its ranks the most enlightened, intelligent, and influential men of the country. It loved itself in the man

opinion, by the example of England in 1688. This was a great error. In the neighbouring country the Houses of Parliament have always, and at various periods, disposed of the crown. But in France, where, since the accession of the Third Race, we find no analogous precedent, an opinion has become established that the nation alone, consulted in a body, has the right to dispose of the sceptre, and substitute one dynasty for another. During the first moments which succeeded the days of July, whilst the Royalist party was, as it were, stupefied by its defeat, and Austria held Napoleon's heir in its power, Louis Philippe might certainly, had he wished, have derived powerful support from universal suffrage. Though we may safely decline the use of a useful weapon for ourselves, it is dangerous to leave it in the hands of our enemies.

of its choice, in the able and experienced Prince whom it had raised to the throne; and the new Government, which took for its motto Order, Liberty, and Peace, was accepted by it as the best guarantee against the spirit of revolution and of conquest. It rested upon all the threatened interests of society, and prepared to strengthen itself by means of administrative centralization, the inheritance of two centuries, a power very dangerous to the hand which makes a bad use of it, although capable, it is true, of struggling for some time against public opinion and keeping it under, but invincible and irresistible when supported by it.

This Government was bound, more than any other, to rest upon a basis which might vary according to circumstances, but which should always be at an equal distance from extremes; and the policy indicated by circumstances demanded that the members of the Government should be endowed with qualities which are rarely united. It was necessary that the Government should be, with respect to domestic affairs, very firm, and decidedly opposed to the spirit of disorder and anarchy; prompt to prevent as well as to restrain the acts of demagogues, and nevertheless the friend of free institutions and of progress; very sympathetic with respect to the lot of the labouring classes, and deeply anxious to ameliorate their moral and physical condition. Its task with respect to foreign nations was equally complex, for it was requisite that it should be at once proud and moderate, liberal and yet non-revolutionary, patriotic, bold and yet pacific. The difficulties in the way of the new Government were immense; but according as the dykes which could be opposed to the agitated waves and the rage of parties were the less strong, by so much was it more important that the new order of things should have bases as large as possible amongst the classes more particularly interested in maintaining it—namely, those which 1830 had placed in possession of power, and in whom was the real focus of public opinion. The latter, which must not be confounded with mere popular favour, had doubtless need of being enlightened; but it was, nevertheless, necessary to take it into account, and at any cost to rally it to the side of the Government. The Charter, finally, could not become a reality if the country did not take a genuine share in the conduct of its own affairs, and if the Government did not remain faithful to its principle and mission.

Such were the problems which the Monarchy founded in 1830 had to solve, and such the conditions on which alone it could endure and last.

Its task, as we see, was very difficult and complicated, and few even of those who were sincerely attached to the new order of things, and who, after having taken part in establishing it, wished to defend it, understood its full extent. Although unanimous with respect to the end to be attained, they were not so with respect to the means. Some, who had perceived the greatness of the peril, considered that, in the midst of the effervescence of a victory which had excited the most foolish hopes and the most subversive ambitions, the first thing to be done by a society whose foundations trembled beneath itself was to strengthen them, to keep down the revolutionary spirit, and to oppose to demagogism a resistance as courageous as obstinate. Many others saw more danger in resisting the current than in following it. Being too much inclined, moreover, to confound the multitude with the people properly so understood, they were disposed to regard all its demands as expressions of the national will, and, being too jealous of their popularity, displayed a greater desire to increase the liberties acquired in July than to confirm them. The policy of the members of the two parties was also very different with respect to the relations with foreign nations. Those of the former party, seeing Europe disturbed at what had taken place, were anxious to re-assure it to conciliate its various Governments; they joined with the King in desiring the maintenance of treaties and of peace, and dreaded a revolutionary propagandism, the inevitable consequence of which would have been a general conflagration and calamities without number. The latter, on the other hand, thought that the France of July was called upon to support insurrection everywhere, and that the hour had come when, relying upon the sympathies of peoples, a striking revenge should be taken for the affronts of 1815. These two tendencies, in many respects so opposite, caused the partisans of the new *régime* to be classified as the men of resistance and the men of movement. The opinions of the first were dominant in the two Chambers; were those of many eminent and wise men who had made a name in politics, in the magistracy, in letters, and at the bar; and were those also of the doctrinaires who, especially at this period, added to the great party of Order a strength as considerable as it was incontestable. In the number of the second were some of the principal leaders of the old Left—Dupont de l'Eure, Jacques Laffitte, Salverte, Benjamin Constant, &c. In the minds of most of the members of this party many illusions were mingled with genuine convictions, and an

ambition for popularity with a very sincere liberalism; but they were deficient, in general, in that practical sense and that spirit of order and discipline which are only acquired by experience in the conduct of affairs and by habits either of command or obedience. One of the most distinguished of them was M. Odillon Barrot, a brilliant orator, who was as yet new to the political arena, and destined to become the chief of a powerful party in the parliamentary opposition. At their head, finally, was the illustrious citizen in whom were, in a certain sense, incarnated the principles of the American Revolution—General Lafayette, the Commander-in-Chief of the National Guards.

Louis Philippe, at the commencement of his reign, displayed much ability in selecting the most influential members of these two parties to form his Council. The men of resistance were the more numerous in the first Council presided over by the King, in which, by the side of Dupont de l'Eure, the Keeper of the Seals, sat M. Molé as Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Guizot, Minister of the Interior, and M. de Broglie, Minister of Public Instruction and Worship.*

First Ministry.

The existence of this Ministry was brief and agitated, but it provided with intelligence and courage for the necessities of the moment, and it took the steps imperiously demanded by the confusion and stagnation in the state of affairs. At its suggestion five millions of francs were voted by the Chambers to be distributed amongst workmen, and they voted a credit of thirty millions as a guarantee for loans and advances to persons engaged in commerce. Other urgent laws were prepared, and the Cabinet at the same time carried on active negotiations with foreign powers. Success crowned its efforts, and the new Monarchy was recognised by all the powers.

The Belgian Revolution, September, 1830.

A very serious event, however, occurred to place the peace of Europe in peril. Belgium, which had been united to the Dutch territory by the treaties of 1815, had long since been in a state of discontent. Driven to revolt by the imprudent and oppressive conduct of King William, it severed its connexion with Holland. The object of the Allied Powers in establishing the kingdom

* In this Ministry, General Gérard had the portfolio of War, General Sebastiani of Marine, and the Baron Louis of Finance. There were four ministers without portfolio—Messieurs Jacques Laffitte, Casimir Périer, Dupin the elder, and Bignon.

of the Low Countries had been to create in Europe a barrier against France; one of the principal achievements of the Congress of Vienna had been annihilated by this Revolution, and the news of the latter, therefore, was received by France with enthusiasm. The French Government followed at that time the only path indicated by circumstances and public opinion, and King William having demanded the assistance of the Prussian troops, M. Molé put forward the doctrine of non-intervention, and checked the advance of the Prussian army by declaring that if it set foot on the Belgian territory the French army would enter it also. To prevent an European war the Great Powers thereupon agreed to decide between Holland and Belgium. A Conference took place for this purpose in London, and Louis Philippe sent Prince Talleyrand to represent France.

Conference of London.

Whilst the position of affairs was thus disturbed abroad, it was still more alarming at home. The necessity for the re-establishment of order had led to the creation in every part of the kingdom of battalions of the National Guard. The latter were continually kept on the alert by the clubs, *émeutes*, and popular manifestations, one of which in Paris was the signal for the most lamentable disorders. At the conclusion of an expiatory ceremony celebrated on the Place de Grève in honour of the memory of the four unfortunate sergents of Rochelle, a petition for the abolition of capital punishment was circulated through the crowd; it was covered with signatures, and the Chamber of Deputies sanctioned the wish which it expressed. A rumour spread abroad that this petition had been issued at the instigation of the Government for the purpose of saving the Ministers of Charles X. who had signed the decrees of July. Four of these Ministers—MM. de Polignac, de Chantelauze, de Peyronnet, and Guernon de Ranville—had been arrested and imprisoned in Vincennes, and the Court of Peers was about to try them. The suspicion of this manœuvre on the part of the Government excited the faubourgs and produced formidable *émeutes*, in which were heard cries of "Death to Polignac!" "Death to the Ministers!" The prefect of the Seine, M. Odillon Barrot, censured the vote of the Deputies in favour of the abolition of capital punishment as injudicious, and, when threatened with deprivation of his office, was supported by several of the Ministers in opposition to their colleagues. There was discord, therefore, in the highest regions of power; the Elective Chamber,

Tumults in Paris.

presided over by Casimir Périer, was wavering, and Paris was in a state of partial insurrection when the trial of the Ministers was about to commence. The King, in these critical circumstances, thought it prudent to form his Council of men whose opinions were those of the masses, and resembled those of each other. He perceived the necessity of having recourse to men possessed of great popularity for the purpose of resisting the popular torrent, and accepting therefore the resignation of MM. de Broglie, Guizot, and Louis, he made M. Jacques Laffitte Minister of Finance and President of the Council.*

The Laffitte Ministry.

The head of the new Ministry, a banker celebrated for his devotion to, and expenditure in favour of, the liberal cause, was in great favour both with the King and the citizen classes. A Conservative by instinct and position, M. Laffitte was nevertheless closely connected with the party of movement by his immense craving for popularity. He was well-informed, facile of speech, and most affable in manner; but he was deficient in firmness, moderation, and experience. The trial of the Ministers was at this period the most serious affair on hand, and whilst it lasted disturbances in Paris continued to rage with a ferocity which called to mind the most fatal days of the Revolution. Calm in the midst of this frightful crisis, and unanimously refusing to pass a capital sentence, the Court of Peers condemned M. de Polignac to transportation, and his three colleagues to perpetual imprisonment.† But a savage mob demanded their heads, and threatened to inflict the most desperate outrages on the prisoners and their judges, and its rage was with difficulty held in check by the National Guard and the youths of the schools, who rallied round the municipal authorities. The Minister of the Interior and General Lafayette were foremost in striving to defend the condemned men, and for this purpose nobly risked their lives. When told that he would probably lose his popularity if he attempted to save the ministers, Lafayette replied—"Popularity is a precious possession, which, like all other possessions, we should be ready to expend in the public service." Their efforts were successful; Paris was preserved from the horrors of a new

Trial of the Ministers of Charles X.

Fresh disturbances.

* M. de Montalivet replaced M. Guizot as Minister of the Interior; M. Molé was succeeded as Minister for Foreign Affairs by Marshal Maison; and General Gérard resigned the portfolio for War to Marshal Soult.

† In this memorable trial the Prince de Polignac was defended, at his own request, by the minister whom he had replaced, M. de Martignac.

2nd September; and the condemned Ministers were conveyed from Vincennes to the castle of Ham to undergo their punishment.

Legislative enactments.

During the short existence of this Ministry the Chambers passed the most liberal and popular laws of the new reign. One law decorated the citizens who had particularly distinguished themselves in the days of July; and others submitted offences committed by the press to the judgment of a jury, rendered the municipal councils elective, and gave a new organization to the National Guard. This latter law confided arms to every one without distinction, and rendered the appointment of most of the officers a mere matter of election, without any interference on the part of the Crown, and created therefore a great danger to the Crown. The democrats of the Opposition and the popular societies desired much more than this. Bringing forward a so-called Programme de l'Hôtel de Ville, which had been accepted, they said, by the Duke of Orleans, but the existence of which the latter denied, they demanded that Republican institutions should be the foundations of the throne. They wished that the people should directly appoint all the magistrates, and that the budget should be diminished by the reduction of official salaries, and that many taxes should be immediately suppressed. They also insisted upon the propagandism of revolutionary ideas and an European war.

Insurrection of Italy and Poland.

Italy fell into a state of insurrection, and a vast movement, which rapidly spread through the minor states of the Peninsula, tended to convert them all into one great Republic; a Provisional Government was formed, and the Pope had already lost a great portion of his provinces when, being threatened themselves with the loss of their Lombard and Venetian possessions, the Austrians hastened to interfere, stifled the insurrection, and re-established the shaken throne. About the same time an insurrection burst forth in Poland. The Constitution bestowed in 1815 by the Emperor Alexander on this unhappy country had ceased to be observed, and was now only a dead letter. In no direction was the influence of the days of July felt more than in Warsaw, where it produced, in the course of December, a sudden and irresistible explosion, and almost the whole of the kingdom of Poland fell into the hands of the insurgent nation. The Polish regiments made common cause with the people; the Russian garrisons were taken prisoners or massacred; the Grand-Duke Constantine, the viceroy of Poland, took flight; the duchy of

Warsaw and its capital believed that they were freed; and the dethronement of the Romanoffs was shortly afterwards declared by the Diet.

In France these great events were sympathized with by almost all classes of the population. They excited, especially amongst the men of movement, ardent and enthusiastic ideas, and provoked bellicose manifestations on the part of those who assumed that they alone were entitled to the honourable appellation of patriots. The latter wished that France should simultaneously oppose Russia (now preparing to fall upon Poland), Austria, the Conference in London, and the Pope; and loudly demanded war at a time when France had only a disorganized army, when its finances were in the worst possible state, and when its credit was at the lowest ebb. It is to the honour of Louis Philippe that he energetically opposed this dangerous course, and that universal spirit of propagandism with which some members of his Cabinet were inspired, and in which rash inclinations were mingled with the purest sentiments and noble wishes in the cause of the oppressed and feeble. He did his duty by negotiating in their favour, and by abstaining from threatening demonstrations, which, to have been effectual, must have been followed by the revolutionary measures of a sinister epoch.

The existence of a state of war on all the French frontiers had given a fresh impulse to the volcano which was burning in the interior, and which was continually throwing around it sombre gleams and burning lava. It burst forth with renewed violence in Paris on the 13th February, 1831, on the celebration of a funeral service for the Duke de Berry at Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois by a great number of the partisans of the late *régime*, who now began to be commonly called Carlists or Legitimists. Some of the persons who took part in the ceremony wished to render it a political and counter-revolutionary demonstration, and the picture of the young heir of the eldest branch, represented as Henry V., was imprudently displayed in the church before the crowd assembled there. The report of this circumstance speedily spread, and was the signal for a fierce riot, which the authorities might, in all probability, have been able to prevent, and which they were slow to suppress. The church and the sacristy were shamefully pillaged. On the following morning the crowd rushed to the archbishop's palace, which they destroyed

Disturbances. Pillage of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois and the Archbishop's Palace, February, 1831.

from top to bottom, and thence hurried to the churches and palaces to tear down the crosses from the towers, mutilate the royal insignia, and compel the Monarch himself to repudiate his glorious blazon.

The Chambers, justly indignant, held the Government and the municipal authorities responsible for these odious and barbarous acts, and at the conclusion of debates which were as stormy as they were disgraceful, the two prefects of Paris, MM. Baude and Odillon Barrot, were deprived of their offices. At the same time the Deputies themselves, finding that they were accused of immoderately prolonging their possession of office, and were the object of violent recriminations, acknowledged that the end of their mission had arrived, and opened the way for the formation of a new Chamber by remodelling the electoral law. This law abolished the double vote, reduced the amount of taxes the payment of which qualified a man to be eligible as a member of the Chamber of Deputies to five hundred francs, and gave the electoral vote to all who paid two hundred.

Electoral law.

The frightful scenes which had taken place in Paris were repeated in many of the departments; they were re-echoed in the most deplorable manner in several parts of Europe, and to many causes of discontent, trouble, and disquietude were added those arising from the alarming state of the finances. Already, in the budget presented by M. Laffitte before the last-recounted events, the expenses for 1832 were set forth as amounting to ten thousand one hundred and sixty-seven millions, figures which exceeded by about three hundred millions the last budget of the Restoration; and this in itself was an irrefutable and sad proof of the expense of revolutions, even when they are legitimate and necessary. At a later period, on the eve of the dissolution of the Chamber and the Cabinet, M. Laffitte demanded a supplementary credit of two hundred millions for the purpose of meeting the extraordinary necessities of the State; and this supply he only obtained with much difficulty at the hands of an uneasy and angry majority. This Minister, who had so lately been rich, magnificent, and popular, but who was now seriously injured in his private fortune, and had lost his favour with the people as well as with the King, perceived that power was escaping from his grasp, but could not persuade himself to resign it. The state of anarchy, however, made frightful progress; the *émeute* which was now permanent in

Paris disturbed the principal cities in the kingdom, and paralysed commerce and industry. The evil, in fact, was at its height, and the very existence of the monarchy seemed in peril, when the King entrusted to Casimir Périer the formation of a new Ministry.

Fall of the Laffitte Ministry.

In the new Cabinet, which was presided over by Casimir Périer as Minister of the Interior, the principal portfolios—those of Justice, Foreign Affairs, War, and Finance—were confided to MM. Barthe, Sebastiani, Soult, and Baron Louis.* The head of the Cabinet had been for fifteen years one of the most eminent members of the liberal party. Strongly opposed to arbitrary power, Court influences, and the old system of things, he was equally averse to disorder and anarchy; he wished for a strong Government supported by just laws; he was resolved to make this principle triumph, and to this task he brought a mind which was rather just than extensive, a will of iron, and a burning courage which inspired an honest and resolute heart with a sense of duty and a contempt for popularity. Périer laid before the Chambers a statement of the policy he intended to pursue; demanded a vote of confidence for the purpose of enabling him to pass the provisional clauses of the budget; and with their concurrence took energetic measures for the re-establishment of equilibrium in the finances and peace in the streets. The Elective Chamber was soon afterwards adjourned, and then dissolved (30th April), whereupon the King convoked the electoral colleges for the following month of July. Casimir Périer wished that the new Chamber should faithfully represent the opinions of the country. He agreed that the Government might legitimately employ a certain amount of influence for the purpose of assisting the electors to make a wise use of their suffrage, but in his electoral instructions he guaranteed that they should be at perfect liberty to vote as they pleased, and that the rights of conscience should be held inviolate. His conduct in this respect did not give a scandalous and dangerous lie to his words.

Périer Ministry, March 13, 1831.

Dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, April 30.

The dangers which existed within the kingdom were complicated with others which threatened it abroad, and the President of the Council had already presented the

Exposition of the principles of foreign policy.

* M. de Montalivet passed from the Ministry of the Interior to that of Public Instruction and Worship.

Chamber of Deputies with an outline of the course he intended to pursue with respect to irritated Europe, in these remarkable words :—"We desire peace, which is so necessary to France; but we would wage war if the honour or safety of France were to be threatened, for then liberty itself would be threatened, and we should appeal with patriotic confidence to the courage of the nation. We adopt the principle of non-intervention —that is to say, we maintain that foreigners have no right to interfere by force in a nation's internal affairs. We will on all occasions support this principle by means of negotiations, and in support of the interests or dignity of France alone will we take up arms. We will not allow that any nation has a right to drag us into a war for its sake, for the blood of Frenchmen only belongs to France." This policy, which was also that of the King, was followed with firmness and not without success in respect to Central Italy after the failure of the insurrection, which was suppressed by the presence of the Austrian army. French diplomacy, adding its efforts to those of the other powers, obtained from the new pope, Gregory XVI., a formal engagement to introduce into his States many necessary reforms which had been long ardently desired, and persuaded the Austrian Government to withdraw its troops from Italian territory.

Advantages obtained.

France, in spite of the sombre jealousy of England, made its power felt in Portugal, where the usurper Don Miguel had inflicted the most disgraceful ill-treatment on French subjects. All satisfaction having been refused to the French consul, Admiral Roussin, under the fire of the Portuguese cannon, forced the mouth of the Tagus, which had been hitherto regarded as impregnable, destroyed the batteries of the forts, and by this brilliant feat obtained for the French arms a complete reparation for their reverses.

Brilliant action of the French fleet before Lisbon, 1831.

The great question pending between Holland and Belgium kept a portion of Western Europe in continual disquiet and in arms, and the enmity created between the two countries by the decisions of the London Conference might at any moment give rise to a general conflict. The Conference imposed upon Belgium the abandonment to Holland of a portion of Limburg and the surrender of Luxemburg, which was an hereditary possession of the House of Nassau, and which formed, moreover, a portion of the Germanic Confederation. It also divided the

Decision of the Conference of London relative to the separation of Belgium and Holland.

national debt equally between the two countries; and on these conditions, which were for a long time rejected, it undertook to procure the recognition of the independence of the new country by the five powers. Belgium yielded at length, and offered the crown to the Duke de Nemours, the second son of the King of the French. As Louis Philippe, however, rejected this offer out of respect for engagements which he had previously entered into with Great Britain, the Belgians elected as their king Leopold Prince of Coburg, widower of the Princess Charlotte, who had been heir-presumptive to the English throne; and the marriage of that monarch in the course of the following year with the eldest daughter of the King of the French doubly strengthened the alliance between France and Belgium.

Leopold, Prince of Coburg, elected King of the Belgians.

Leopold had scarcely accepted the crown when King William, refusing to acknowledge the armistice, advanced with his troops, put to flight the Belgian army, which was chiefly composed of volunteers, and marched upon Louvain, where he took up his position. Leopold in this extremity demanded the aid of France, and Marshal Gérard immediately entered Belgium at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, before whom the Dutch army fell back without fighting, to resume the position which it had occupied before its rapid and brilliant campaign, which was called "The Ten Days' Campaign." Belgium was thus a second time saved by France, and three months later (on the 15th November), a treaty consisting of twenty-four articles, regulating in a definitive and irrevocable manner the separation of the two kingdoms, was signed by Belgium, and the Conference guaranteed to the King of the Belgians the execution of its clauses. At the same time France obtained from the four other great powers, at whose expense several Belgian fortresses had been constructed and maintained since 1815 as a rampart on our frontiers, that the defences of those places should be demolished.* The Treaty of the Twenty-four Articles, however, was not accepted by the King of Holland, whose troops occupied Antwerp, and peace was not as yet re-established.

Rapid march of the Dutch army into Belgium; its retreat before the French army, 1831.

Treaty of the Twenty-four Articles, 1831.

The Legislative Session had been open in Paris from the commencement of hostilities. Two hundred new Deputies had been elected; and the majority, at first in a state of indecision,

Legislative Session, 1831.

* These fortresses were Menin, Ath, Philippeville, Mons, and Marienbourg.

was, by the firm and prudent conduct of the Government, rallied to its side. The Chamber passed, amongst other financial laws, one which fixed the civil list for the reign at twelve millions, an amount less by more than one-half than that of the previous civil list. Nevertheless it was regarded as enormous, and was the object in some too-celebrated pamphlets* of the most outrageous allegations. But the chief business of the session was the revision of the article of the charter relating to the peerage. Casimir Périer perceived the irresistible power of that public opinion which had declared against hereditary rank, and on this point he did violence to his personal convictions. The peerage was changed from an hereditary one into one for life; and although the Crown preserved the right of nominating its members, it could only select them from certain classes.†

Law on the organization of the peerage.

The Chamber had sat for some weeks only when a great catastrophe awoke throughout France sympathies as noble as they were painful, and filled all generous hearts with sorrow. Warsaw had fallen before the Russian troops commanded by Paskiewitch. Unhappy Poland, after heroic exploits and prodigious but fruitless efforts, had once again been overcome. She had rendered reconciliation with her vanquishers impossible by imprudently proclaiming the dethronement of the Romanoffs, and now the vengeance of the Czar was about to fall upon her. A general cry in favour of assisting her arose in Paris, and the public wish became manifested in noisy demonstrations which soon became seditious, and which had to be suppressed by force. But at six hundred leagues' distance France could only offer the good offices of her diplomacy and an asylum and assistance to the vanquished fugitives. She nobly acquitted herself of this double duty; the exiles received in France an enthusiastic welcome, and the Government, with the aid of the Chamber, provided for their necessities.

Fall of Warsaw, 1831.

The great excitement produced by the affairs of Poland was not calmed when a formidable insurrection burst forth in Lyons, the cause of which was not any political motive, but misery. Trade in articles of luxury generally, and especially in the article of silk, had suffered much from the shock communicated to all Europe by the

Rising in Lyons.

* "Letters on the Civil List," by M. de Cormenin.

† In order to obtain the consent of the Peers to this important point, the Government was compelled to create thirty-six new ones.

Revolution of 1830, and in the city of Lyons alone eighty thousand operatives employed in silk manufacture were out of work and in want of the means of subsistence. They arose to the sound of that distressing and terrible cry, "Work or bread!" drove away the authorities and the garrison, and for some time, during which they abstained from injuring either persons or property, remained masters of that great city. An army of twenty thousand men, under the orders of Marshal Soult and the Duke of Orleans, the heir-presumptive to the throne, marched upon Lyons, retook it, and re-established order there; but no important relief was afforded to the distress of an immense population; and when we read the language either of the Government organs or of the Chambers with reference to this fratricidal struggle, we cannot but regret to find in it no expression of a wish to relieve, by the aid of the law, the misery which had been its cause.

End of the insurrection.

The victory thus gained by the army strengthened the Ministry, and in Paris the *émeutes* having been suppressed were succeeded by conspiracies. Conspiracies were formed for the restoration of the Republic, of the Empire, and of the eldest branch of the Bourbons; but the energy of the Government enabled it to triumph over all these plots, and its attention was speedily called to foreign affairs in respect to Italy.

The promises exacted from the Pontifical Government by the intervention of the great powers had not been kept, and no reform had been made in an administration which was arbitrary, oppressive, and absolute. The irritated people again rose in the Pontifical States, and the papal army, recruited by mercenaries from every country, and several times victorious, committed at Cesena and Forli horrible excesses. Bologna arose in its turn, and the Austrians, having been called to his aid by Gregory XVI., took possession of it. The French Government, indignant at finding its intervention despised and the most formal engagements ignored, resolved to enforce by arms in Central Italy the principle of non-intervention. A naval division carrying troops, under the command of Colonel Combes, was ordered to proceed to and take possession of Ancona. This order was rapidly executed, and on the 22nd February the city of Ancona, with its citadel, were in the hands of the French.

The Austrians in Bologna.

Capture of Ancona by the French, Feb., 1832.

By this bold and violent act of aggression Casimir Périer left the path followed by his predecessors, and thus provoked not only the anger of the

Court of Rome but the loud remonstrances of the other European powers. He wished to show that engagements entered into with France could not remain a dead letter, and that he did not intend to abandon Italy to the all-powerful protectorate of Austria. Under this twofold aspect the occupation of Ancona was popular in France; the Chambers approved the act of the Minister, and the bitter complaints made against the Government abroad strengthened it at home.

Political troubles in La Vendée and Marseilles.

La Vendée, where Madame the Duchess de Berry announced that she would soon arrive, was at this time the scene of sanguinary disturbances, and some heroic victims fell in the first conflicts which were the precursors of a civil war. The Legitimists were thus agitating in the south for the purpose of raising the Duke de Bordeaux to the throne, and an attempt at insurrection had been suppressed at Marseilles (April, 1832), when a fresh scourge fell upon France. After having desolated many countries in Europe, the cholera appeared in Paris, where it made great ravages. It carried off Casimir Périer, and to all the private causes for mourning there was thus added a great public one.

Outbreak of cholera. Death of Casimir Périer, May, 1832.

Périer had appeared at his right hour; he displayed great and rare qualities in the accomplishment of his task, and he was aided in it even by his very defects, by the rude and impetuous vehemence of an obstinate will and an ardent and inflexible character. He did not, however, complete his work; for, though he successfully combated *émeutes* and seditions, he vanquished without extirpating the evil, and after his departure the spirit of insurrection reappeared menacing and formidable. But he had replaced the Government at the head of society, and had shown that, in hands at once firm and just, the power of the law is superior to all the efforts of conspirators and insurrectionists. This great task was the one he had to perform, and he devoted himself to its accomplishment even to the time of his death. In other respects he was not perhaps sufficiently strong for the situation. Casimir Périer was one of those who had seen in the revolution of July only a disastrous although necessary event, the sole object of which was a change of government and not extensive reforms in the institutions of the country. He expressed no desire to place these in closer relation with the ideas and necessities produced by so new a pos-

Remarks on his character and actions.

ture of affairs, and, with the exception of the modifications introduced into the composition of the peerage, he made no preparation even for the carrying out of the resolutions passed after the acceptance of the charter. The latter were equally forgotten or neglected by the Chambers, and the legislative session, which closed a few days before the death of Casimir Périer (April, 1831), left France in a precarious and disturbed state, a prey to the same divisions, to the same agitations, but at least inspired with the salutary conviction that a general war might be avoided, and that the demon of civil war, revolt, and anarchy was not invincible.

## CHAPTER II.

THE COMPTE-RENDU—CONFLICTS OF THE 5TH AND 6TH JUNE—CIVIL WAR—THE MINISTRY FROM THE 11TH OCTOBER TO THE GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1834.

*May*, 1832—*June*, 1834.

THE death of Casimir Périer altered but very slightly the composition of the Cabinet, in which M. de Montalivet, who gavé up the portfolio of Public Instruction to M. Girard, became Minister of the Interior. But the great Minister whom France had lost was one of those who are succeeded but cannot be replaced. The situation of the country was serious, and its perils, as well as the faults which had been committed, were pointed out with much bitterness in a document celebrated under the name of the *Compte-rendu*, which was signed by the Deputies of the Opposition. The latter, almost entirely composed of men of movement, was divided into two distinct portions—the extreme Left, and the Left properly so called. The first, some of the members of which were openly in favour of a republican form of government, had as its leaders in the Elective Chamber, amongst others, Dupont de l'Eure, Voyer d'Argenson, Cormenin, Garnier Pagès; and as its principal organs in the press Armand Carrel, director of the *National*, and Armand Marrast and Godefroi Cavaignac, editors of the *Tribune*. The second portion of the Opposition had frankly accepted the Monarchical Government together with the youngest branch of the Bourbons, and called themselves for a time "The Dynastic Left." M. Odillon Barrot was its principal orator and recognised leader. Most of its members, perfectly understanding the position, recognised those important phases of it which were too much neglected by the Conservatives, and generous sentiments were allied in them with a sincere devotion. They inspired, however, but little confidence amongst the partisans of order; for they were too closely connected by their antecedents and their

**The extreme Left and the dynastic Left.**

friendships with the extreme Left—the republican Left—whose illusions, bitter resentments, and rash impatience they shared. This mixture of good and evil, of truth and exaggeration, was visible in the *Compte-rendu*, which was drawn up by MM. Odillon Barrat and Cormenin, and signed by the members of each portion of the Left. To arrive at this result the dynastic Opposition had to make disgraceful concessions to the republican Opposition, which greatly increased the distance between the former and the Conservatives. The just views expressed in this document were regarded as dangerous utopianisms when they were seen mingled with violent recriminations, disrespectful expressions towards the monarch, and exaggerated reproaches that the principles of '89 and 1830 had been completely abandoned; the whole being signed by the declared enemies not only of the Government but of the monarchy. This was a great evil as well for the present as the future; and M. Odillon Barrot, who, by confining himself within just limits, might have been able to exercise a great and useful influence, lost all power of serious action with the majority of the members of the two Chambers. What was true in this document was misconstrued and did not bear fruit, and what was false and dangerous in it did much harm. The *Compte-rendu* inflamed the popular passions to the highest point, and hastened, perhaps, the explosion of a republican insurrection which placed the monarchy in the greatest peril.

*Compte-rendu* of the Opposition.

After the death of Casimir Périer hope returned to the parties which had been held in check by his vigorous hand; they became eager to try their strength once more; and they found an opportunity of doing so at the funeral ceremony of General Lamarque, an able and valiant soldier, in whom despotic instincts were concealed beneath a cloak of democracy, and whose obsequies attracted, on the 5th June, 1832, an immense concourse of persons. All the popular societies, including those of "The Rights of Man," "The Friends of the People," "The Union of July," &c., were gathered together, and all came armed. An insurrection suddenly burst forth to the cries of "Down with Louis Philippe!" "Long live the Republic!"* Some detachments of troops were taken and others

Funeral of General Lamarque.

Republican insurrection. July 5 and 6, 1832.

* General La Fayette was in the funeral procession, and the mob, taking the horses from his carriage, took possession of his person, and wished to inflict upon him the honour of being their leader. He had much trouble in escaping from the grievous

massacred; the conflict raged at several points, and a portion of the city fell into the hands of the insurgents. The King quitted Saint Cloud at nightfall to hasten to the scene of danger. He reviewed, amidst the crash of musketry and by the light of torches, the troops and the National Guard. The latter, rallying at the sight of the red flag, under their heroic commander General Lobau, fought valiantly, and spilt their blood as freely as the regular troops in support of the cause of order. The struggle lasted two days, and on the evening of the 6th June the insurgents, shut in in the quarter of the Cloître Saint-Méry, and enclosed behind some loopholed barricades, defended themselves with prodigious courage and with all the fury of despair.

Civil war in the west.

Civil war had at the same time burst forth in the west, whither the Duchess de Berry had proceeded in spite of the advice of the most illustrious partisans of the cause of Henry V. The castle of Pénnissière fell a prey to the flames, and its defenders died beneath its embers on the very day on which the republicans yielded, in the capital, behind the barricades of Saint-Méry.

The Government, after its victory, indulged in some violent and much-to-be-regretted acts. A royal decree placed Paris in a state of siege, and took the prisoners from their natural judges to subject them to the decisions of military tribunals. A second decree was couched in the spirit of another age, and ordered the surgeons and physicians to denounce the wounded whom they had attended. The Court of Cassation declared that, under the circumstances in which it was issued, the decree which placed Paris in a state of siege was illegal, and this first decree was immediately revoked, whilst the second was suppressed by the unanimous condemnation of public opinion.

To all these causes of agitation and alarm were added great anxiety with respect to the opposition made by the King of the Netherlands to the Treaty of the Twenty-four Articles, which settled the separation between Holland and Belgium. It was proposed to deprive the Dutch of the citadel of Antwerp and some fortresses which were still occupied by their troops, and three of the powers represented at the Conference of London—Russia, Prussia, and Austria—refused to take coercive measures

persecution. He died two years later at his château, La Grange, leaving a great and respected name, and a remarkable example of the power exercised over the public mind by an honest heart sincerely devoted to the popular cause.

against King William for this purpose. France and England, however, agreed to overcome his resistance by force, and the siege of Antwerp was resolved on.

In the presence of so many perils the new monarchy had more than ever need of the strength derived from unity, and it sought more especially the support of all to whom public opinion and themselves gave the name of Conservatives. The common danger overcame, in the case of the principal leaders, the rivalries of ambition and personal enmities; it overruled differences of opinion as well as incompatibilities of temper, and there was formed the Ministry of October, 1832.

In this Ministry, the nominal head of which was Marshal Soult, the most eminent of the doctrinaires, MM. de Broglie and Guizot, were united with some very important members of the Left Centre, MM. Thiers, Barthe, and Humann. The new Ministry pursued the same policy as Casimir Périer, and the particular characteristic of their administration was the resistance made to the Legitimist party and the revolutionary demagogues by the various fractions of the Conservative party. The general spirit and political tendency of this Cabinet, which was several times broken up and reformed, continued to hold power with little interruption and alteration so long as there was no rupture or important disagreement between the important men by the concurrence of whom it had been formed; and this period lasted about four years and a half from the death of Casimir Périer.

Ministry of October, 1832.

The general position of affairs was as difficult as towards the close of 1832. In the west there was civil war, and in Paris as well as in many of the great cities of the kingdom there were republican conspiracies and a furious prevalence of demagogic passions. It was the period in which Saint-Simonism loudly proclaimed, even in the sanctuaries of justice, its doctrines, subversive alike of religion, morality, and family ties;* when Charles Fourier, conscientiously rejecting the restraints of moral law, made pleasure the basis and fittest object of worship of the whole of society in a system which was named after him and was called Fourierism; when Lamennais, destroying that which he had adored, set forth with fiery eloquence the new dogma of the infallibility of the sovereign people; and when, finally, the programmes of the

Moral anarchy.

* The leaders of the sect were sentenced to fine and imprisonment in August, 1832, by the Court of Assize in Paris; and shortly afterwards the sect broke up.

terrorists and communists were set forth in the order of the day in innumerable secret societies. In the presence of this general unloosing of foolish or criminal doctrines or subversive passions, the Government fulfilled its duty by taking energetic measures for the purpose of defeating the plots formed by demagogues and anarchists and pacifying Brittany, where the Duchess de Berry kept up a state of civil war, and where six departments were placed in a state of siege.

Arrest of the Duchess de Berry at Nantes. Her captivity at Blaye.

The princess, soon betrayed and given up by a wretch named Deutz, was taken prisoner at Nantes and shut up in the citadel of Blaye, whence she issued after having given birth to a child, the fruit of a second marriage with the Count Luchesi Palli. The civil war which her presence had aroused in the bosom of the west died out during the first days of her captivity.

Foreign policy, 1832–1834.

The foreign policy of France, although accused of weakness by some, was nevertheless wanting neither in force nor dignity. The Government everywhere showed itself, in a just and moderate manner, favourable to the constitutional cause, whilst it avoided putting the peace of Europe in peril, and with this object strengthened its alliance with England. It had, as we have seen, undertaken, in concert with that power, to enforce the execution of the clauses of the Twenty-four Articles relating to the separation of Belgium and Holland. Consequently, a French army of seventy thousand men, having at its head Marshal Gerard, and under him the King's two eldest sons, the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours, crossed the Belgian frontier on the 15th November, 1832; after which it invested and besieged the citadel of Antwerp, which was most bravely defended by the Dutch general Chassé. This important fortress, the key of the Scheldt, was compelled to capitulate towards the close of December, and given over by France to the Belgian Government.

Belgium.

Spain.

The conduct of the cabinet was no less firm and liberal in respect to the affairs of Spain, where Ferdinand VII., abolishing the Salic law introduced by Philip V., had reestablished the old traditional usage in favour of the succession of women. On the death of Ferdinand, his widow, the Queen-mother Regent, Maria-Christina, relied upon the liberal party for the defence of the rights of the Infanta Isabella, then two years old, against Don Carlos, her uncle and rival to the throne,

whose triumph would have been also that of the retrograde, absolute, and monarchical party. She solicited the support of King Louis Philippe, who upon this occasion sacrificed the private interests of his dynasty to the constitutional cause, by recognising the young Queen in prejudice to the eventual rights of his own house. He promised his assistance to the Queen-regent, and by his orders an army of observation assembled at the foot of the Pyrenees, ready to cross the frontier in case an armed demonstration should be made in favour of Don Carlos either by the French Legitimist party or by one of the great powers.

Portugal.

The Government acted in the same spirit in its relations with Portugal, where Don Miguel, who had been already chastised by France, had seized the throne in defiance of the legitimate rights of his niece, the young Queen Donna Maria, daughter of the Emperor of Brazil, Don Pedro, eldest brother of Don Miguel. Don Pedro abdicated the throne of Brazil for the purpose of proceeding to defend the rights of his daughter in Portugal; he offered a charter to the Portuguese and appealed to the liberal party, whilst the absolutist party supported his brother. The army of Don Miguel, commanded by Marshal de Bourmont, was vanquished under the walls of Oporto, whilst the constitutional army took possession of Lisbon, with the concurrence of France and England. These events were followed by a treaty negotiated in London by Prince Talleyrand between England, France, Spain, and Portugal, by which the Regent of Portugal and the Queen-regent of Spain undertook to unite their efforts for the expulsion of the Infants Don Carlos and Don Miguel. The King of Great Britain and the King of the French promised to assist towards this end in a defined and limited manner. Such was the famous treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, which was signed in April, 1834, between the four constitutional Courts of the West.

Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, 1834.

Turkey. Struggle between the Sultan and the Pasha of Egypt, 1832-1833.

The East also attracted the attention of Europe, which looked on with anxiety at the unequal struggle maintained by the Sultan Mahmoud against the Pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, his revolted vassal. Almost the whole of Syria had already fallen into the hands of Ibrahim, the son of Mehemet, when the European powers, at the Sultan's request, interfered in his favour. Ibrahim, however, continued his career of conquest, crossed the Taurus, and in December, 1832, obtained a decisive victory at Konieh.

The whole Turkish army was annihilated; and Mahmoud, in his distress, implored of Russia some immediate and efficacious assistance. The Czar replied favourably to this appeal, and a Russian fleet speedily entered the Bosphorus. France and England made great efforts to render the assistance afforded her by Russia useless to the Porte, and France especially eagerly insisted that the Sultan should make large concessions of territory to his powerful vassal. She obtained for Mehemet the whole of Syria and the important district of Adana beyond the Taurus. A French envoy then proceeded to Ibrahim's camp to invite him to agree to a suspension of arms; and the latter, satisfied with the concessions which had been obtained for him chiefly by the powerful intervention of France, checked the progress of his army and recrossed the Taurus (May, 1833), whilst, by the Sultan's orders, the Russian fleet left the Bosphorus. Such was the position of affairs in the East when it became known that a secret treaty had been concluded at Unkiar-Skelessi (July, 1833,) between the Ottoman Porte and Russia, by which the Sultan undertook, in return for the Czar's perpetual protection, to close the Dardanelles against all foreign ships of war. Europe was much disturbed by this treaty, which placed Constantinople and the whole of the Turkish empire under the exclusive protection of Russia; England and France vehemently protested against it, and being supported by Austria, forced the Czar to refrain from availing himself of the advantages exacted by this convention from the weakness of the Sultan.

Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, July, 1833.

Intervention of the European powers.

Whatever opinion may be formed of the conduct of France in the first phase of the great Eastern question, it must be admitted that she obtained for the Pasha of Egypt more than England could have wished, and that she disputed with Russia courageously and firmly. It was not with truth that the Opposition, at this period, accused the French Government of weakness in its relations with Europe; for, mindful of its origin, it took into account the influence appertaining to ideas as to the relations of modern peoples towards each other. It maintained in respect to the absolute powers a noble and proud attitude, which was as free from weakness as from provocation; it offered the hand of friendship to the free peoples and those who wished to be free; and it formed a strict alliance with the only great European power which had not viewed with terror or displeasure the popular movement from which it had resulted.

Such was, with respect to foreign affairs, the conduct of the Ministry of the 11th October; it persevered in this conduct until its dissolution, and, towards the close of 1833, the Courts of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, having communicated to the French Government a threatening note, in which they declared that they held it responsible for the progress of revolutionary propagandism in their own and the neighbouring states, the Duke de Broglie, who was Minister for Foreign Affairs, vehemently protested against this note, declaring that France would not suffer, under any pretext, any armed intervention in Switzerland, Belgium, or Piedmont; and that, moreover, the only advice as to her course of action which she could follow would be such as might be dictated by circumstances and a regard to her own interests.

Home policy of the Cabinet of October. Legislative enactments, 1832-1834.

The Cabinet of the 11th of October in its home policy during the years 1833 and 1834, exposed itself to criticism less perhaps by what it accomplished than by its forgetfulness of certain important measures, and its neglect to carry out others which it had itself proposed. Supported by a majority in each of the two Chambers, it procured the adoption of some useful and important laws. The finances were restored to a regular state by means of the almost simultaneous vote of the budgets of 1833 and 1834. This vote put an end to the continual demands for supplementary credits, and M. Humann at the same time strengthened the bases of public credit by a judicious law respecting the amortissement. The Ministers of War and the Navy presented laws which had long been desired, and which, by making rank independent of actual service, improved the position of the officers of each service. The statutes in force respecting the exercise of civil and political rights by the colonists were also modified in a liberal spirit. The Councils of Departments and Arrondissements were reorganized, and their members made elective; but the functions of these councils were left unchanged, and remained much too restricted. The principal law passed at this period was that regarding primary instruction, the excellent work of M. Guizot, which opened in all the communes in France schools for male children, and at the same time created a nursery of well-informed and capable masters by means of the admirable organization of the normal primary schools in the chief places of the departments. But this law, which was to have so beneficial an influence on public morality when the generation which

was then in a state of childhood should have arrived at a mature age, could not for the moment ameliorate the state of things, and as it slightly increased the communal taxes, the poor country population looked upon it at first rather as a new charge than a benefit.

The working classes still suffered from the great disorder in industrial and commercial affairs caused by the Revolution of 1830; and the Government, for the purpose of alleviating their wretchedness, demanded and obtained of the Chamber a hundred millions to be employed on works of public utility; thus contributing, very involuntarily, and under the pressure of an imperious necessity, to the propagation amongst those classes of the principle of the rights of labour, the very corner-stone of socialism; whilst it failed to take pains to attach them to the new order of things, either by lightening those taxes which pressed most heavily on them, or by introducing legislative measures which would have lowered the price of raw materials and the necessaries of life.* It entirely neglected, also, the means which were placed at its disposal by an exaggerated system of centralization for exerting a moral and powerful influence over the working classes by means of the periodical press, and thus enlightening them with respect to their own true interests. With singular blindness it left this powerful instrument entirely in the hands of its adversaries, and the latter made use of it with all the ardour which in some was inspired by ardent convictions and chimerical hopes, in others by disappointed ambition and injured vanity, and in all by implacable hatred.

Secret societies. Organization of the Society of the Rights of Man.

The most formidable haunts of insurrection were the innumerable secret societies, which were for the most part born of the Revolution of 1830. A decree of the Court of Assize of Paris had in 1832 dissolved the Society of the Friends of the People; but it speedily reappeared under the name of the Society of the Rights of Man, which was organized in sections consisting of twenty members each, the number of which in Paris alone was one hundred and sixty-two. A multitude of other associations, called the Union, the Rights of the People, the Protesters of July, &c. &c., had established intimate relations with the Society of the Rights of Man, and acted in unison with it. The object of the latter was to reestablish the Republic of 1792.

* M. Duchatel, however, had entered, although very timidly, upon the path of free trade, by slightly modifying, in June and July, 1834, the duties on raw materials.

It had openly adopted as its programme the declaration of the rights of man made by Robespierre at the National Convention; and some of the sections, in order to render the object at which they aimed the more manifest, took names which awoke frightful remembrances, such as Marat, Couthon, Saint-Just, and others no less significant. These societies were closely connected with the editorial committees of the democratic journals, and their principal organ was *The Tribune*, which every day exploded in outrageous and furious declamations against the new Government and the established authorities. The Government brought against these journals a multitude of actions, in which it was not always successful, and they seemed to derive an increased boldness, as well from the judgments which condemned their conductors as from those which acquitted them.

Trial of the periodical press.

The most celebrated of these trials was that which the Elective Chamber, which had been shamefully abused by *The Tribune*, and called "the prostituted Chamber," brought in 1833 against the conductor of that paper, whom it cited before it for defamation. The conductor was condemned, but his defenders, Godefroi Cavaignac and Armand Marrast, were much raised in public estimation by this struggle in which one of the great powers of the State had engaged with them, and the Chamber was more injured by the insulting audacity of the defence than it had been by the virulence of the incriminated article. The popular passions were influenced by the expression of hatred and fury of parties, not only in the journals, but also in a multitude of frightfully cynical pamphlets, which were cried in the public streets and distributed by tens of thousands under the protection of the law. It was necessary to modify the existing state of the law on this point,* and the Chambers passed a law which submitted the profession of crier and seller of writings on the public ways to the surveillance of the municipal authorities. The Government also submitted to the Chambers another preventive law, which was much to be regretted, especially as a permanent measure, for its ulterior effects. The law forbade the existence of any association for religious, political, or other purposes unless sanctioned by a Government licence, which was always revocable. This law could not touch secret societies, whilst it over-

Law on public criers.

Law on association.

* The tribunals, on being applied to on the subject, had declared that the law imposed no restraint upon criers in the exercise of their calling.

stepped its object by depriving peaceable citizens of natural and vital liberty, and seriously attacked the liberty of worship granted by the charter. The presentation of this law was received with legitimate disquiet by many of those in whose breasts the attachment to the new order of things had not enfeebled the love of public liberty; it carried the irritation of parties to its height, and probably precipitated the crisis which it was its object to prevent. Having been adopted on the 25th March by the Deputies, it passed the Chamber of Peers on the 9th April (1834). But during this short interval an unexpected vote of the Deputies had led to important modifications in the composition of the Cabinet, without altering either its tendency or course of action. This vote was caused by the presentation of a proposal for the payment of an indemnity demanded by the United States for American vessels captured by French ships during the Empire. The amount of this indemnity, which was acknowledged to be justly due by Napoleon himself, had been reduced in 1831 to twenty-five millions by a treaty executed between France and America.

Refusal of the indemnity due to the United States. Changes in the Ministry.

A portion of the Opposition, nevertheless, denounced the proposal as an act of weakness, and it was rejected by a majority of six. M. de Broglie, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, would not submit to this rebuff, and resigned his portfolio. The Ministerial crisis, considering the troubled state of the Government and of France at that time, was of short duration. Admiral de Rigny succeeded the Duke de Broglie; M. Thiers, whilst retaining the portfolio of Public Works, became Minister of the Interior; M. Duchatel had the portfolio of Trade; and M. Persil replaced M. Barthe as Minister of Justice.

Everything now conspired to bring about a final struggle with the Republicans. One is astonished at the present time at the indomitable audacity of these men, almost all of whom were neither demagogues nor mad disciples of Babœuf and Robespierre, and many of whom were distinguished for their talents and their private virtues. To understand it we must take into consideration the influence of enthusiastic hearts, thoroughly convinced of their truth. The theories of the Republicans were doubtless dangerous and inapplicable, but they dreamt of a complete social regeneration, thought that they had solved the greatest problems of the organization of modern times, and many of the best of them displayed the devotion of heroes and martyrs in their endeavours to

realize their ideas. They were indignant at the indefinite and fatal adjournment of many popular measures which had been promised in principle by the charter of 1830, and at the neglect of many others which had been extolled by the men now in power. They had not taken into account the imperious necessity of reestablishing order before giving fresh guarantees to liberty, and they saw treason in every delay. They were, moreover, disgusted at the sudden elevation of those advocates—those professors or writers with whom they had been associated for fifteen years, either in the journalistic committees or in political clubs, and who, now that they had attained power and honours, had, they said, deserted the cause of the people, whilst they were themselves persecuted and proscribed for having remained faithful to it. Finally, imbued as they were with the principle that the sovereignty properly resided in the people, they regarded the new power as an usurped power, which the people had not been called upon to sanction, and, as has been very truthfully observed, nothing appears more intolerable to a man than to have to obey those who appear to him to have no right to command his obedience.

Republican insurrection.

The struggle commenced in the departments. Lyons and many other cities, such as Saint Etienne, Clermont Ferrand, Vienne, Châlons, Artois, Luneville, Grenoble, and Marseilles, were almost simultaneously the theatres of insurrections or serious disturbances. In every direction the branches of the secret societies gave the signal for revolution, calling all the enemies of the Government to arms, rallying under the Republican flag a multitude of strangers and political refugees, and instigating to revolt the sub-officers and soldiers of the army. The Society of the Rights of Man had an affiliated association, known under the name of The Mutual, which had been founded for the purpose of mutual aid and assistance, and without any political object. The latter made the law respecting associations the occasion for inflaming the popular passions; and the wages of the workmen engaged in the rug manufactory having been slightly reduced by the master manufacturers, the Mutuallists ordered a general strike. Some of the ringleaders were arrested and brought to trial, and the commencement of proceedings against them was a signal for the Republicans to make an attack. Divided into three great bodies, they rapidly covered the city with barricades. General Aymar, commander of the division, and the Prefect, M. de Gasparin, resisted the insur-

Republican insurrection at Lyons and in the departments, 1834.

gents with as much firmness as prudence; and after Lyons had been a prey to the horrors of civil war for five days, the insurrection was put down, April, 1834. It had been vanquished in all the departments, when it appeared in Paris, where it had already lost its principal leaders.

Insurrection in Paris, April, 1834.

M. Thiers, Minister of the Interior, in order to stifle it at its very source, had sealed up the presses of the *Tribune* journal, whence there issued every day incendiary manifestoes; and by his orders, at the commencement of April, the principal members of the Society of the Rights of Man and the affiliated societies were seized and imprisoned.* The Republican army thus found itself disorganized and much enfeebled; but nevertheless, on the 13th April the signal was given for the attack, and the Republicans opened fire on the military. The struggle was intrepidly maintained by the National Guard and the troops of the line, who were brigaded together under the orders of Marshal Lobau. His stringent movements, which were as skilful as they were rapidly executed, speedily thrust back and enclosed the insurrection in the same quarter of Saint-Méry in which it had already been enclosed in the days of June, 1832. On this occasion the insurgents made a desperate defence. The troops, assailed with musketry from the windows in this labyrinth of narrow and sombre streets, and rendered furious by the fire of an invisible enemy, only listened to their rage, and the Rue Transnonain became the scene of a frightful massacre, which is a lamentable episode in our civil wars. The conflict lasted two days, and on the 14th April the insurrection was put down in Paris.

Many prisoners had been made in all the cities in which it had burst forth, and as their guilty attempts all referred to one vast conspiracy, their trial was referred to the Court of Peers. To prevent the recurrence of similar attempts, the Government presented to the Chambers the projects of two laws, which were passed in the following session, one of which increased the strength of the army, whilst the other prohibited the possession of arms and munitions of war. A few days afterwards the budget for 1835 was voted, and the session was brought to a close. The Elective Chamber now approached the end of its term of office; its dissolution was

Repression laws, 1834.

Close of the legislative session, 1834.

* Two only escaped—Godefroi Cavaignac and Kersausie; but the latter, the most formidable of all, was arrested a few days later.

announced, and the Government appointed the 21st of June as the day for the general elections. A very small number of the members who were publicly known to be Republicans were reelected; but the combined efforts of the Republicans and the partisans of the late Government introduced twenty Legitimists into the new Chamber, and in the first rank of those was one of the most eminent members of the French bar, M. Berryer. Many new members swelled the Conservative majority, but what it gained in numbers it lost in unanimity. The opinions of its members were more diverse, and many deputies wished that the victories of April, which had been simultaneously gained by the party of order, should serve as a starting point for a conciliatory and more popular policy.

General elections, 1834.

## CHAPTER III.

MINISTERIAL CRISIS—RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CABINET OF THE 11TH OCTOBER —THE LAWS OF SEPTEMBER—DISSOLUTION OF THE CABINET.

*April*, 1834—*February*, 1836.

Ministerial crisis on the Algerian question.

THE state of Algeria gave rise, immediately after the elections of 1834, to a fresh ministerial modification, the real cause of which was the incompatibility of character and want of a good understanding between Marshal Soult, the President of the Council, and its most influential and eloquent members, MM. Guizot and Thiers. Too long absorbed by the difficulties attending their home and foreign policy, the Government had given but very insufficient attention to Algeria during the first years which had followed the Revolution. The French power in that country was disputed by the Arabs and the Turks with alternate success and defeat over the whole territory of the old Government between Bona and Oran; and as the retention of this possession demanded considerable sacrifices without offering any immediate return, many voices were in favour of its abandonment. But, on the other hand, the retention of Algeria was, with respect to Europe and posterity, a point of honour for France and of general interest to Christianity. Regarded from this twofold point of view, the abandonment of the conquered province was impossible, and it was determined that France should not only retain its conquest, but increase and confirm it. But the entirely military nature of the Government of the French possessions in Africa, which was obstinately defended by Marshal Soult, the Minister for War and President of the Cabinet, had given rise to numerous abuses, and in the eyes of many the moment seemed to have come when it ought to be replaced by a civil administration. This opinion was that of MM. Thiers and Guizot, as well as of the majority of the members of the Council. The Marshal, persisting in his views

tendered his resignation. The King accepted it, and appointed as his successor Marshal Gerard, one of the most eminent members of a party which began to be openly constituted at this period, and which it is now time to make known.

Marshal Gerard replaces Marshal Soult as President of the Council, 1834.

Many Conservative Deputies, at the commencement of the new session, began to believe that if the so-called policy of resistance had at first saved the country from anarchy and the fury of political factions, that same policy might eventually become insufficient and irritating, and therefore dangerous. Their ideas respecting the necessary results of the Revolution of 1830, in many respects resembled those of the dynastic Left, from whom, however, they held aloof, fearing the illusions and aggressive language of that portion of the Chamber, and especially regarding with aversion the links which connected them with the extreme Left. Their number, imperceptible at first, increased day by day, and they gradually formed out of the several minor parties in the Elective Chamber a Third Party, which was not without a certain analogy with the political groups to which the same name was given at various portions of the history of France in the sixteenth century, and in the Constituent Assembly,—moderate parties standing between the absolute and exclusive parties, and for this reason decried and censured by all; and which, although chiefly consisting of mere waverers and persons skilful in spying out opportunities of furthering their own views without risking anything, nevertheless reckoned in their ranks and at their head some of the best and most enlightened men of their several periods. The Third Party, under the Government of July as at former periods, advocated conciliatory measures, and sought to effect a compromise between ardent and irreconcilable opinions.

The Third Party.

The elections of 1834 raised the numerical strength of the Third Party to eighty deputies. One of its most eminent members, M. Dupin, senior, was, at the commencement of the legislative session (August, 1834), summoned to the presidential chair; and in his thanks to the Chamber for having elected him, as in the address voted by the latter in answer to the speech from the throne, there was a strain of blame, only partially concealed beneath equi-

vocal language. The session was prorogued to December, and in the interval a great question, that of an amnesty, was debated in the Council.

Marshal Gerard thought that the time had come for the declaration of a general amnesty. He had already expressed a wish that it might be granted; and, now that he had become the head of the Cabinet, he insisted upon obtaining it, being in this supported by the Third Party, but opposed by the majority in the Council and the two Chambers. The marshal's wish, in fact, appeared to be premature; for any amnesty granted by a prince fails to effect its object and is dangerous if, instead of proving his generosity or strength, it is only regarded as a sign of his weakness. Such was the light in which an amnesty would have been regarded at the period we treat of by the persons amnestied. Demagogism, although defeated in the streets, was still entrenched in secret societies, and had lost none of its illusions or audacity. Its rage, driven to the last paroxysm, exploded in furious menaces. The two thousand accused persons who had been taken with arms in their hands, relying on their numbers, and encouraged from without, for the most part protested in advance against any pardon, and defied the Government to try them. Under these circumstances an amnesty was impossible, and the King was right in refusing it. This refusal caused the retirement of Marshal Gerard, which was speedily followed by the resignation of almost the whole Cabinet; and then began one of those crises in which the reins of power pass rapidly from hand to hand, and are tossed about at hazard, the men capable of holding them being unwilling to do so, and at the same time unwilling that they should be held by others; and in which there is a display of the most pitiful and jealous passions, and the gravest interests are subordinated to miserable and selfish calculations. This state of things is to be found, unfortunately, more especially in representative governments, and, in the eyes of superficial observers, throws discredit upon them; not, however, that these same passions are not to be found elsewhere, but because in representative governments there are more opportunities for and more stimulants to their growth.

Dismissal of Marshal Gerard. Prolonged Ministerial crisis.

The crisis lasted eight months, during which we find a Ministry of three days' duration, under the presidency of the Duke de Bassano, and

then the old Cabinet, reconstructed under the Duke de Treviso, which lasted three months. At length, on the 12th March, 1835, the policy of the 11th October still prevailing, the Duke de Broglie accepted the presidency of the Council, and was joined by MM. Thiers and Guizot.*

Reconstruction of the Cabinet of October under the presidency of the Duke de Broglie.

This Ministry, containing as it did the most eloquent and influential members of the Conservative party, seemed to possess within itself all the elements of strength and longevity; but nevertheless it survived but a short time, and its brief existence was almost wholly taken up with the trial of the April insurrectionists and the discussion of the serious measures which were soon demanded by the commission of one of the greatest outrages.

The persons inculpated in the great trial now to be carried on before the Court of Peers, numbering about two thousand, were divided into classes according to the cities in which the insurrection had broken out. With respect to the greater number it was declared that there was no evidence against them, and they were set at liberty. The Court, admirably presided over by Chancellor Pasquier, now more than seventy years of age, summoned before it a hundred and sixty-four accused persons, only forty-three of whom were contumacious. No other Court in the kingdom could have fitly conducted this memorable trial, in which the accused, who indulged in outbursts of incredible rage, were supported by twenty journals belonging to various sections of the Opposition, and the openly avowed sympathy of many members sitting on the extreme Left in the Elective Chamber.

Trial of the April rioters.

The whole of the Republican party had unanimously agreed to render the debates stormy if not impossible. Enthusiastic men, some of them very obscure and others of them already known, all declared enemies of the new monarchy, made themselves officious defenders of the accused, fully resolved to spare the peers neither invective nor insult, and to hurl back the accusations from the bench of the accused to that of

* The Duke de Broglie had very reasonably made the passing of a vote for the payment of the indemnity due to the United States a condition of his return to the Council. The question had become much envenomed, but nevertheless the law relative to this debt was presented to the Chamber in 1835 and passed.

the judges.* For the purpose of preventing this intolerable scandal, the President of the Court, the Chancellor Pasquier, decided that the accused could only be defended by regular advocates, whom they were at liberty to select from the whole of the French bar. The accused protested unanimously against this decision, and, declaring that they were not permitted to defend themselves, refused to plead. Then, bursting forth into vociferations and violent gestures, they practically rendered all discussion impossible. It was necessary to suspend the sitting, and the Court declared that in future the trial would be carried on in the absence of those who interrupted the proceedings by their violence.† Another decision of the Court, issued in July, declared that the causes should be disjoined, and that each category of the accused should be tried separately. This decision gave rise to scenes the violence of which passed all bounds, but which failed to weary either the patience or the firmness of the judges. A few days afterwards twenty-eight of the principal prisoners in the Paris class contrived to escape, and then the trial proceeded without any fresh incidents. A hundred and six accused persons, including many who were tried in their absence, were found guilty and sentenced to various punishments, the severest of which was transportation. The Court of Peers displayed, in the conduct of this difficult matter, as much moderation as courage, and was really the rampart of threatened society.

The trials lasted nine months, and long before their conclusion public attention was diverted from it by an execrable crime.

Louis Philippe had already escaped several attempts at assassination, and other plots, formed with the same object, had been discovered, when, on the 28th July, 1835, the King, in spite of some vague warnings, resolved to hold a grand review of the National Guards on the Boulevards, according to his custom, on the anniversary of the Revolution of 1830. The royal cortège had already arrived as far as the Boulevard du Temple, when suddenly a jet of flame, followed by a loud report, issued from a neighbouring house. On

Attempt of Fieschi, 1835.

* Amongst these defenders were Armand Carrel, de Cormenin, André de Puygraveau, Voyer d'Argenson, the abbé de Lamennais, and others whom subsequent events have rendered well known, such as Auguste Blanqui, Ledru-Rollin, Raspail, Trélat, Flocon, Hyppolite Fortoul, and Pierre Leroux.

† It was said, however, that the accused would be brought into Court, either together or separately, to hear the witnesses and be heard in their defence.

every side of the King there arose frightful cries. The monarch and his sons were spared; but the ground around them was covered with killed and wounded. Forty persons were struck, and eighteen mortally injured; Marshal Mortier, Duke of Treviso, General Lachasse de Vérigny, two colonels, several National Guards, and a young girl, being amongst the latter. A ball had grazed the King's forehead; another had penetrated the coat of the Duke de Broglie; and five generals were amongst the wounded. Louis Philippe preserved on this field of carnage all his usual calmness, and continued on his way amidst the acclamations of the indignant crowd. The instrument of the crime was an infernal machine armed with twenty-five barrels directed towards the boulevard, and had been invented by a Corsican named Fieschi, the principal author of the plot. He was seized, together with his accomplices Marcy and Pepin, and tried by the Court of Peers. All three were condemned to death, and died upon the scaffold.

This great crime excited throughout Paris and the whole of France a feeling of horror mingled with stupefaction, and if the Government had then confined itself to the proposal of laws for guaranteeing the persons of the King and the members of the royal family from similar attacks in the future, they would have been received with general approbation. But it was not so. A few days after the solemn funeral of the victims the Chambers were convoked (4th August), and after the delivery of a luminous and conscientious explanation of their objects by the Duke de Broglie, the President of the Council, the Keeper of the Seals presented to the deputies the drafts of three laws relative to the courts of assize, to juries, and to the press. These laws, in the opinion of their authors, were all intended to protect the King, his family, and the new monarchy against the hatred and fury of their enemies, and some of their clauses tended directly to this end. The latter abridged the proceedings before the courts of assize; gave greater independence to juries by means of the introduction of the system of secret voting; rendered the representation of dramatic works or the sale of drawings and engravings unlawful without a Government licence; prohibited the journals from making any attack upon the persons of the King and the members of his family, or the principle even of the established government, and increased the responsibility of the conductors of them. But to these measures, which circumstances rendered reasonable,

Laws of September, 1835.

the Government had added others in which could be perceived a spirit of extreme irritation against the periodical press and much distrust of the popular institution of trial by jury. They diminished in the courts of assize the chance of acquittal hitherto possessed by the accused, demanded enormous securities from the journals, and subjected them to exorbitant fines, which recalled in some degree the odious system of confiscation abolished by the charter; and finally, in certain cases, in direct opposition with the sixty-ninth article of the charter, removed the consideration of crimes of the press from the consideration of juries by enabling the Government at its will to declare them to be outrages against the Crown, and thus cause them to be tried by the Court of Peers.

It was difficult to regard these latter clauses as logical consequences of the crime committed by Fieschi, and they were regarded rather as projects which had been long conceived, and for the production of which this outrage was far less a cause than an opportunity and a pretext. Defended with all the warmth of conviction and eloquence by MM. de Broglie, Guizot, and Thiers, these three projects encountered in the Chambers a vehement opposition, the most illustrious interpreter of which was the old and venerable chief of the doctrinaires, Royer-Collard, who, sad and discouraged and even soured by great deceptions, had shut himself up for many years in a much-to-be-regretted retirement. His noble language was, as it always was, inspired by a high moral tone, although blaming too bitterly, perhaps, the acts of the Cabinet, and speaking too slightingly of the evils which had suggested them. Profound regrets thus mingled themselves with legitimate wishes, and this was the true expression of the feeling which began to prevail. The orator reminded his hearers that the reference of offences committed by the press to the judgment of a jury had been regarded as a great national conquest and recognised as established for ever after July, 1830, and he feared that, by removing them from their natural judges to try them before the Peers, the authority of that Chamber would be much diminished; then, arriving by degrees at the moral situation, at the state of public feeling, he said:—"The evil is great, I know, and I shall not attempt to describe it; but is it of yesterday only, and is it entirely due to the licence of the press? A great school has been opened during the last fifty years, and

Debate on the laws of September.

Speech of Royer-Collard.

this school consists of the events which have during that time almost incessantly taken place before our eyes. Let us review them: the 6th October, the 10th August, the 21st January, the 31st May, the 18th Fructidor, the 18th Brumaire; and there I pause. What do we see in this series of revolutions? Victory gained by force over the established order of things, whatever it might be, and doctrines always ready to defend this. We have obeyed the governments imposed by force; we have received and celebrated in turn the contrary doctrines on which they were based. . . . . And it is thus that authority—the creation of Providence, which has formed society—has been plucked up by its roots and has been pursued as a prey to be devoured by force. . . . . The remedies on which the President of the Council relies are the illusions of a good man under irritation, are the acts of despair, and will inflict a mortal wound on that liberty which has been purchased at the expense of so much misery, toil, and blood. I reject these fatal remedies, these legislative measures, which are redolent of cunning, the sister of violence, and of another school of immorality. Let us have more confidence in the country; let us give it due honour; let us remember that it abounds in honest sentiments; let us address ourselves to those sentiments, and they will respond to us. Let us be candid and upright, strictly just and judiciously merciful. If that be a revolution the country will be grateful to us for it, and Providence will bless our efforts."

These words of Royer-Collard produced a profound sensation, and the Minister of the Interior endeavoured to refute them by arguing that the public liberties would be protected and not threatened by laws which would prevent them from degenerating into licentiousness. M. Thiers was energetically replied to by the president of the Chamber, M. Dupin, senior, and MM. Dufaure and Odillon Barrot. Nevertheless, the three projects having been adopted by the Deputies and then voted by the Peers, in spite of the eloquent efforts of MM. Villemain and de Montalembert, were converted into laws which have remained famous under the name of the Laws of September.

As regarded from the present day the fury of the controversy produced by these laws appears astonishing; but to appreciate them properly, as in the case of all laws considered from a distance, we ought to view them in all their bearings, and when we form our judgment of them to take care not to separate them either from the effects

which they produced or the circumstances in which they were established.

Remarks on the laws of September.

In the laws of September there were joined with some wise and necessary enactments others in which, in spite of indignant denials that it was the case, there could be seen as much resentment against as distrust of a free press and trial by jury, both of them institutions which had been long vaunted by the authors of these very laws as the best constitutional guarantees of modern society. We may safely say that in this respect they overstepped their object, and the event proved that it was not concentrating in a few powerful journals, by means of securities and fines, all the strength of the periodical press, that its explosive force could be moderated. The laws of September, in fact, announced a determination on the part of the Government to persevere in a course of severity, and to render permanent a policy of intimidation which, in the opinion of many men devoted to the Monarchy, could not but be transitory. The irritation which they caused was manifested in the votes of many of the councils-general of the departments; it strengthened the disastrous links which connected the dynastic Left with the extreme Left, and increased the want of harmony amongst the Conservatives; and at the same time these rigorous legislative measures did not strengthen the Ministry. France was, it is true, peaceable during the four months which followed their promulgation, but this calm was only the natural result of the depression felt by the republican party after so many defeats, and the Cabinet was overthrown at the commencement of the following session (1836).

Fall of the Cabinet, Feb., 1836.

Whilst the Elective Chamber was discussing the address in reply to the speech from the throne, the Finance Minister, M. Humann, introduced into the discussion the inflammatory question of the conversion of the Rentes without having consulted his colleagues. The latter declared against the advisability of this conversion, and imprudently made the decision of the Chamber on this serious subject a question as to their Ministerial existence. A majority of two was against them, and they gave in their resignation.

This vote was generally regarded as a mistake. The Cabinet which retired had doubtless on many points failed to satisfy the necessities and legitimate demands of the country. A desperate struggle with impla-

cable enemies had absorbed the greater portion of its time and strength; and yet, by its courageous energy, its unanimity, and the talents of its principal members, it had inspired confidence, and on the arrival of a calmer period might have been able to render other services. The weak majority which overthrew it without being itself capable of forming a Cabinet, showed that it had not sufficiently calculated the consequences of its vote; and thus, from an incident of very small significance in itself, arose serious and unexpected consequences, and the fall of the Cabinet marked the close of that policy of union and mutual support which was inaugurated on the 11th October, 1832, by the combination of the various portions of the great Conservative party against the adversaries either of the monarchical institutions or of the monarchy itself.

## CHAPTER IV.

### FIRST MINISTRY OF M. THIERS—MINISTRY OF M. MOLÉ TILL THE COALITION.

*February*, 1836—*December*, 1838.

THE principal fact which marked the formation of the new Ministry was the separation of M. Thiers from M. Guizot and the doctrinaires. None of the latter had places in the Cabinet formed by M. Thiers, in which he was himself Minister for Foreign Affairs, and in which sat three members of the Third Party, who were all Vice-Presidents of the Elective Chamber, MM. Sauzet, Pelet (of La Lozère), and Passy, who were respectively Ministers of Justice, Public Instruction, and Commerce.* There was not, as far as home policy was concerned, any serious difference of opinion between M. Guizot and M. Thiers; for if there were more flexibility about the latter, if his form of action were less dogmatic, and if he had less repugnance to recur, should occasion demand it, to revolutionary methods, and to ally himself with the Left, with which he was connected by his antecedents and ancient sympathies, than was the case with M. Guizot, he detested, as much as the first, demagogy and anarchy; he was as much as M. Guizot in favour of a very decided system of centralization, or of the substitution of the action of the State for individual action in matters of worship, education, and administration, and both as Minister and simple Deputy he had supported during six years the policy of resistance; but there was an incompatibility of temperament and ambition between these talented men, and the perils of the situation no longer appeared sufficiently great to constrain them to walk side by side. Whilst withdrawing, however, from the doctrinaires, M. Thiers did not

Separation of M. Guizot from M. Thiers.

* The other members of the Cabinet were—M. Montalivet for the Interior, M. d'Argout as Minister of Finance, and Marshal Maison and Admiral Duperré as Ministers for Military and Naval Affairs.

abandon their principles, and at this price only could he secure that support from them which he considered indispensable to his maintenance of power. At the commencement of their functions by the new Cabinet, the President, in the course of a debate on the secret service money, made an explicit declaration that there could be no alteration in the conduct of the Government, and that it still adhered to the policy of resistance. No concession was made by him to the more conciliatory views of his colleagues of the Third Party, whose influence in the Cabinet was confined to procuring for it the support of the votes of their friends or partisans.

This Ministry lasted a still shorter time than the preceding one, and, amongst the small number of measures carried into execution during its administration, we should mention one useful law for facilitating the construction of *chemins vicinaux*, and a praiseworthy sacrifice made to public morality of a revenue of about six millions by the suppression of gaming houses.* A fresh project of a law relating to Ministerial responsibility was presented by the Cabinet to the Chamber of Peers;† but it suffered the fate of the preceding projects on this subject and failed to leave the archives of the Chamber. The session was brought to a close in June, 1836, and a few days afterwards the King providentially escaped another attack made against his person. The author of this crime was a young fanatic named Alibaud, who, being tried and condemned by the Court of Peers, lost his head upon the scaffold.

Legislative enactments, 1836.

The attempt of Alibaud.

Tranquillity now began to be re-established in the interior, but the political horizon was gloomy abroad. The last remains of the ancient independence of Poland perished with the republic of Cracow. The two powers of the North and Austria, under the pretence of stifling and destroying a focus of political troubles, took possession of Cracow, and France protested feebly against this infraction of the clause of the treaties of 1815, by which the independence of Cracow was guaranteed by all Europe.

Fall of Cracow.

Switzerland at this time appeared an asylum to the revolutionists and

* Lotteries had already been abolished under the preceding Ministry.

† Drafts of laws relating to the responsibility of Ministers had already been presented to the Deputies in 1832, 1833, and 1835, but none of them had been accepted.

conspirators of all the countries in Europe, and maintained upon our frontiers as well as upon those of other countries a dangerous focus of agitation. M. Thiers in demanding their expulsion yielded to the fears of the Conservative party, as well as to the wishes of Austria and the Northern Powers, and the *conclusum* or decree which he exacted by threats from the Federal Diet for the purpose of forcing the cantonal governments, excited in Switzerland an unfortunate feeling of resentment against the French Government.

Foreign policy of the Cabinet in Spain and Switzerland.

In Spain, to look in another direction, were seen the horrors of civil war, added to the hideous spectacle of anarchy and a demagogic revolution. The counter-revolutionary party made every day, by the aid of skilful generals, fresh progress; whilst Don Carlos held his court in Spain, master of all the mountainous portion of the country comprised between the Pyrenees, the Ebro, and the ocean. Armed bands traversed the provinces in his name, committing everywhere frightful ravages. Carlists and Christinos rivalled each other in fury and cruelty. The Liberal and progressionist party formed in all the cities independent juntas, which demanded that the Cortes should be convoked in a Constituent Assembly, for the purpose of revising the *Statut Royal*, and the Prime Minister, Mendizabel, supported their threatening demands. The Queen-mother replaced him by Isturitz, who attempted to restrain the demagogic torrent, and invoked, in July, 1836, the clauses of the treaty of the quadruple alliance for the purpose of obtaining the aid of the powers who had signed it against Don Carlos. The only foreign auxiliaries of the constitutional cause at that time in the Queen's armies consisted of a legion of about three thousand men of various nations, called the Foreign Legion, and a small body of English volunteers, under General Evans. King Louis Philippe, considering the deplorable position in which Spain was now placed, was reluctant to engage the French Government in the sanguinary struggle now going on between the Revolutionists and the Carlists. M. Thiers adopted a middle course, which consisted in permitting the Spanish Government to recruit from the army of observation of the Pyrenees a sufficient number of volunteers to raise the Foreign Legion to ten thousand men, who were to be placed under the orders of a French general, and who, acting in concert with the corps under General Evans

Stormy condition of Spain.

and some Spanish and Portuguese regiments, would form the nucleus of an imposing *corps d'armée*. Louis Philippe sanctioned this project, but before it was carried into execution, a military insurrection burst forth, in the month of August, in Spain. The Queen-Regent, besieged with her daughter, the Queen Isabella, in the palace of La Granja by a furious soldiery, was compelled to subscribe to the constitution of 1812, in which royalty was a mere phantom. Madrid rose in its turn, and was the theatre of horrible scenes. General Quesada perished, torn in pieces by that populace, and Isturitz was pushed from power. In this new crisis, Louis Philippe refused to aid a government which had fallen into the hands of a revolutionary demagogism, and wished the volunteers incorporated in the Foreign Legion to be dismissed; whilst M. Thiers insisted that they should be retained at their flags, to be ready to act when order should be re-established. As his views were directly opposed by the King he resigned his portfolio; all his colleagues, with the exception of M. Montalivet, followed his example, and the Ministry was dissolved.

Dismissal of M. Thiers and his colleagues, August, 1836.

The formation of a new Ministry was now entrusted to an eminent member of the peerage, M. Molé. Formerly a high functionary of the Empire, a statesman and a courtier, M. Molé was one of the small number of the new monarchy who were superior to high offices; if not always by reason of their personal character, at least by their rank and fortune. He was a friend of the King, but nevertheless he did not carry his deference for the royal wishes so far as to sacrifice to them his personal convictions or the interests of the country. As Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1830, at the period of the Belgian revolution, he preserved Belgium from a Prussian invasion; and, by being the first to proclaim the principle of non-intervention, had displayed a clear sense of what circumstances demanded, and of the national will. M. Molé joined to skill in the conduct of important affairs the art of managing men; and, without possessing great parliamentary eloquence, was in his manner clear, facile, insinuating, and sometimes cutting. A Conservative by position and by principle, he had hitherto remained attached to the policy of resistance, without, however, having formed any violent resolution to remain so. He thought that the best species of policy was to watch the times, and to regulate his conduct according to circumstances. He did not

Ministry of M. Molé, September, 1836.

consider that the moment was come as yet for making any change in the system when he resumed in 1836 the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, with the title of President of the Council; and as, although he had no sympathy with the doctrinaires, their support appeared to him to be indispensable, he made three of them members of his Cabinet; M. Guizot had the portfolio of Public Instruction, M. de Gasparin that of the Interior, and M. Duchatel that of Finance.*

The existence of this Cabinet was a very agitated one. The relations between France and Switzerland became embittered; and the irritation of the cantons was increased, not without cause, by the discovery of a French spy, named Conseil, a secret agent of the late Cabinet, who was discovered and bitterly denounced by the Diet, as the abettor of disturbances and the promoter of demagogic excesses, at the very moment when it was receiving from the French Government imperious injunctions to expel all demagogues and anarchists.

Case of the spy Conseil.

The serious discontents caused in Switzerland and the contiguous French departments by those irritating negotiations, precipitated, probably, the execution of a plot, the author of which was Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of the ex-King of Holland, and subsequently summoned to such high destinies. This prince, who had been brought up in Switzerland at the castle of Arenenberg by the Queen Hortense, his mother, had associated himself in 1831, whilst still very young, with the disastrous enterprise of the Italian patriots, and had afterwards made himself known by some works on politics and the art of war. Since the death of the Duke of Reichstadt (Napoleon II.), which took place in 1832, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte considered himself heir to his uncle's imperial throne, and did not doubt that he should some day sit on it. Deceived by the perpetual risings of the Republican party, and the virulent declamations of the Opposition journals, and seduced also by the secret encouragements of various influential persons, he believed that France was ready to substitute an imperial government for that of July, and that he would only have to appear, to secure a fortress and a few regiments, and to march to Paris, to be saluted Emperor by the whole of France. He cast his

Conspiracy of Prince Louis Napoleon at Strasburg, October, 1836.

* M. Persil had the Seals. The Ministry of Naval Affairs was given to Admiral Rosamel, and that of War to General Bernard. M. Martin (of the North) was Minister for Commerce and Public Works.

eyes upon Strasburg, and gained over Colonel Vaudrey, commander of the Fourth Regiment of Artillery, and some subaltern officers of the garrison. During the night of the 30th October the prince secretly entered the city, gathered together his accomplices, was received as Emperor by Colonel Vaudrey's regiment, by order of its commander, and endeavoured to raise all the troops and the inhabitants to the cry of "*Long live Napoleon! Long live liberty!*" The attempt, however, proved a failure, for the garrison and the inhabitants proved faithful to the King, and, after a short struggle, the prince and the principal conspirators were made prisoners. The latter were given over to the hands of justice; but Louis Napoleon, the author and whole soul of the plot, was set at liberty, as had formerly been the Duchess de Berri, to the great discontent of all those to whom equality before the law appears of the highest importance. Thus ended this rash enterprise; but nevertheless it was not without some important results for its author, for it seized hold of men's imaginations, and by its very rashness drew upon the prince and his pretensions the attention of France.

The French arms at this period experienced a great disaster in Africa, where Marshal Clausel had recently succeeded Count d'Erlon as Governor-General of Algeria. The war was carried on with the utmost vigour during the whole of the old Regency; and whilst Abd-el-Kader, the Emir of Maskara, who was considered by the Arabs as the leader of the Holy War, held our troops in check in the province of Oran, they had to repulse in the east, in the province of Bona, the continual and murderous attacks of the Bey of Constantine. The capture of this latter place, which was especially formidable from the strength of its position, which was almost on the edge of a rock, was considered by Marshal Clausel as indispensable to the security as well as to the development of the French possessions in Africa. A considerable reinforcement of troops had been promised for this expedition by the previous Ministry, but was refused by the new one. The Marshal, however, allowed himself to be persuaded that the tyranny of Achmet Bey of Constantine, had wearied the inhabitants, and that at the approach of the French army the city would be delivered up by the Arabs themselves. He considered, therefore, that the troops which he had at his disposal were sufficient, and prepared to march upon Constantine with 8000 in-

Algeria.

First Constantine expedition, 1836.

fantry, 1500 horse, two batteries of howitzers, and eight field pieces. This weak corps commenced the campaign on the 13th November, under the command of Marshal Clausel, whom the Duke de Nemours, the King's second son, accompanied as a volunteer. The march from Bona to Constantine, across a hostile and insurgent country, was a very painful one; fever, fatigue, and Arab weapons decimated the little French army, and Constantine did not open its gates. To capture it, it would be necessary to besiege it, and as a regular attack without siege pieces was impossible, the Marshal attempted unsuccessfully the bold plan of an assault. A retreat had already become difficult from the want of provisions and ammunition; the Marshal ordered one, and it was disastrous.* At length the army, after having endured great sufferings, reentered Bona, thoroughly exhausted, and diminished by one-third, having lost three thousand men and a great portion of its war material.

The Legislative Session opened in December, 1836, under the painful impression caused by this reverse, and by a fresh attempt against the King's life.† The address of the two Chambers in reply to the speech from the throne had scarcely been voted, when there arrived news of the strange result of the trial of Colonel Vaudrey and the other accomplices of Prince Louis Napoleon at Strasburg. They were acquitted on the pretext that the principal person accused had been withdrawn from his judges and the verdict of the jury. To this unexpected result the Ministry replied by an act of rage and fresh rigours. It presented a law, called the law of disjunctions, the effect of which was to disjoin for the future the trials of civilian prisoners from the trials of military prisoners who should be accused of having been concerned in the same crime, the latter being handed over to military tribunals. Two other laws were presented, the one for punishing with solitary confinement the non-revelation of plots against the safety of the State, and the other for increasing the punishment of transportation by changing it, at the will of the Government, into that of solitary confinement; and at the same time, by an unfortunate coincidence, the Ministers demanded of the Chambers

Legislative Session, 1836-1837.

Irritating laws produced in the Chambers. Law of disjunction, 1837.

* Commandant Changarnier covered himself with glory in the course of this retreat, which he protected at the head of an heroic battalion of the 2nd light infantry, which formed the rear-guard.

† The assassin's name was Meunier. The King forgave him.

a sum of a million for the dowry of the Queen of the Belgians, and an allowance for the Duke de Nemours—relying on the law relating to the civil list, which, in case the private possessions should be insufficient, authorized an appeal to the country for a provision for the princes and princesses of the royal family.

The public mind was excited by all these projects, at which the Opposition displayed both surprise and irritation, and the enemies of the dynasty seized the opportunity for again pouring calumny and insult upon the Royal person in a too famous series of pamphlets. To these more or less legitimate causes of agitation and discontent were added dissensions in the bosom of the Cabinet itself, where the doctrinaires complained of not possessing an influence either equal to their political importance or to the share which they had to bear in unpopular acts.*

The difficulties of the position were still further increased by the rejection of the law of disjunction, which the Chamber of Deputies threw out on the 9th March by a majority of two. M. Molé perceived that the moment had come for moderating the rigorous system which had hitherto been in force. A ministerial crisis ensued, during which the King applied successively to M. Guizot and to M. Thiers, the leaders of the Right and Left Centre, inviting them to form a cabinet which would have the support of a majority; but each of them, after fruitless efforts, had to give up the task. The King then returned to M. Molé, who, resolved to adopt a conciliatory policy, eliminated from the Cabinet the doctrinaire element, in which was more particularly personified the policy of resistance. He took four new colleagues, MM. Barthe, Montalivet, Salvandy, Lacave-Laplagne, and they held respectively the portfolios of Justice, the Interior, Public Instruction, and Finance. Thus was formed the Ministry of the 15th April, 1837, under the presidency of M. Molé, who committed the fault of not opening the new Cabinet to any of the members of the Third Party, whilst he began to adopt their views and many points of their programme.

Its rejection.

Changes in the Molé Cabinet.

Ministry of April 15, 1837.

This party, which then formed the most considerable element of the

* M. de Gasparin having expressed an intention of resigning the portfolio of the Interior, M. Guizot thought, not unreasonably, that he had a claim to it from M. Molé who was already convinced of the necessity of a change of system.

Politics and character of the Third Party.

Left Centre, had been represented, as we have already seen, in several cabinets, without having possessed sufficient strength to maintain itself in power, or to give its own peculiar impulse to the conduct of affairs. It reckoned in its ranks some important and celebrated men—MM. Dupin, senior, Dufaure, Sauzet, Hyppolite Passy, and, somewhat later, Alexis de Tocqueville. The essential object in their eyes was to judge, in a revolutionary and demogogic spirit, of the true source of the Revolution of 1830, considered in its best tendencies, and to grant a just satisfaction to the healthy ideas and new necessities which this great event had stimulated or produced. The Government, said the Third Party, had neglected many of the engagements entered into at this period, and had only partially fulfilled others. For the success of their views it was necessary in the opinion of the Third Party that great modifications should be made in the electoral law, which, after having suppressed the double vote, had merely reduced from three hundred francs to two hundred the amount of taxes payable to qualify a man to be an elector. The most prominent men of the Third Party were of opinion that the smaller tradesmen, and even the better class of the working men, could not, without danger, be debarred from all personal intervention in the affairs of the country; and many, and these were the most far-sighted, were in favour of a method of election which would enable the people generally to share in a certain measure in the election of deputies, whilst at the same time giving a large share of influence over these elections to intelligence and property. With this object they would gladly have substituted direct election for the method of electing by two degrees.

The opponents of the Third Party reproached it with being chiefly composed of uneducated and jealous men, who, incapable of wielding power themselves, were skilful only in decrying and weakening it. Its leaders, they said, were inspired with honest intentions and vague aspirations instead of good common sense and practical ideas, and were the heads of a coterie rather than of a party.

These reproaches, however, although more or less true with respect to most of the members of the Third Party, did not sufficiently explain its want of power, and to discover its cause it was necessary to look elsewhere. What was wanting in these eminent men was not oratorical talent, but

the all-powerful influence of Parliamentary eloquence, which fascinates, subjugates, and entrances, and which was possessed in such high perfection by the leaders of the Party of Resistance; that determined and ardent ambition which is less careful of the means than the end; that consummate ability to create, govern, and discipline a party, to influence men as well through their bad as their good instincts, and to inspire them with confidence by means of the confidence which one has in one's self. The chiefs of the Third Party were intellectual, but timid; they were almost always inspired by a genuine desire to further the popular interests, but were at the same time constantly held in check by their devotion to the new Monarchy. To have enabled them to form a powerful homogeneous party, capable of carrying out bold measures, a close alliance must have been necessary between them and the dynastic Left, whose views in many respects resembled their own, but whose antecedents, adventurous tendencies, and dangerous connexions with the Radical or Republican Left were not unreasonably held by the Third Party in considerable suspicion. The Third Party, moreover, did not dissimulate its intention of modifying the electoral law in such a manner as to effect very great alterations in the composition of the Elective Chamber; and this alone was sufficient to deprive them of many votes in a Chamber in which selfish personal views became more and more predominant, and in which too many of the subordinate members had already begun to disregard the general interests in favour of their personal ones.

Abnormal position of M. Molé.

The Ministry of M. Molé did not reckon amongst its members any of the great orators of the Elective Chamber, but it was composed of capable and enlightened men, who were animated by a desire for the general welfare. Its head no doubt departed from Parliamentary usage by remaining in power to support a policy in some respects different from that which he had hitherto defended or maintained; and, to be enabled to govern, he was reduced to seek support in every direction, and to form a majority by bringing over to his new policy men sitting on different and even opposite benches. But this course was naturally justified by the loudly avowed inability of his adversaries or rivals to carry on the Government themselves with a sufficient majority, an important fact which was ignored or unknown by the Conservative members, who in this and the following session attributed

to the Minister his abnormal position as a crime.* A more conciliatory policy was inaugurated by the first acts of the Ministry of the 15th April. The irritating projects recently presented to the Chamber relative to a settlement on the Duke de Nemours, the punishment of persons who should fail to reveal conspiracies, and the substitution of solitary confinement for transportation, were withdrawn, and the King granted an amnesty to all persons accused of political offences. No important change, however, was made in the general conduct either of home or foreign affairs. After the session the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, and the month of October appointed for the general elections. The Radical party, abandoning at length the hope of carrying its theories into execution by forcibly overthrowing the established order of things, resolved to attain its object gradually, and by means of the established institutions. It loudly declared, in defiance of the laws of September, its Republican principles, and concentrated all its forces for the electoral struggle which was about to commence. The dynastic Left separated on this occasion, but too late, from the extreme Left, the latter being alone represented in the Electoral Committee of the Opposition, in which figured, by the side of the most zealous adversaries of Louis Philippe and his monarchy, two former Ministers, Jacques Laffitte and Dupont de l'Eure. The Ministry, thus threatened, violently stretched, for the purpose of combating its avowed or disguised enemies, all the resources of administrative centralization, and many of its agents overstepped the necessary or permitted limits. In committing this serious fault it followed the example of many other Cabinets; but it must be remembered, in extenuation, that the struggle in which it was now engaged with the Revolutionary or Republican party was a conflict of principles and of the future, in which the general interests were at stake, and that it might not unreasonably suppose

Withdrawal of the law of Appanage and other projects, 1827.

General amnesty.

Dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, 1837.

General elections November, 1837.

* M. de Nouvion, in his "History of the Reign of Louis Philippe," vol. iv. p. 259, has not taken this fact into account, but severely reproaches M. Molé for having endeavoured to draw to his side men of all parties. . . . "A party worthy of the name," he says, "no more abandons its leader to support a ministry, than a regiment deserts its flag to join the enemy." This doctrine, taken absolutely, is as false as it is dangerous; for there are times when no party has sufficient strength in itself to carry on the government, and the obstinacy of a few ambitious leaders would render all government impossible. We must not lay down as an absolute law, "Perish the State rather than a principle."

that the fate of the Monarch and of society itself was dependent on the issue.

All the efforts of the Republican Opposition only resulted in the return of a few more Republican deputies. The Third Party also gained many new members, and the various parties in the Chamber remained, in spite of the introduction of many fresh members, almost of the same respective strength as formerly.

The Ministry of M. Molé did not make much greater efforts than preceding ministries to carry out in a liberal spirit the promises of the charter, and it failed to pay any more attention than they had paid to the social questions, properly so called, which had for their especial object the amelioration of the condition of the working classes, and which now began to occupy public attention. Whatever reproaches, however, the Ministry of M. Molé may have justly incurred, it must be acknowledged that the period which elapsed from the 15th April, 1837, the date of the rupture of its head with the doctrinaires, to its fall, was a prosperous period, the most fruitful in useful laws in proportion to its duration, and the most tranquil of all the reign.

Session of 1838. Legislative enactments.

After the amnesty, the laws which, of those presented or adopted during this short period, deserve the most praise, are those which improved the Bankruptcy law, increased the guarantees given by the Tribunals of Commerce, improved the regulations in force respecting lunatics, enlarged the powers of justices, and regulated the functions of the Councils of departments, arrondissements, and communes. These latter laws especially were impatiently expected, and although even now very insufficient, were a first and happy effort against the excess of administrative power. The rise in the public funds now announced that public confidence, as well as the material and financial condition of the kingdom, were improving.* The industry of the country had been immensely developed, and the construction of some of the great French railways commenced at this period.

Foreign policy.

France, in the meantime, maintained its rank and influence abroad. Ancona, indeed, was evacuated before the accomplishment of the reform promised by the Roman Government; but this evacuation, which was advanced against the Cabinet by its adversaries as a crime, was in strict conformity with diplomatic conventions,

* The Five per Cents were at 111, and the Three per Cents over 81.

and only took place after the evacuation of the Pontifical territory by the Austrians themselves.* The Dutch-Belgian question was finally settled at this period by the acquiescence of the King of the Netherlands in the Treaty of the Twenty-four Articles. By virtue of this treaty Belgium had to consent to the painful sacrifice of some portions of its territory, but it obtained, through the intervention and the influence of France at the Conference of London, the reduction to one half of the sum payable by her to Holland.† The Cabinet displayed at first some weakness in its conduct with respect to Algeria. It committed the fault of ratifying the Treaty of Tafna, concluded between Abd-el-Kader and General Bugeaud, May, 1837, a convention by which the Emir acknowledged indeed the sovereignty of France in Algeria, but by which also a considerable portion of the old territory occupied by the French troops was ceded to the Arabs. This unfortunate treaty, however, was gloriously atoned for by the brilliant success of a new expedition made by the French army against Constantine. The town was carried by assault, October, 1837, and its possession extended and confirmed the power of France over all the tribes of that province.‡

Algeria, 1837-38. Treaty of Tafna.

Capture of Constantine, October, 1837.

France had at this time just demands to make or offences to punish in various countries of the new world; at Haiti, in the Argentine Republic, now tyrannized over by the President Rosas, and in Mexico; and she everywhere made her power respected. The French navy in particular covered itself with glory in the expedition directed against Mexico by Admiral Baudin, who was valiantly seconded by the Prince de Joinville, the third son of the King of the French. This rapid campaign was terminated by the attack on, and glorious capture of, the Fort Saint Jean

Naval campaign against Mexico. Brilliant attack on, and fail of, Saint Jean d'Ulloa, 1838.

* The convention of the month of April, 1832, specified that the evacuation of Ancona should take place immediately after the evacuation by the Austrians of the States of the Holy See.

† Read the pages of M. de Nouvion's work relative to the evacuation of Ancona and the settlement of the Dutch-Belgian question. "History of the Reign of Louis Philippe," vol. iv. p. 248.

‡ The Commander-in-Chief, Damrémont, was killed by a ball at the commencement of the siege, and replaced by General Valée. The expeditionary corps consisted of four brigades, under the command of the Duke de Nemours, Generals Ruhlière and Trezel, and Colonel Combes. The first column of attack was led by Lieutenant-Colonel Lamoricière, and the second by Colonel Combes, who received a mortal wound at the breach, and died like a hero of antiquity.

d'Ulloa, the principal defence of Vera Cruz. That place capitulated, and the victory obtained by the French squadron was subsequently followed by a treaty the conditions of which were dictated by France.

Louis Philippe was at this time at the height of his greatness. He celebrated at Fontainebleau the marriage fêtes of his eldest son, the Duke d'Orleans, who espoused Princess Helen of Mecklenburg Schwerin, the rare qualities of whose mind and heart rendered her worthy of the throne. The same year witnessed the splendid inauguration of the historical galleries of Versailles, the happy realization of a truly royal idea, and a work of conciliation and justice by which Louis Philippe presented for the homage of posterity all the glories of the country. Fortune continued to smile upon him; a grandson was born to him, and no mourning had yet fallen upon his brilliant family; no sombre cloud, in spite of the existence in the country of so much implacable hatred, hung between the King and his people. At the first signal Paris arose in arms, its magnificent legions pressed around the Monarch, and his reviews were fêtes. Insurrectionary mobs were no longer heard of; the assassins even seemed to be vanquished or tired out. Astonished at so rare and constant a happiness, Europe, which had long been distrustful and hostile, began to believe that it saw in Louis Philippe the man of Providence or destiny. Europe, no less than the irritated and discouraged adverse parties in the kingdom itself, seemed to think that political disturbances were adjourned to the close of the King's life, and that the safety of France and the peace of the world depended on its prolongation.

When we glance in thought at the rapid and complete ruin which followed so much prosperity and greatness, we tremble, and ask with affright why there was so terrible a fall from so astonishing an elevation.

## CHAPTER V.

THE COALITION—MINISTRY OF THE THIRD PARTY—SECOND MINISTRY OF M. THIERS.

1839—1840.

THERE was, in a parliamentary point of view, as we have already acknowledged, something abnormal in the position of M. Molé and his Cabinet after his rupture with the doctrinaires. The most eminent Deputies of the Conservative party found themselves deprived of any share of power unless the general policy should be greatly modified; and it was, therefore, on the members of the two Centres, who were more particularly under the influence of MM. Guizot and Thiers, that the President of the Council found himself forced to rely. But the motive spirit of the Government no longer came from them, and appeared, too openly, to emanate beyond the walls of the Chambers from the Royal will, which was obeyed by the officers of the Crown and the crowd of functionaries who sat on the Conservative benches. The leaders of the old majority, although far from satisfied with the secondary position in which they were placed, appeared at first to be resigned to it, and the Ministry held power so long as they afforded it their support.

Coalition formed against M. Molé.

They became weary, at length, of this state of affairs, and being too weak to govern by themselves, formed a league against the Cabinet with the Third Party and their old adversaries of the dynastic Left. It was difficult to find a common *cry* for men of such different opinions; but at length they adopted as a general device a principle which, in France especially, cannot be accepted save with numerous restrictions, and which they formularized in these words, "The King reigns but does not govern." Thus was formed, of factions astonished at finding themselves united, a too famous coalition, which was as natural and as easy to comprehend as to justify, on the part of the various portions of the Left, but which was less so with respect to the Right Centre and the doctrinaire

Deputies, hitherto so monarchical and so docile themselves to the pressure of the Royal hand which weighed on the Cabinet.

The struggle openly commenced in the journals in the interest of the now united parties. M. Duvergier de Hauranne, a zealous spokesman of the doctrinaire party, accused the administration of M. Molé in the *Revue Française* of incapacity and weakness; whilst the Conservative journals, with the exception of the *Presse* and the *Débats*, rivalled the violence, in this intestine war, of the papers most hostile to the monarchy. All imputed it as a crime to the Government that it had abandoned the foreign policy of 1830, and sacrificed to the preservation of peace the interests and dignity of France in Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium; whilst both the one set of journals and the other denounced, although in very different terms, the encroachments of the Crown in the conduct of affairs.* The Cabinet, said the latter, was too feeble or too servile to resist these encroachments; whilst the former declared that its inefficiency rendered this violation of constitutional forms too apparent. The King, according to them, was not sufficiently covered by his Cabinet, and yet they themselves showed him holding the reins of power behind his Ministers; they declared him irresponsible, and yet dragged him into the arena of furious party warfare.

Legislative Session, 1838-1839.

From the very commencement of the Session the virulent attacks of the press were reproduced in the debates in the two Chambers on the discussion of the address to the King, and were almost entirely concentrated on these two chief points: the inefficiency or cowardice of the Cabinet in its relations with the Crown, its bad management of foreign affairs, its forgetfulness of French interests and of the Liberal cause in Italy, where Ancona had been evacuated without any guarantee, and in Belgium, which had been compelled to sacrifice two provinces; and finally, the abuse of the name of France in Switzerland, where the Government had offended the Diet by forcing upon it the expulsion of Prince Napoleon in most imperious and insulting terms.† M.

Debate on the address.

* The sacrifice of a portion of Luxemburg and Limburg had been imposed upon Belgium by the Conference of London, by the Treaty of the Twenty-four Articles. It did not, however, become obligatory until, in 1838, the King of Holland had subscribed to this treaty, which had been previously accepted by Belgium.

† Prince Louis Napoleon, after having gone to America at the termination of his rash enterprise at Strasburg, had returned to live in Switzerland where he had been

Molé had to reply on all these points in the Chamber of Peers, where his policy encountered, amongst other opponents, MM. de Broglie,* de Montalembert, Villemain, and Cousin; the latter adding to the number of his charges against the Cabinet, the dangerous concessions it had made to the clergy, whose unreasonable pretensions, he said, it encouraged by its weakness.

The struggle was most violent in the Chamber of Deputies, which appointed to draw up the address to the King a committee chiefly consisting of members of the lately united parties. The latter drew up the address in terms very hostile to the Ministry, whose responsibility it declared not to be sufficiently genuine, and its language was somewhat insulting to the King himself, whom it invited, in an indirect manner and with a show of respect, to confine himself, with the other powers of the State, within constitutional limits. No orator was more zealous in supporting all the points of this address than the illustrious leader of the doctrinaires, who was the first to ascend the tribune for the purpose of denouncing the administration of M. Molé as essentially fatal to the country and the throne. "With you at the head of affairs," said M. Guizot, "there is anarchy everywhere; it is by you that it has been introduced into the Chamber, and through your acts that it has grown to such dimensions. . . . The proper condition of representative governments is, that the country and the Government should be in harmony with each other, and have the same objects in view; but through the manner in which affairs have been managed, the Government and the country together have fallen lower day by day, and this is an immense evil, a frightful danger. . . . There are times when public opinion appears to slumber; but it ever awakes sooner or later, and sometimes it awakes powerful and menacing." The orator concluded by applying to M. Molé and some of his colleagues this sentence from Tacitus, "The courtiers do anything that is servile for the sake of attaining power" (*omnia serviliter faciunt pro dominatione*). M. Molé replied: "It was not to the courtiers, but to the men of ambition

Stormy debate between the Cabinet and the Coalition.

legally made a citizen of the country. This circumstance rendered the demand of the French Government that he should be expelled all the more insulting in the eyes of the Diet.

* The speech of M. de Broglie was remarkable for its moderation; and his blame of the Government was almost entirely confined to the subject of the evacuation of Ancona.

that Tacitus applied these words. You have been told, gentlemen, that the Cabinet, its existence and its conduct, are regarded as fatal. We have been accused of rendering representative government a sham, and of establishing anarchy within the Chamber. . . . But after a revolution in which the whole society has been shaken, there is a period when resistance is the truest policy, and a period also when conflicting parties, being thoroughly wearied, are glad of a pretext for disarming. It is for you to say whether, in granting the amnesty, we have recognised this growing spirit. . . . As for me, I attribute to the orator who has just preceded me all the evils which he details. . . . Yes! I do not hesitate to attribute to you, to you who accuse me, all the catalogue of ills which is contained in the draft of the address, and of which it will always remain an *irremovable* portion. How is it possible that anarchy should not enter this very Chamber when men such as you are seen holding out the hand to their eternal adversaries. . . . when they are seen marshalling their flags side by side, leaguing together, and with one voice crying out to the country that all the prosperity which it enjoys is in danger? And what are you doing, then? What efforts are you making to preserve it? You only wish to destroy, and you do not see that you are commencing the operation on yourselves!"

The most prominent men of the Coalition, MM. Thiers, Odillon Barrot, Dufaure, Passy, and some others ascended the tribune for the purpose of attacking the Cabinet. M. Duvergier de Hauranne drew a frightful picture of electoral corruption; M. Garnier Pagès in his turn applauded in the name of the Radical party the draft of the address, the accusations in which, he said, were facsimiles of those which had been brought by the Left against its authors when they were in power.

The Ministry had an eloquent and warm defender in M. de Lamartine, who denounced as unconstitutional the draft of the address drawn up by the Coalition, which had outstepped all legal limits. "The charter," said the orator, "has established *three powers*, but to follow the system indicated by the address, one of these powers, that of royalty, would be destroyed—would become an inert, crowned abstraction. . . . The King would no longer be anything but a wooden idol, and the Ministers would batten on the holocausts immolated before him. . . . The preceding Cabinets fell," added the orator, "because the majority withdrew from them to rally on the side of conciliatory measures. . . . It is now said

that this majority totters. . . . Yes, I admit that it totters, since so many eminent men have withdrawn their support from the Government; but I ask them themselves, should they triumph by the aid of the heterogenous elements which compose the Coalition, what they will do? They will create a chaos, and rule it with a whirlwind." Two orators, MM. Berryer and Béchard, were the interpreters at the tribune of the Legitimist party. The first supported the address with all the *éclat* of his brilliant eloquence. The second saw in the attacks of the Coalition the best proof of the incapability of the Government of July to fulfil its promises. He showed it to be feeble and precarious, evading or adjourning by necessity every plan of reform, every genuinely liberal measure, compelled to rest for support upon an odious electoral and administrative monopoly, the true sources of that anarchical corruption which invaded the electoral colleges, the various branches of the administration, and even the army; and which threatened at once the liberty, the power, and the dignity of the country.

M. Molé displayed in this memorable struggle the most admirable qualities. Deriving strength from his consciousness of being in the right, and from a too legitimate resentment, and indefatigable in replying to every attack, he rose fully up to the level of those who called him weak and incapable. Ascending the tribune for a last time and addressing his adversaries, he said: "According to you, we are not capable of governing; but are you who accuse us any more capable? If so, come up here; come and tell us at this tribune what is the future which you are prepared to bestow upon us. When I see bound up in a Coalition so many men of such various opinions, when I see those who have fought so vehemently against each other uniting for the purpose of overthrowing the Ministry, I demand of them that they should frankly tell us what they wish, what is the system which they are bent on introducing. To affirm, as they do, that the Ministry does not suffice to cover the Crown, is to say that the Crown shares its responsibility. . . . Such insinuations are fatal, and these debates are disastrous for you who have provoked them; it is you who have introduced in your address the question of the responsibility of the Crown, and France has understood you."

M. Molé, with the assistance of MM. de Salvandy, Marthe, and Montalivet, the Ministers of Public Instruction, Justice, and the Interior,

succeeded in procuring some modification of the hostile paragraphs of the address drawn up by the committee, but he could only obtain a majority of eight votes in favour of the modification; and as this majority did not appear to him sufficiently strong to enable him to carry on the government, he procured from the King the dissolution of the Chambers, and appealed to the country by means of a general election.

Dissolution of the Chambers

The electoral struggle now descended from the high ground of the general interests to angry and personal debates between the members of the old Conservative party. The Coalition formed as many managing committees as there were political parties within it, and these committees were agreed to give the preference to the candidates of the most extreme Opposition over those of the Ministry. There now appeared to a greater extent than generally appears in these crises a deplorable unloosing of egoistical passions; and in this sad conflict of vulgar interests, a serious and indignant voice—that of Royer-Collard—was heard for the last time:—"The spirit of agitation," he said to his college of electors, "after having been driven from the streets, has found refuge and is entrenched in the heart of the State. There, as in a place of safety, it debases and paralyses the Government. . . . The institutions of the country, wearied out and betrayed by the ideas of the age, are ill prepared to resist such attacks. Impoverished society is no longer defended by strong fortresses or positions reputed impregnable. . . . . See how our faith is decried in the face of Europe. . . . . See how the throne of July is attacked—I should be sorry to say shaken; that throne which my hands have not raised, but which is to-day, I am convinced, our only safeguard against the most shameful enterprises." The Cabinet, driven to bay, made a supreme effort, employed without stint against its adversaries all the dangerous weapons which centralization placed in its hands, and made use of its whole administrative strength to influence the elections. But it was no longer in a position in which it was capable of controlling them. The Government officials, intimidated, and irresolute between the danger of disobeying the Ministers of the day and those who might be the Ministers of the morrow, were too doubtful as to the position of the first to be induced to give them a hearty support; and the Cabinet, already weak, came out

General elections, 1839.

of the struggle much enfeebled. The consequence was, therefore, that M. Molé was vanquished by numbers, although the public opinion of his talents was considerably raised. He sent in his resignation, and it was accepted.

Resignation of the Molé Ministry, March, 1839.

To enable the reader to understand the decay and fall of the Government of July, I have been compelled to extend beyond the limits suitable to a work such as this the history of the Coalition which was in many respects so fatal to it. The accusations brought by it against the Ministry of M. Molé were not entirely without foundation, and the Cabinet could not have complained if it had not found its recent allies, its old colleagues, who had themselves incurred similar reproaches, uniting with their natural enemies to destroy them. The Coalition did not succeed in rallying the majority to its side after its victory; and was so far from establishing its policy on a firm basis and advancing along a broad path towards a certain end, that it only succeeded in throwing everything into confusion and thrusting the Government into that abyss of anarchy from which it had pretended to release it. In a moral point of view it had also consequences equally deplorable, for it shook to the centre all respect for the constitutional and representative system, and led the electoral body into forgetting more and more the great interests of the country, and regarding the right to elect and be elected as mere privileges to be used for their own advantage. The public refused to believe in the really perilous nature of a political position relatively calm and prosperous; for it was not sufficiently initiated in certain parliamentary theories which have been too generally considered as consecrated by constant occurrence in the history of a neighbouring country. It did not understand what different and better policy the doctrinaires would be able to substitute for that of the Cabinet which they overthrew, and it understood it still less when it saw them subsequently attempting the work. The confidence of honest men was thus shaken, and the feeling of doubt which already began to spread abroad with respect to the disinterested patriotism of parties and their leaders in parliamentary struggles, took more and more a fatal possession of men's minds.

Remarks on the Coalition and its results.

The weakness of the three principal leaders of the Coalition, after a doubtful victory, showed the rashness of their enterprise. Incapable of uniting for the purpose of governing, they were severally powerless to

govern alone. By none of the numerous combinations attempted by the King could MM. Guizot, Thiers, and Odillon Barrot be so associated as to give to each that share of influence or authority which he had a right to claim. They all failed, one after the other, and as it was found absolutely impossible to form at this juncture a durable administration, recourse was had to an intermediate or transition Cabinet, which died only a few weeks after its creation, without leaving any trace.

Republican insurrection, May, 1839.

In proportion as the friends of the constitutional Monarchy became discouraged, the hopes of the demagogues became raised; and from all this chaos there resulted, on the 12th May, a furious *émeute*, which was set on foot by the members of the secret society of the Seasons.* The latter, which was very skilfully organized, had succeeded that of the Families, which was itself the successor of the Society of the Rights of Man, and was formed with the object of promoting the pure communism of Gracchus Babœuf—that is, the equal division of property and the abolition of all laws which guaranteed its possession. The King and his children were the first victims devoted to death by its incendiary publications. The principal leaders of the Society of the Seasons were Blanqui, Barbès, and Martin Bernard; and these men, forced to act with rash premeditation by those whose hopes they had cherished, ordered a general rising for the 12th May, 1839. The insurgents hoisted the red flag, thronged the city on the two banks of the Seine, and surprised the Hôtel de Ville and several other important positions. The National Guards and the regular troops, however, repressed the outbreak, and order was speedily reestablished.

Ministry of the Third Party under Marshal Soult, May, 1839.

This audacious attempt hastened the conclusion of the Ministerial crisis; and on the very day on which the insurrection burst forth, a Ministry consisting of members of the two Centres was formed under the presidency of Marshal Soult. The dynastic Left remained excluded from any share in the Government; but the doctrinaires were represented in the new Cabinet by MM. Duchâtel and Cunin-Gridaine, who were respectively Ministers of the Interior and

* In this society, for the purpose of rendering secrecy the more secure, seven members formed a so-called week, four weeks a superior group called a month, three months formed a season, and four seasons a year, consisting of three hundred and sixty-five members, under the orders of a revolutionary agent. The men composing a week only knew their immediate chief, who was called Sunday.

of Commerce, and the Third Party by M. Hyppolite Passy, whom the Chamber of Deputies had recently elected as its president, and MM. Teste and Dufaure.* The principal leaders of the Coalition had, therefore, no share in the new Ministry; and the Elective Chamber made M. Sauzet its president in the room of M. Passy.

The new Cabinet lasted but nine months, and its short career was marked by few incidents; the principal one being the trial of the insurgents of the 12th May before the Court of Peers. Sentence of death was passed on Barbès and Blanqui; but the King commuted this punishment, against the advice of his Ministers, into that of solitary confinement.

Legislative enactments, 1839.

Some useful laws were passed under the auspices of this Ministry for the better organization of the staff of the army, the improvement of the ports, and the increase of the strength of the navy. The interesting establishment of Mettray for young criminals was also established by this Government; and during its possession of office the Chambers discussed important laws relating to literary property, railways, and parliamentary reform, which were incessantly adjourned and became every day more desirable.

To turn to foreign affairs, the Government made peace with Mexico, from which country it obtained a war indemnity, and hostilities continued in La Plata without any decisive result. In Africa Marshal Valée made a reconnaissance, with the Duke d'Orleans, of the celebrated wall or chain of rocks called the Gates of Fire, between Algiers and Constantine, and in spite of the devastating incursions of Abd-el-Kader in the plain of the Métidja, French dominion in Algeria made peaceful progress.

Law of endowment for the Duke de Nemours.

The Cabinet appeared to have gained the support of a strong majority when it struck against an unforeseen rock on the occasion of the marriage of the Duke de Nemours. A draft of a law was presented to the Deputies the object of which was to settle on the prince an annual income of five hundred thousand francs, and to secure to his wife, in case she should survive him, an annuity of three hundred thousand francs. This proposal aroused in the press a furious outburst of odious insinuations directed even against the person

* Marshal Soult was President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Passy was Minister of Finance, M. Teste Keeper of the Seals, and M. Dufaure Minister of Public Works; the other members of the Cabinet being General Schneider, Admiral Duperré, and M. Villemain, who were respectively Ministers of War, Naval Affairs, and Public Instruction.

of the monarch; and on such questions a deplorable credulity always comes to the aid of malevolence. The proposed law was perfectly consistent with the conditions of the charter; nevertheless it would have been wise to have abstained from presenting it. The Opposition, whilst rejecting the project, refused to discuss it; and the Ministry which had presented it committed the fault of not supporting it at the tribune. The law was silently rejected. This defeat led to the fall of the Cabinet, and all the Ministers gave in their resignation (Feb. 1840).

Fall of the Ministry of the Third Party, Feb., 1840.

The moment appeared to have come for the formation of a new administration under M. Thiers. The principal reason which had kept him aloof from the preceding Ministerial combinations no longer existed. The assistance of a French army was no longer required to support the constitutional cause in Spain. The pretender Don Carlos, having been expelled from that country by the Queen's armies, had taken refuge in France, where the Government kept him confined in Bourges. M. Thiers, faithful to his convictions, had hitherto made the intervention of a French army in Spain the condition of his resumption of office. As this eventuality appeared indefinitely adjourned, there was no longer any serious cause of disagreement between the King and M. Thiers, who accepted the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, and was entrusted with the formation of a new Ministry. He selected all his colleagues from the Left Centre. The portfolios of Justice and Worship were given to M. Vivien, that of the Interior to M. de Remusat, of Finance to M. Pelet (of La Lozère), and of Public Instruction to M. Cousin. General Despans-Cubières was made Minister of War, and Admiral Duperré retained the portfolio of Naval Affairs and the Colonies. M. Guizot, who had lately become the French ambassador in London, promised the Cabinet the support of himself and his friends, on condition that M. Thiers would resign any idea of electoral reform or of the dissolution of the Chamber. The natural tendencies of the new Ministers led them towards the Left, whilst the most imperious necessity forced them to be leagued with the Right, and the result was that the Cabinet was driven into a state of utter inertness.

End of the civil war in Spain, and expulsion of Don Carlos, 1839.

M. Thiers' second Ministry. March 1, 1840.

Amongst the useful laws which it presented to the Chambers may be mentioned the one for regulating and diminishing the number of the

hours of labour of children in manufactories, which was passed in the following year. A fresh project for the conversion of the Five per Cents was accepted by the Deputies, but rejected by the Peers. In the same session M. Thiers presented a law the object of which was the transfer from St. Helena to France of Napoleon's remains. The Chambers received this proposal with enthusiasm, which was doubtless gratifying to the national pride, but which was more generous than prudent on the part of the new Sovereign, and the dangers of which were eloquently and prophetically pointed out by M. Lamartine.*

Law for transferring the remains of Napoleon to France, 1840.

The English Government did not offer any obstacle to the accomplishment of this great national act, the execution of which the King entrusted to one of his sons, the Prince de Joinville, who worthily fulfilled his mission. The remains of the Emperor, which were brought to Paris in December, 1840, in the midst of an immense concourse of people, were deposited with great pomp at the Hôtel des Invalides. Three months after the passing of this law Prince Louis Napoleon made a fresh attempt to gain possession of the throne, which he considered to be his by inheritance. The town of Boulogne-sur-Mer was the theatre of this expedition, which was even more adventurous than that which failed at Strasburg, and was equally unsuccessful. The prince, now once more a prisoner, was on this occasion tried by the Court of Peers, condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and shut up in the fortress of Ham, where he awaited with imperturbable confidence the fulfilment of his prodigious destinies.

Expedition of Louis Napoleon against Boulogne-sur-Mer. His trial and captivity, 1840.

Very serious events had taken place in the course of this year in Spain, where the authority of the Queen-Regent, Maria Christina, was overthrown by the Progressionist party. The Queen-Regent was forced to abdicate, and fled to France, whilst a new Government was established in Madrid, under the presidency of General Espartero, Duke of Vittoria, who was soon afterwards him-

Events in Spain. Abdication of the Regent, Maria Christina. Government of Espartero, 1840.

* "Our Ministers," said the orator, "assure us that the throne of our new constitutional monarchy has nothing to fear from the presence of such a tomb, from this impulse given by themselves to the feelings of the masses, from these orations, these processions, and from these posthumous crownings of what they call a legitimacy. . . . But, for my part, I am not without anxiety, for I fear that all this will make the people too inclined to say, 'Behold, there is nothing popular but glory, there is no morality but in success. Only win battles, and you may make a plaything of the institutions of the country.'"

self proclaimed Regent of the kingdom. But the chief question which at this period absorbed the attention of the politicians, not only of France but of all Europe, was that of the East. It put the peace of Europe in peril, and left in men's minds the unhappy traces of a feeling of irritation against England, then governed by the Whigs, and where the young Queen Victoria had lately succeeded her uncle, William IV. Hostilities had again broken out between the Sultan and his powerful vassal, Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt. Ibrahim, Mehemet's son, having crossed the Euphrates, gained in Syria the victory of Nezib, June, 1839. The Turkish army was destroyed, and a few days afterwards the whole of the Sultan's fleet, under the Capitan Pacha, surrendered to the Egyptians, and was carried into the port of Alexandria. The Sultan now had neither ships nor troops, and his whole empire appeared to be on the eve of dissolution. Europe was disquieted by the state of affairs, the effect of which was to place the Turkish empire at the discretion of Russia; and, at the earnest request of the Prussian and Austrian Governments, French diplomacy checked Ibrahim's victorious march. The question now was as to what share of the Sultan's spoils the Pasha of Egypt should be allowed to retain.* England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, having proposed to France that she should enter with them into a Convention for the purpose of depriving Mehemet of Syria, which he had acquired by the valour of his arms, the French Government refused, on the ground that, as she had herself stopped the advance of Ibrahim's army and promised its good offices to Mehemet, its ally, the honour and interests of France alike demanded that she should afford the Pasha her protection, and not allow his kingdom to be curtailed. The four powers then negotiated without the concurrence of France, and entered into a treaty with the Sultan, 15th July, 1840, which limited Mehemet Ali to the hereditary possessions of Egypt, deprived him of a portion of Syria, and only left him a life interest in the remainder; and made it incumbent on the Pasha to withdraw his troops from that country within a certain time, under pain of dethronement. This treaty, which was concluded at the instigation of Lord Palmerston, the Eng-

The Eastern question again, 1839-1840.

Treaty concluded between the powers, July 15, 1840, to the exclusion of France.

* Abdul-Medjid, who was sixteen years of age, had recently succeeded his father, the Sultan Mahmoud. One of his first acts was the issue of a decree or Hatti Scherif, published at Gulhané, which gave important guarantees with respect to taxation, the administration of justice, &c.

lish Minister of Foreign Affairs, left France in the state of isolation in which she found herself in 1830; and she was, with good reason, seriously offended. The French Cabinet protested, added threats to complaints, and made formidable preparations for war, whilst, pending the assembly of the Chambers, which were prematurely convoked for the month of October, royal ordinances created a number of fresh regiments, and decreed that Paris should be fortified by a continuous wall and a series of detached forts.*

French armaments.

In the meantime, the period fixed for the evacuation of Syria by Mehemet having elapsed without Ibrahim's withdrawal, an English squadron bombarded the city of Beyrout, which was in the possession of the Egyptians, and the dethronement of Mehemet Ali was declared by the Sultan. Upon this the French Government immediately declared that any attempt to deprive the Pasha of Egypt would be regarded by it as a signal for war, and the fleet was ordered to prepare for sailing. The session opened in the midst of these serious events, and the excitement caused by a fresh attempt on the King's life.† The Cabinet had inserted in the speech to be delivered by the King from the throne some expressions which were a species of threat or defiance to Europe; but Louis Philippe, although firmly resolved to go to war in case Mehemet should be attacked in Egypt, thought it better to assume a less provoking attitude in respect to the other powers. He refused to use the language suggested to him by his Ministers, and recalled his fleet, which was already sailing for Syria, upon which the Cabinet resigned.

Dismissal of the Thiers Ministry, October, 1840.

It was the wisest course, whilst effectually protecting Mehemet, and making every war preparation for the purpose of defending him, not to renounce the hope of an honourable peace. Whatever ground the French Government might have to complain of the treaty of July, which had been signed without its participation, and which deprived the Pasha of Syria, it would have been madness for France to have plunged herself, for the sake of preserving it to him, into a general war, in which she would have been alone against all. The national pride of England had

* The construction of these forts in the environs of Paris had been long proposed, but had hitherto encountered amongst the people of Paris and in the Chambers the most determined opposition.

† The King was not touched. The assassin's name was Darmès.

been, in its turn, deeply wounded by the threatening language of the President of the Council and his bellicose demonstrations, and M. Thiers would have found it difficult to retract or soften his too irritating speech. It was necessary, however, as a first condition of the maintenance of peace, in order that France should lose nothing of her dignity, that a new treaty should be drawn up, in which she should be associated with the other powers. This was the opinion of M. Guizot, the French ambassador in London, and he was naturally entrusted with the negotiation of such a treaty. The King accepted the resignation of M. Thiers and his colleagues, and transferred the portfolio of Foreign Affairs to M. Guizot, whom he requested to compose, in concert with the Duke of Dalmatia, a new Ministry. Thus was formed under the presidency of Marshal Soult, who had the portfolio for War, the Cabinet of the 29th October.* M. Guizot was its most influential member. He ultimately became its President, and the chief power did not leave his hands until the end of the reign.

Formation of the Ministry of Oct. 29, 1840.

* The other members of the Cabinet were M. Martin, who was Minister of Justice and Worship; the Count Duchâtel, Minister of the Interior; M. Humann, Finance; M. Villemain, who had the portfolio of Public Instruction; Admiral Duperré was the Naval Minister, M. Cunin-Gridaine that of Agriculture and Commerce, and M. Teste that of Public Works.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE MINISTRY OF THE 29TH OCTOBER TILL THE GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1846.

*October*, 1840—*July*, 1846.

MEN of talent and of great personal value were members of the new Ministry, the last of the reign; and although belonging to various political groups, they nevertheless worked harmoniously together, because they were unanimous in supporting a peace policy abroad, and in offering an obstinate resistance to all plans of reform at home. They had to bear the consequences of Parliamentary intrigues, and the negotiations of the previous years, as well as the burden of the enormous expediture of the late Cabinet when it was preparing for war. They found in the deeply prejudiced public opinion but little respect or sympathy for authority, a very feeble confidence in the majority on which they rested for support, and an excessive susceptibility in respect to everything which affected the national honour, or the relations of France with other powers. This disposition of the public mind caused the Cabinet to make common cause with those of the Conservatives, who, whilst desiring the maintenance of peace, nevertheless desired that it should be an armed peace. It brought France once more into combined action with the European powers, by signing with them and Turkey the treaty of the 13th July, 1841, which reestablished Mehemet Ali in the hereditary possession of Egypt, without restoring to him Syria, and which closed against the fleets of all nations the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. The grand project relative to the fortifications was resumed by the Cabinet in the session of 1841, and sanctioned by the Chambers.

European treaty on the Eastern Affairs, July 3, 1840.

The first expenses caused by these immense works, as well as the decrees of the preceding year, which created new regiments* and

* M. Thiers wished the strength of the army to be raised from three hundred and fifty thousand men to five hundred thousand; and according to his view it was

largely augmented the material of the army, raised the amount of the budget by more than one hundred and seventy-two millions, and raised the ordinary and extraordinary expenses to one thousand two hundred and eighty-eight millions. To meet these heavy charges the Minister of Finance, M. Humann, demanded and obtained authority to negotiate at various periods a loan representing a capital of four hundred and fifty millions, and it was found necessary to abandon for some time the hope of effecting an equilibrium between expenses and receipts. The Ministry neglected or rejected all projects relative to the internal policy of the kingdom, but it presented in this and the following session (1841, 1842) several useful laws respecting literary property, judicial sales, and the great lines of railway. Amongst all the laws passed in 1842, the most important in its results was that which ceded to private enterprise the principal railways over the whole surface of the kingdom, and divided the expenses between the State and the various companies formed to work them. The Cabinet failed, however, to calm the spirit of agitation ; many important cities, such as Lille, Clermont, Mâcon, and Toulouse were the scenes of serious disorders, and publications of great virulence provoked during two years numerous prosecutions of the editors of journals and writers of pamphlets. An odious attempt to assassinate one of the King's sons, the Duke d'Aumale, on his return from a glorious expedition in Algeria, failed in its object, and gave rise to a criminal prosecution before the Chamber of Peers, which resulted in the condemnation of the would-be assassin and his accomplices.*

Enormous charges in the Budget. Loan.

Legislative enactments, 1841-1842.

Great disturbances in the Departments.

The Elective Chamber was dissolved in June, 1842, and the general elections, greatly influenced by the Cabinet, returned a new Chamber, which consisted of almost precisely the same elements as the preceding. This year was marked by a circumstance as fatal as unforeseen. The Duke d'Orleans, Prince Royal, being run away with by his horses, fell whilst throwing himself out of his carriage, had his head fractured in the fall, and

Dissolution of the Chambers. General elections, June, 1842.

necessary to have eight hundred thousand on the roll for the purpose of having five hundred thousand ready to take the field.

† The assassin's name was Quénisset. An unfortunate circumstance in respect of this trial was the condemnation of a journalist by the Court of Peers, for complicity in a crime of which he was entirely ignorant.

expired a few hours afterwards (13th July, 1842). The sudden death of this prince, who was heir presumptive to the crown, so much esteemed by the people and the army, and of age to reign, was an immense public misfortune and a fatal blow to the dynasty of Orleans, which had already been beaten by so many storms. He left behind him two very young children, the Count de Paris and the Duke de Chartres, and in anticipation of a minority, which the advanced age of the King rendered probable, the Chambers were convoked for the purpose of passing a regency law. They decided, in concert with the Government, that in case the Sovereign should be a minor the regency should belong to his nearest relation in the paternal line, and the royal majority was fixed at eighteen years.

Death of the Duke d'Orleans, Prince Royal, July, 1842.

Extraordinary Session. Law of Regency, 1842.

Few years were so sterile in legislative measures of great interest as the following year (1843), during which Louis Philippe received at the Château d'Eu a friendly visit from the young Queen of England, an event which was regarded as of good augury to the maintenance of amicable relations between the two countries.*

The Government of July found open adversaries declaring themselves at this period in a considerable portion of the clergy and the clerical party.† It had at all times displayed an extreme deference for the wishes of the clergy. It had especially favoured the presence, in the primary schools of both sexes, of the brothers and sisters of the various religious societies, for the purpose of giving instruction in the Christian doctrines; whilst it had strictly prohibited in the university establishments for secondary and classical instruction all teaching at which the clergy might take umbrage. It had taken pains to raise to the episcopate only priests of merit and such as would be agreeable to the Roman Court; and out of consideration for this same Court, for a great number of prelates and the clerical party generally, it had allowed the laws prohibiting the presence of the Jesuits in France as

* Some ministerial modifications took place in 1843. M. Dumont replaced M. Teste as Minister of Public Works, and Admiral Duperré was succeeded as Naval Minister by Vice-Admiral Roussin, and after him by M. de Mackau. In the preceding year, M. Lacave-Laplagne had already succeeded M. Humann, who had died suddenly, as Minister of Finance.

† The men who were most ardent, either in the two Chambers or elsewhere, in the support of the Romish Church, were improperly designated by this name.

a religious society to slumber. But on one capital point it resisted the ardent and legitimate wishes of the clergy and a number of pious families, and without taking into account the formal engagement contained in the charter of 1830, it maintained the university monopoly, with the tacit assent of a very influential portion of the Liberal party, which dreaded lest the priests should gain possession of the education of the youth. M. Guizot, however, had already (in 1836) presented to the Chamber of Deputies the draft of a law, which, whilst preserving the university establishment, would have taken away its monopoly, and carried out, so far as was then possible, the promises of the charter. Coldly received, however, by the deputies, who only passed it after it had undergone many modifications, this project, which was conceived in a liberal spirit, failed to reach the Chamber of Peers, fell with the Cabinet, and was forgotten.

Agitation on the subject of liberty of education, 1843.

This important question remained in abeyance for several years, but it was revived with much vigour in 1843, and freedom of education was imperiously demanded both in the press and at the tribune by the powerful and passionate party of which M. de Montalembert was, in the Chamber of Peers, the most eloquent organ. A fresh project with respect to secondary instruction, accompanied by a luminous exposition of the reasons on which it was founded, was presented to this Chamber in 1844 by M. Villemain, the Minister of Public Instruction. His project, conceived in a spirit of wisdom, and answering, apparently, the necessities of the moment, granted to every individual furnished with a certificate of fitness the right of opening a *pension*, maintained the right of the State to the general surveillance and the *collation des grades*, and rendered it necessary for every person proposing to open an educational establishment that he should make a preliminary declaration that he did not belong to any religious society not legally authorized. The proposed law exempted, as did that of 1836, ecclesiastical schools or small seminaries from some of the conditions imposed on lay educational establishments. It underwent, at the hands of the committee, of which the Duke de Broglie was chairman, great modifications, the most serious of which was the suppression of the immunities granted to the ecclesiastical schools already existing, and being passed in this altered state by the Peers, its effect was to cause fresh anxiety to the Liberal party. At the same time it was far from satisfying the clergy and

Proposed law on the liberty of secondary instruction, 1844.

the clerical party; and when carried down to the Chamber of Deputies it was the subject of a learned disquisition by M. Thiers, who was the reporter of the committee appointed to examine it. Before the subject was discussed, however, a serious illness compelled M. Villemain to quit the Ministry, in which he was succeeded by M. de Salvandy, and the law of free education was indefinitely adjourned.

A serious incident, brought about by some important men of the Legitimist party, occupied the attention of the Chamber at the commencement of the session. In this party, as in others, there were distinct shades. Some of its members were openly allied with the Republicans for the purpose of opposing the new dynasty; the greater number awaited the progress of events in a reserved and dignified attitude, and refrained from taking any active part in the politics of the day; and a few eagerly sought in the institutions of the country the means of overthrowing the Government.

The hopes of this party had been revived after the death of the Duke d'Orleans; and the Count de Chambord,* having visited London in 1843, there became, in his residence in Belgrave-square, the object of an enthusiastic demonstration on the part of a crowd of Legitimists who had hastened from France to pay homage to him whom they regarded and honoured as the true heir to the crown of Charles X. A French peer, M. de Richelieu, and several Deputies, amongst whom was M. Berryer, were of this number, in spite of the oath they had taken to King Louis Philippe, and associated themselves with this noisy and significant demonstration.

Legitimist manifestation in Belgrave-square, 1843.

The Government thought it their duty to censure their conduct in a sentence of the speech from the throne at the commencement of the new session. This sentence excited an animated debate in the two Chambers, and especially in the Elective Chamber, where M. Berryer alleged as an excuse, in respect to the oath taken by him to the King and the charter of 1830, certain reservations in his own mind which too much resembled the mental reservations which have been so much blamed in the case of the members of a famous order. M. Guizot, whilst strongly censuring in his eloquent reply, what had been done, set forth the

Debate on the subject in the Chamber of Deputies, 1844.

Speech of M. Guizot.

* The Duke de Bordeaux, the son of the Duke de Berry, assassinated in 1820, and grandson of the late King, had assumed the title of the Count de Chambord.

principle which distinguished the Government of July from that of Legitimacy. "Our government," said the orator, "is founded on the principle of a contract between the prince and the country, and on a reciprocity of rights; whilst the principle of Legitimacy, of which you are so fond, and in the name of which you have spoken and acted in Belgrave-square, is the principle that there is a right superior to all rights,—that there is a power which can never be destroyed, however foolishly it may be exercised, and which the peoples are compelled to respect, whatever it may do. . . . For my part, I consider such maxims to be shameful, absurd, and degrading to humanity; and that when any attempt is made to put them in practice and to push them to their extreme consequences, a nation does well to reestablish at any risk and peril, by some heroic and powerful act, its forgotten rights and offended honour. This is what we did in 1830, and this is what you wish us to undo to-day. What took place the other day in Belgrave-square could have no other object." The paragraph which in the Chambers' address to the King censured the conduct of the inculpated Deputies, was adopted; and the latter immediately resigned their seats, but were reelected.

The new hopes of the Legitimists, so openly manifested by this incident, aroused the apprehensions of the Liberals, and had something to do, probably, with the cold reception given by the latter to the law presented to the Chamber on the subject of secondary instruction, the adoption of which would have given over the instruction of a portion of the young people of the kingdom to the enemies of the Government of July. On the other hand, the vehemence with which the great subject of freedom in the matter of education had been pleaded by its warmest partisans, in the number of whom were many members of the episcopacy and many priests and laymen openly favourable to the Jesuits, provoked an inevitable reaction against this society in the constitutional party, and rendered it extremely anxious respecting the neglect into which the laws relative to the Jesuits had been allowed to fall. In the following session (May, 1843), M. Thiers, who had become the leader of the Opposition in the Left Centre, demanded that all enactments in existence against the Jesuits should be put in force; and named twenty-seven houses which were in their possession in defiance of the laws of the kingdom. MM. Hébert and Dupin, senior, strenuously supported the arguments of M. Thiers, and M. de Lamartine carried the subject

Debate on the execution of the laws relating to the Jesuits, 1843.

to the higher ground of the existence of real liberty. He reminded his hearers of the immemorial right to liberty of conscience, and added that the only possible guarantee of this liberty was the neutrality of the State in matters of religion. He concluded with these words, which are worthy of attention:—"You cannot prevent the Jesuits from praying and living in common; but if they persist in living as a society unauthorized by law and in holding possession of property in mortmain in defiance of the law, put the law in force against them as you would against any other society. On the other hand, do not refuse to them the rights common to all; do not put in force against them any exceptional measures." M. Thiers then submitted a proposition that the Chamber relied upon the Government for the execution of the laws, and it was carried by an immense majority. Two months later, and whilst the same question was being discussed in the Chamber of Peers, M. Guizot cut short the discussion by declaring that the result of negotiations between the Pontifical Government and M. Rossi, the French ambassador at Rome, had been that the Pope himself had persuaded the Jesuits in France to conform to the laws of the kingdom.

Speech of M. de Lamartine.

The satisfaction thus given by the Government to the opposition of the Left was far from appeasing the irritation caused by the policy of the Government at this period with regard to England on the subject of Tahiti or the Society Islands, in the Pacific. Louis Philippe had been in the habit during several years past of sending a squadron into these latitudes for the purpose of protecting the Catholic missionaries and the French residents. The admiral of this squadron, Dupetit-Thouars, had taken possession, in 1842, in the name of France, of the Marquesas Islands, where the French vessels found a port and a convenient station; and he subsequently thought proper, for the sake of effectually protecting his compatriots, to establish the protectorate of France over the Society Islands, where the English and Protestant missionaries had long since exercised over Pomare, the Queen of Tahiti, and the principal native chiefs, a civilizing influence. The latter shortly afterwards, at the instigation of the English missionaries, arose in defence of their national independence. The insurrection was promptly put down; but Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, considering the protectorate of the French flag insufficient, took complete possession of these islands in the name of France, and hoisted there the French flag, in

The affair of Tahiti and expulsion of the missionary Pritchard, 1842-1843.

spite of the vehement remonstrances of the Protestant missionaries and a merchant named Pritchard, who was the English consul. The latter resigned his office, but continued his intrigues with the chiefs and endeavoured to raise the country. He was arrested and put into solitary confinement by the French authorities, and ultimately sent back to England, where he gave vent to loud and bitter complaints, and demanded of France an indemnity for his commercial losses, as well as for the treatment he had undergone at the hands of her officers.

In the meantime, however, the French Government, considering that the possession of the Society Islands would be much more burdensome than advantageous to France, had disavowed the conduct of its admiral in respect to this matter, and had rehoisted its flag at Tahiti as simply that of a protecting power. As, moreover, the English press and the British Parliament reechoed the complaints of the ex-Consul Pritchard, the French Cabinet, while allowing that their officers had had a right to expel him, nevertheless censured the violence with which his expulsion had been accomplished, and decided that an indemnity was due to him. This concession on the part of the Government aroused a violent storm against it, the whole of the Opposition uniting in accusing it of sacrificing the honour of France to the English alliance. The question was reopened during the discussion of the address, at the commencement of the following session, 1844-1845, and gave rise to the most stormy debates, the Government only obtaining in the Chamber of Deputies, on the subject of the indemnity to Pritchard, a majority of eight votes.

Debate on the indemnity paid to Pritchard, 1844-1845.

The general irritation, now much envenomed by political passion and national susceptibility, rendered impossible the maintenance of the right of search, which had been reciprocally exercised by virtue of old treaties, by the navies of France and England, for the abolition of the slave trade.* M. Guizot had perceived in 1841 the necessity of giving a greater extension to this right, and had negotiated a new treaty on the subject with all the great powers. The complaints, however, which were raised in France on this occasion were so loud that the Government did not venture to give to this treaty the ratification so eagerly desired by England. The Opposition was still more vehement on this point in 1845, after the unfortunate occurrences in Tahiti, and the English

* These treaties were signed in 1831 and 1833.

Cabinet had to give way in its turn. It abandoned the right of search, and a treaty negotiated on other bases, and less efficacious for the repression of the slave trade, was signed by the two powers on the 29th May, 1845.

Abandonment of the right of search. New treaty for the suppression of the slave trade, 1845.

England thus made a painful sacrifice for the sake of friendly relations with France, and her regrets on this subject were mingled with the dissatisfaction which she felt at the progress made by the French power in Africa, under the energetic and able administration of Marshal Bugeaud,* who was worthily seconded by Lamoricière, d'Aumale, Bédeau, Changarnier, Cavaignac, and many others, at the head of the young and valiant French army. The numerous Arab tribes raised in revolt by Abd-el-Kader were chastised, and made their submission; the enemy was everywhere driven to extremities; and in 1843 the Duke d'Aumale, at the head of a handful of men against forces ten times as numerous, took the Smala of the Emir.† Abd-el-Kader when vanquished fled into Morocco, where he preached a holy war, and persuaded the Emperor Muley-Abder-Rhaman to take up his cause. The Morocco cavalry commenced hostilities, had many conflicts with the French troops, and, whilst its leader was having an interview with General Bugeaud on the Oued-Mouilah treacherously attacked the French troops, and were repulsed with loss. As the Emperor refused to give any satisfaction for this perfidious attack, Marshal Bugeaud, after a certain fixed period, crossed the frontier with his army, whilst the naval division, under the orders of Prince de Joinville, spread terror along the coast of Morocco in spite of the vehement remonstrance of the English Government. The prince attacked Tangiers, the granary of Gibraltar, ruined the defences of that place, then took possession of the island of Mogador, and bombarded the city of that name, which was the personal property of the Emperor, and the central point of the Morocco commerce.

War in Africa under Bugeaud, 1843-44.

Capture of the Smala of Abd-el-Kader, 1843.

War with Morocco, 1844.

Bombardment of Tangiers and Mogador, Aug., 1844.

On the same day (the 14th August) Marshal Bugeaud, with only 12,000 men and sixteen pieces of cannon, encountered on the banks of the Isly the Morocco army, which was three times as

Battle of the Isly, August, 1844.

* Appointed in 1840 Governor-General of Algeria.

† The Arabs gave the name of "smala" to the assemblage of tents containing their families and flocks.

numerous as his own, and commanded by one of the Emperor's sons. He at once crossed the Isly and gave battle, and gained a complete victory, the Morocco army losing three thousand men in killed or wounded, eighteen flags, eleven cannon, and the whole of its *matériel.* This glorious battle was followed in September by the treaty of Tangiers, which gave to France all the satisfaction she demanded, and put Abd-el-Kader out of the pale of the law in the Empire of Morocco. No indemnity, however, was demanded for the expenses of the war, so unjustly provoked by Morocco, France being, said the Cabinet, rich enough to pay for her glory. This treaty was the subject of vehement attacks on the part of the Opposition in the following session, and the satisfaction caused by the victory of Isly was drowned by the serious discontent produced by the affairs of Tahiti and the persistent refusal, on the part of the Government, to make any real reforms. The legislative sessions of 1844 and 1845 were in this respect completely sterile. A few laws of general utility were passed, but almost all those proposed which bore the impress of a really liberal spirit were rejected, or at least deferred. Some of them were adopted by one of the two Chambers and rejected by the other, and the greater number of them were entire failures. Of this number were the projects relative to the penitentiary system, freedom in respect to secondary instruction, the responsibility of officials, and the proposal presented by M. Saint-Marc Girardin for the purpose of restraining the ever increasing abuse of Parliamentary influence, by fixing certain rules for the promotion of officials. Amongst them, also, was one repeatedly proposed by M. Roger, for the purpose of giving the necessary guarantees to individual liberty; some wise measures for the reduction of the duty on salt;* the conversion of the Five per Cents; a law for the reform of the postal system, on the basis of an uniform and infinitely reduced charge; and a plan for reform which became every day more necessary, andwhich was reintroduced every year with much distinction to himself, but without success, by M. de Remusat, with respect to the inconvenience attending the possession of Government offices by deputies to the Elective Chamber.

Treaty of Tangiers, Sept. 1844.

Miscarriage of all measures of reform, 1844-1845.

* The measures for the reduction of the duty on salt and the conversion of the Five per Cents, were passed by the Elective Chamber but rejected by the Peers.

Various circumstances concurred to aggravate the serious aspect of affairs at the commencement of the following year. There was a state of almost famine in the country districts, produced by a failure of the potato crop and a very bad corn harvest; and great disturbances had been caused in the industrial world by extravagant speculations in railway property. To these causes of anxiety were added the discontent caused by the ever increasing charges of the Treasury, and some reverses suffered by our arms in Algeria, where General Lamoricière had replaced for a time Marshal Bugeaud. Many tribes had risen in revolt at the summons of the Cherif Bou-Maza; the Kabyles had again taken up arms; Abd-el-Kader had reappeared in Algerian territory, and raised the province of Oran; and a French column of five hundred men, commanded by Colonel Montagnac, had fallen into an ambush on the Morócco frontier, and had been almost entirely destroyed. The insurrection made rapid progress, and extended even as far as the environs of Tlemcen and Mascara. Lamoricière, at the head of very insufficient forces, vanquished the Kabyles, and drove the Emir back toward Morocco; but this was only a feigned flight, and the Emir soon afterwards reentered the province of Oran, and threatened that of Algiers. These events recalled the Governor-General to Algiers, and Marshal Bugeaud took the field with all the forces at his disposal. At his approach the insurrection began at once to subside, and numerous tribes made their submission. Fresh sacrifices, however, were demanded of France for the purpose of securing its conquests in Africa, and the great efforts she had made, and still had to make, appeared to her people to be out of all proportion to the results hoped for or obtained.

Serious aspect of affairs. Financial catastrophes. Reverses in Algeria. 1845.

All these subjects united occupied public attention at the commencement of the new session, 1846, which was only remarkable for the union effected between the dynastic Left and the Left Centre, the result of which was the formation of a powerful Opposition, under the leadership of MM. Thiers and Odillon Barrot. The first, in reply to M. Ledru-Rollin, in the course of the debate on the address to the King, detailed the principles on which this union was based. He had joined, said the orator, the dynastic Left when he had found it openly separated from the Radical Left, after which such an union became natural and

Session of 1846. Union of the Left Centre with the dynastic Left.

Declaration of M. Thiers.

beneficial, and was necessary for the salvation of the future. He spoke forcibly against a foreign policy which subordinated every other interest to the English alliance; and the French Government having recently protested, in conjunction with England, against the annexation of Texas by the United States, M. Thiers censured this protest as untimely, and contrary to the true interests of France, whose liberty of action in the world and power on the seas were, he declared, inseparably connected with the increasing greatness of the United States and the pacific progress of revolution in Europe.

The most important law passed in this session gave the Government an extraordinary credit of ninety-three millions, for the purpose of increasing the strength of the navy, both in men and ships. Many projects of local or private interest were clothed with legal sanction, and some others of great political or social interest were voted by the one or the other Chamber in the course of this session, but did not become law. The Cabinet met the repeated attacks to which it was subjected with a devoted majority, which was chiefly composed of men dependent upon it, either by reason of holding office under it, or by reason of the support they hoped to obtain from the Government in their financial or industrial enterprises. Thus became day by day more apparent the chain which, according to the expression of M. Thiers, united the height of power with the most vulgar interests, and connected the deputy with the Minister and the elector with the deputy. Absorbed in the difficult operation of consolidating its power, the Ministry rejected or adjourned every proposal the adoption of which might have had the effect of weakening its majority in the next Elective Chamber. It was under these circumstances that the elections of 1846 took place.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE GENERAL ELECTION—THE SPANISH MARRIAGES—THE POSITION OF AFFAIRS AT HOME AND ABROAD—PRELUDES TO THE REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY.

*July*, 1846—*December*, 1847.

General elections, July, 1846.

The influence of the administrative power over the electoral body had never been more marked since 1830 than at the general elections of 1846. All moral influence having been lost by the Cabinet of the 29th October, it could only regain the ground it had lost in public opinion by appealing to individual interests; and we have to look as far back as the elections conducted in 1824, under the Ministry of MM. de Villèle and Corbière,* to find in the constitutional history of France administrative practices similar to those of 1846.

The consequence of these manœuvres was that the elections were not only not the faithful expression of the opinion of the country, but were in direct opposition to the general feeling; and there now reappeared an alarming phenomenon, the presage of the greatest misfortunes, which was, that in proportion as the Cabinet became more unpopular in the country, its majority became greater and greater in the Elective Chamber—a great danger both for the state and the throne.

In the midst of these serious internal affairs, grave dissensions arose between France and England, the only great power which the Government of July had had for an ally since 1830. This alliance was much weakened and almost annihilated by the important and unfor-

* It would be a strange mistake to judge of the administrative practices of this period by the official circular, sent by the Minister of the Interior to the prefects, with respect to the elections. All the means employed to influence electors in 1824 were again set in motion; but it must be added that the law was not violated by the introduction of false electors into the electoral colleges.

tunate affair known as the Spanish marriages. The Regent Espartero had fallen after three years' military despotism, and in 1844 had fled from Spain, whither the Queen-mother had been recalled, and where, in 1845, the Cortes had declared her daughter, Queen Isabella, of age. There were numerous aspirants for the hand of this princess, when suddenly, in August, 1846, Europe heard simultaneously of the marriage of Queen Isabella II. with her cousin, Francis d'Assise de Bourbon, and the union of her sister, the Infanta Donna Luisa, with the Duke de Montpensier, the fifth son of the King of the French. These two marriages, which were a double guarantee for the maintenance of the Crown of Spain in the House of Bourbon, had been the subject of protracted negotiations between the courts of France, Spain, and England whilst the head of the English Cabinet was Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Aberdeen was its Minister for Foreign Affairs. This Cabinet had seen with much dissatisfaction the candidature of the Duke de Montpensier for the hand of the heiress presumptive of the Spanish throne. The French court, on the other hand, had feared that Queen Isabella might marry a prince of the House of Coburg, and the English Government had undertaken, through Lord Aberdeen, to prevent such an occurrence, on condition that the marriage of the French prince with the Infanta should be delayed until the Queen should have a child. The negotiations on this subject were still proceeding when the Tory Cabinet was succeeded by a Whig Cabinet, in which the Minister for Foreign Affairs was Lord Palmerston, who did not adhere to the engagement entered into by his predecessor, but sanctioned the candidature of the Prince of Coburg for the Queen's hand. The King of the French then, not unreasonably, considered that he was relieved from his promise, and authorized the simultaneous publication of the two marriages.

Spanish marriages, 1846.

On receiving this unexpected news the English Cabinet burst forth into reproaches and threats, and the marriage of the Duke de Montpensier was openly denounced in Parliament as a dishonourable act and a direct violation of one of the clauses of the treaty of Utrecht, which declared that the crowns of France and Spain should never rest on the same head. These accusations were evidently ill-founded, but nevertheless found an echo in the two French Chambers, the Cabinet of October 29th having sunk to a degree of unpopularity which disposed public

opinion to involve all its acts in an indiscriminate and blind condemnation. At the same time it must be acknowledged that the Government rashly imperilled, for the sake of a very remote advantage, an alliance on which depended, according to its own idea, the safety of France and the peace of Europe. This was a serious fault, and it was severely reproached for it by the very persons who had recently accused it of striving to maintain peace at any price for the sake of preserving this alliance. The Government, it was said, after having recently, in the Pritchard affair, sacrificed the honour of the country for the sake of remaining on cordial terms with England, had now sacrificed this alliance for the sake of dynastic advantages, or, in other words, for mere family interests.

Sad consequences of the Spanish marriages.

This unfortunate misunderstanding between the two countries rendered the Northern powers less apprehensive of offending the French Government, and compelled the latter to enter into closer relations with them and to close its eyes to proceedings the policy of which was in direct opposition to the liberal tendencies and sympathies of the nation. This perilous state of things was almost immediately afterwards aggravated by the ruin of the last remnants of Polish nationality. At the close of the insurrection which had burst forth some years previously in Galicia, and led to the occupation in common of the city of Cracow by the three Northern powers, the latter did what they had not hitherto ventured to do, and Austria annexed Cracow with the assent of Russia and Prussia. France and England protested against this proceeding, but separately; and by refusing to act in concert in this matter they rendered their dissensions more apparent, and protested in vain. The Opposition made this circumstance a ground for redoubling its violence, and public opinion as well as the most influential journals were unanimous in condemning the Government for having isolated France in Europe by its errors, and for having been as imbecile in its management of foreign as home affairs.

Annexation of Cracow to Austria.

In the meantime the necessity for certain reforms was so generally felt, and the public feeling on the matter was so loudly expressed, that a considerable portion of the Conservative deputies who were devoted to the Government of July perceived that the moment had come for making certain concessions, and were thenceforth designated as Conservative

Progressionists. M. Guizot himself at length, in a celebrated speech delivered at Lisieux after his re-election, showed himself extremely favourable to a wisely progressive policy. After this solemn declaration made by the moral head of the Cabinet, France had reason to hope that the Ministry would support, in 1847, the liberal measures and reforms acknowledged to be the most urgent; but it was not so, and this session surpassed the preceding in insignificance, and the majority of the new Chamber, following the example of all majorities which are their own judges, ignored the numerous remonstrances excited by the manœuvres of the Government agents in the course of the elections from which it had issued.

Legislative session of 1847.

Two attempts against the King's life, and the escape of Prince Napoleon from the fortress of Ham, had recently caused fresh anxiety in the public mind, and the session opened in the midst of the general dismay caused by fearful inundations, a partial famine caused by bad harvests, and a financial crisis. It was necessary to provide for these disasters at a time when the treasury was empty; every resource had been exhausted for the purpose of supplying the deficiencies of preceding budgets; new credits were demanded, and the last budget of the reign, voted in July, 1847, raised the expenses to one thousand four hundred and forty-four millions. It was difficult, doubtless, under the pressure of the financial necessities of the moment, to make any serious and immediate reforms in the taxation of the country, and the Cabinet made this circumstance a pretext for rejecting all that were proposed. At the same time it refused to listen to all the other reforms, all the great measures which were considered urgent even by its own more enlightened supporters; and the public, now thoroughly impatient and irritated, almost unanimously re-echoed the eloquent declaration of M. de Montalembert when he summed up the results of the session in the three celebrated words, "Nothing, nothing, nothing! and that, too," said the orator, "at a most critical period—at the period of a financial crisis, of a year of famine, and of an increasing deficit. . . The great evil," he said, "is in the want of any moral feeling in the Government, in its corruption, and in its abuse of its influence. Is it not deplorable to see how electoral considerations have invaded every branch of the administration? Every office, every employment in the hands of the Government is sought for and given for considerations con-

Speech of M. de Montalembert.

nected with the elections. The time has come, however, for the nation to shake off the double yoke which renders the deputies subservient to the Ministers and the Ministers subservient to the deputies." He concluded with these words:—"I say to the Ministry, enter resolutely on the path of wise reforms. You may fall from power, perhaps, as did Sir Robert Peel, but by entering on such a path in a large and liberal spirit, and by rendering it necessary for your successors to follow you upon it, you will be securing your own triumphant return to office. This is a glorious mission, worthy of all who represent the Revolution of July, which created you, and a system of policy from which there would result to France two great things—peace and order."*

This immorality on the part of the French Government was so much the more astonishing because it was in strange contrast with the liberal movement which was at this time taking place in all the countries of Europe. Germany was in a state of movement; its people were again demanding the fulfilment of the promises made in 1813, and most of its states were engaged in establishing new constitutions. Holland had introduced great modifications into its own; Spain, at length purified, was attempting, under its young Queen, to enter upon a constitutional and parliamentary course; in Italy the venerable Pius IX., who had been recently elevated to the pontifical throne, was inaugurating a new era of liberty, after having commenced his reign by a general amnesty; similar reforms were being made in Piedmont by King Charles-Albert; and Great Britain now began to reap the fruits of her great parliamentary reform. In the latter country a large portion of the aristocracy gave a noble example by making the amelioration of the material and moral condition of the working classes the object of their strenuous efforts, and a distinguished Minister, Sir

Liberal movement in Europe, 1844-46.

* To avoid repetitions in the text, I will mention in a note the principal propositions which were adjourned, resisted, or rejected in the course of this session. The objects of these propositions and projects were: the reform of prisons and the penitentiary system; freedom in matters of education, which had been so often promised and adjourned; amelioration of the conscript law, or blood tax, so burdensome to the poor; useful measures for regulating the relations between employers and their workmen; postal reform; reduction of the tax on salt; reduction of the stamp duties on journals; the establishment of indispensable guarantees for personal liberty; the substitution of a legal for an arbitrary system of forming jury lists; the declaration of the responsibility of the Ministers of the Crown; and finally, electoral and parliamentary reform.

Robert Peel, withdrawing from the Tory or Conservative party, had secured the triumph of the celebrated league formed by Richard Cobden for the repeal of the laws which forbade free trade in cereals and other of the more important articles of food. The general necessity for reform was felt even in the Turkish empire, and the Sultan Abdul-Medjid had of his own accord granted a charter to his subjects.

The state of Europe, however, presented serious dangers; for behind the men who wished for useful reforms and indispensable ameliorations in the laws there were others who declared that there could be no liberal progress without the systematic and complete remodelling of the whole of the institutions of society. Such were, in England, the Chartists; in Germany, the revolutionary Radicals; in Italy, the Mazzinians, or disciples of Mazzini; and contemporaneously with these the members of secret societies were busy in France, in Switzerland, and everywhere else; demagogism, powerfully aided by universal suffrage, being already rampant in Vaud, Berne, Geneva, and several other Swiss cantons.

Fatal mistake of the Government.

Louis Philippe's Government at this time followed the policy which had been fatal to that of the Restoration by confounding in an almost equal condemnation all the opponents of the Cabinet with the enemies of the monarchy. It feared that if it made concessions to the former it might be hurried by the latter into a revolutionary course, and forgot that pernicious and false doctrines derive their force from the mixture of good and of truth which is to be found in them; that demagogues and anarchists only become formidable when the partisans of necessary reforms are forced into union with them; and that the surest way of provoking wild and culpable wishes is to refuse any satisfaction to serious interests and legitimate desires. This perseverance in a policy of *statu quo* at a time when Europe generally was in a state of movement and in the presence of numerous questions which urgently demanded solution—this dangerous obstinacy, against which not only a great portion of the Conservative party protested, but even the principal organ of the Government, and the moral head of the Government—at length led the disquieted and anxious nation to look for its cause in a quarter which was higher than the Ministry. The protecting veil which the constitution had drawn around the crown had long been in rags, and at no period had the sovereign been less shielded by his Ministers than now.

The political conduct of the King.

The King was now growing old, and had attained that age at which a man's opinions become permanently fixed, and at which his impressions are no longer liable to change, whilst the remembrances of his early years return to his heart with increased force. The memories of Louis Philippe kept him constantly in mind of the bloody episodes of the revolutionary period, and showed to him, as was also the case with Charles X., a virtuous but feeble King, led through one concession after another to the scaffold, his family slaughtered or in exile, and France ruined and twice invaded. Then he remembered that in former stormy days he had heard himself called the man of Providence and of destiny; and that when he had received the crown he had calmed the tempest, reintroduced order and prosperity within the kingdom, and maintained peace abroad. He remembered that France and all Europe had attributed these great results to his wisdom and to the inflexible resistance made by his Government to factious attempts as well as to the exaggerated demands of parties, and he believed that it was now necessary to continue this policy, and to adhere to it irrevocably and constantly.

In the elevated sphere in which he lived, and whither the truth found it difficult to ascend, Louis Philippe had failed, in common with so many others, to take sufficiently into account the new necessities and interests created in France by the prodigious shock of 1830; he had found it difficult to comprehend that, in the case of modern society, the law of progress is inexorable in its demands; and he was too much disposed by his character, his remembrances, and his royal position to confound legitimate wishes born of real necessities with the illusions of parties and demagogic declamation. Faithful, at the same time, to his word and the charter, and attentive to and scrupulous in the performance of his duties as a sovereign, he was too much inclined to regard France as consisting solely of what was then called "the loyal country," of that limited portion of the country which was alone in possession of political rights; he was too much inclined, also, to regard the limits especially marked out by the constitution as the only limits to his personal authority. The truths which he refused to comprehend or to listen to, which fell from the lips of his most devoted partisans and from those of his sister and the princes of his family, might perhaps have found acceptance with him if the men who were officially honoured with his confidence and invested with authority

had resolved either to make him listen to them or to resign. Whatever resolution the King might then have come to, he would never have opposed his sovereign will to truths thus constitutionally expressed. But he had recently appealed to the loyal country, and it had replied by giving to his Cabinet the strongest majority it had as yet obtained. In the eyes of the King this was sufficient, and he did not inquire whether this majority was a genuine expression of public feeling, nor how it had issued from the electoral urn; for it supported a Ministry which was according to his heart, and it seemed to have been obtained by his own unflinching policy. Louis Philippe continued to follow the policy which he considered infallible, and advanced towards the abyss.

The Minister alone responsible for events.

As this prince nevertheless observed, under every circumstance, the strict letter of the constitution, the honour of having done so remains his in history, although it was powerless to preserve his throne against the course of events. The legal responsibility belonged entirely to his councillors, to the Cabinet of the 29th October, and especially to the doctrinaires who, during the last seven years, had had the direction of the home and foreign affairs of France. God alone sounds human hearts, and He alone knows by what strange infatuation for the possession of power, or by what just and formidable apprehensions, the King's councillors were induced to abstain from having recourse to the only means of enlightening him indicated by the charter. They refused to do so, although various warnings were no more wanting to them than there had been to the men whom, twenty years before, they had hurled from power. They themselves being at that period zealous champions of Liberalism, and at the head of the constitutional opposition, had vehemently lauded in numerous publications the institutions which they now seemed to dread. At that time they, in common with all the friends of the constitutional cause, regarded the verdict of a jury as the utterance of the public conscience, a free press as the nation's grand voice, Paris as the heart and head of France, and the National Guard as France itself; and now they had come to fear, in political causes, the verdicts of juries—to see all the organs of public opinion, all the great journals, with one exception, opposed to them—to reckon amongst their adversaries the whole of the deputies sent to the Elective Chamber by Paris, and to be afraid to assemble that National Guard to which they had themselves confided the national institutions. They had aroused against their system,

in the Elective Chamber, the Left Centre and the Third Party, the Left Dynastic, and those of the old and new Conservatives, who perceived the necessity of founding the policy of the Government on larger and more liberal bases; whilst at the same time they had to encounter, besides the extreme and irreconcilable parties, the majority of the clergy as well as most of the celebrated men who had sincerely served or accepted the new monarchy, and saw, in the front rank of the parliamentary Opposition, M. Thiers, who had been so long immovable in the policy of resistance.

Whilst the action of the Government seemed thus paralysed, as it were, within the country, it was also powerless abroad in consequence of its fatal dissension with England on the subject of the Spanish marriages. The two powers were, however, agreed in supporting in Portugal the throne of the young Queen Donna Maria, which had been shaken by the twofold insurrection of the Miguelists and the Ultra-Radical party. The Queen in this extremity invoked the aid of the powers who had signed with her the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance. England, France, and Spain interfered, and the throne of Donna Maria was saved. But the French Government was powerless in Switzerland, where Radicalism had overthrown the constitutions of many cantons, and had obtained the ascendancy in the Diet assembled at Berne. The latter having sent to the canton of Lucerne a formal order for the expulsion of the Jesuits, a league called the Sunderbund was then formed between the seven Catholic cantons for the purpose of preserving their cantonal authority against the usurpers of the federal power, and the Diet, at the instigation of the revolutionary and Radical party, threatened to have recourse to force for the purpose of dissolving it. France and the other powers interposed between the two parties and offered their mediation; but difficulties put forward by Lord Palmerston, who was always eager to neutralize French influence, caused this mediation to fail in its object, and rendered fruitless all the efforts of France to prevent a fratricidal struggle on its frontiers. The Diet sent a formidable army into the field under the command of General Dufour, and the league of the Sunderbund was in a few weeks broken and dissolved.

Armed intervention in Portugal, 1847.

The Sunderbund league in Switzerland, 1847.

A circumstance still more injurious to the influence of France had

recently taken place in Italy. Astonished and disturbed by the liberal reforms of Pius IX. in the Papal States, and emboldened also by the rupture between England and France, Austria had entered the possessions of the Holy See for the purpose of preserving her Italian possessions from the contagion of Liberalism. Her troops had entered Ferrara, in spite of the energetic protests of the cardinal legate (August, 1847), and the occupation of that fortress by the Austrians had thus all the characteristics of an armed invasion.*

Occupation of Ferrara by the Austrians, 1847.

Irritated public opinion associated this fact with the deplorable act by which the republic of Cracow had been, in the course of the preceding year, annexed to Austria, with the consent of Russia and Prussia; and it bitterly reproached the Cabinet with its abandonment of the liberal cause in Europe, with its ill will towards Italy, and its weakness and powerlessness in its relations with Austria and the other great powers of Europe.

Such was the position of home and foreign affairs when, in consequence of the retirement of Marshal Soult,† M. Guizot became President of the Council, September, 1847. The eminent man who had hitherto been only the moral head of the Cabinet now became so ostensibly and really; and this event was very fairly regarded as a proof of a determination to persist indefinitely in a policy the unpopularity of which had now reached its height.‡ The Opposition then did what had been done often and successfully in a neighbouring country. It organized an agitation throughout France; its forces, con-

Guizot made President of the Cabinet.

* A clause in the treaties of Vienna authorized Austria to retain a garrison in Ferrara, but not to seize it by force and establish herself there in spite of the pontifical authority.

† Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, was promoted to the dignity of marshal general.

‡ The Ministry had already been entirely remodelled. The King had summoned to his Council some men of merit, who were all in possession of the public esteem, and for various reasons deserved it. M. Hébert had recently succeeded M. Martin as Minister of Justice, General Trezel was made Minister of War in 1847, the Duke of Montebello Minister for Naval Affairs, and M. Jayr replaced as Minister of Public Works M. Dumon, who himself succeeded M. Lacave-Laplagne as Minister of Finance. Of all the members of the Cabinet of October, 1840, there only remained three, M. Cunin-Gridain, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce (who confined himself exclusively to the details of his department), MM. Guizot and Duchâtel, in whom were personified during seven years the political tendencies of the Cabinet.

centrated in consequence of imprudent legal and fiscal measures, in a small number of powerful journals, formidable instruments of warfare,* all exploded at the same moment. It had recourse also to other means for rousing and agitating the people. To this end, for two months past, banquets had been organized in Paris and the principal towns in the kingdom, at which those who wished to strike the dynasty at its roots had unhappily mixed with many who desired, by reforming, to strengthen it. In the first rank of these political agitators was M. de Lamartine, whose work on the Girondins was at this period creating an immense and fatal noise.† The author had three years previously openly separated himself from the political measures of the Cabinet, preserving an independent position in the midst of the Opposition. The celebrated banquet over which he presided at Mâcon, where he threatened the Government with a new revolution, which would be that of public conscience, the revolution of contempt, was a frightful symptom of the general state of public opinion, and had all the character of a veritable political event. But the principal and most ardent organizer of the agitation and the banquets was M. Duvergier de Hauranne, an old and zealous partisan of the doctrinaires, and first instigator of the coalition of 1838, and who now, in his impassioned and indignant polemics, both in the tribune and the press, overwhelmed his old political allies, the Ministers of the 29th October, with the same reproaches which he had formerly hurled at the Molé Cabinet, his heaviest charge being that it was only by means of bribery and corruption they maintained themselves in power and carried on the Government. The prejudiced opinion of the public led them to receive and to credit the most absurd and often the most unfounded charges, and a fatal concurrence of circumstances during the year 1847 gave dangerous food to the popular ill

Agitation of the reform banquets.

* It is a political axiom in many free countries that the power of the periodical press is weakened by being disseminated among a large number of journals. These are, instead of being the guides of the public, nothing more than its echoes; they must follow the popular opinion, but are powerless to direct it.

† This book, in throwing a poetical gloss over sinister characters, and over some of the darkest days of the Revolution, produced in the public mind a sensation analogous to that which had been attained by different means in 1830 by other works still celebrated. It familiarized minds with the thought of a new revolution, and weakened the horror of crimes committed in the first.

will and irritation. The votes of the majority of the Elective Chamber had dismissed a large number of complaints respecting the electioneering manœuvres, the abuse of ministerial favour and of parliamentary influence, but they had not carried conviction to the public mind. Many facts were made manifest, whilst, on the other hand, various inquiries, forced on by the public outcry, unveiled, in some of the offices under the Ministers of War and Marine, considerable frauds committed, to the great injury of the state, by subaltern agents of those in power.* These revelations, grave enough in themselves, proved but the prelude to still greater scandals. Two peers of France, M. Teste and M. Despans de Cubières, both of them formerly Ministers, and till recently members of the Cabinet,† were denounced, with their accomplices, and sent to trial, the former for receiving bribes in the exercise of his duties, the second for having facilitated the concession of a mine by means of corruption exercised on a Minister of State. The Court of Peers did not shrink from their duty, and pronounced them both guilty. M. Teste, before judgment was given, attempted to commit suicide. Another suicide, the cause of which was unknown, that of Count Bresson, our ambassador at Naples, was the object of strange and mysterious commentaries; when, in the highest grade of society, a crime, unheard of and frightful, froze the public with stupefaction and horror. The Duchess de Praslin, daughter of Marshal Sebastiani, was found dead, murdered in the most barbarous manner. The murderer was her husband, who prevented his arrest by poisoning himself. Never in the days of pagan antiquity were the fall and obsequies of empires presaged by more numerous and more sinister omens than appeared in France at the approach of the year 1848. All these facts made a deep and remarkable impression on the labouring classes. These, too much neglected by the great public powers,‡ and deceived, after 1830, in their

Remarkable concurrence of unfortunate events, 1847.

* The Ministers of War and of Marine were then M. Moline de Saint-Yon and M. Mackau. Their high probity sheltered them from all suspicion, but their confidence had been abused and they were responsible. They considered it their duty to send in their resignations, and they were succeeded by M. Trezel and M. de Montebello.

† M. Teste had been Minister of Public Works and of Justice, and M. Despans de Cubière Minister of War.

‡ If any one doubts this let him see all that has been done in England to ameliorate the condition of the numerous classes during the last half-generation, and without

legitimate hopes, received with avidity innumerable productions, literary, economic, and historical, in which society at large was held up in the most ludicrous colours to their hatred and contempt. These suffering classes, irritated and deprived of all instruction, offered also in almost all cases a too easy prize to the new theorists, successors of Saint Simon, of Fourier, of Babœuf. They intoxicated themselves with the poison of the socialists, with paradoxical doctrines subversive of religion, of family ties, of property, destructive at length of liberty itself; and in their unknown haunts the secret societies, compressed and conquered but not destroyed, still counted numerous recruits quivering with passion, with vengeance, and with lust.

Public calamities.

To great scandals were then added great misfortunes; the perturbations brought into commercial affairs in the train of the troubles of the two preceding years, and still more the unbridled abuse of speculation and the fever of stockjobbing, had caused in all ranks numberless failures. The very elements seemed now to be charged with human passions, to increase the public miseries. Very frequent conflagrations at the end of the preceding reign desolated our fields, and never had so many shipwrecks shattered the trade and the shipping of France as in that fatal year 1847. The Ministry, as often happens after a long and unpopular possession of power, was made responsible for its own powerlessness and the miscarriage of its best intentions, and the very weapons it had called into existence were now used against itself; and in spite of the majority they had created, the Ministers, particularly those who personified the politics of the Cabinet, encountered an opposition so much the more violent and pitiless that they, when in opposition, were exacting and implacable, and had now shown themselves incapable of doing other or better than their opponents. In vain our valiant army in Africa threw a last lustre upon the reign; it had subdued the Kabyles and driven the Emir to his last retreat. Abd-el-Kader surrendered to Lamoricière, thus brilliantly inaugurating the Duke d'Aumale's government of Algeria. But at this epoch, alas! as under Charles X., after the conquest of Algeria, the country showed itself but little touched by a glory of which

Submission of Abd-el-Kader.

going as far as this, and without leaving France, let him learn all the legislative measures adopted by us during the past fifteen years in the interest of the working population.

some part redounded on an unpopular Ministry, which, by holding on to power after the opinion of the country was against it, had inflamed, strengthened, and rallied against itself the entire opposition united at the numerous banquets which agitated France in the name of parliamentary and electoral reform. Such were the events forerunning the legislative session of 1848, the last of the reign.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### LEGISLATIVE SESSION OF 1848—REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY.

*January and February*, 1848.

Preliminary remarks.

AT the end of the year 1847 nothing was irrevocably lost. Matters, it is true, were pushed to an extreme both from within and from without; but the elasticity of constitutional institutions is great, and the throne of July, although tottering and threatened, might still have recovered itself. The Ministry, while altogether slighting the spirit of the charter, to retain their own power by the aid of a factitious majority, had still scrupulously observed in its acts all legal forms, and had taken none of those irreparable steps which place an abyss between a people and a dynasty, and against which there is no possible resource but in a revolution. If at this period, and before the assembling of the Chambers, the Ministry had retired without violent pressure, if it had constitutionally given way to an administration of a very moderate character, and one prepared to make some indispensable concessions to public opinion in the path of reform, it is not too much to say that the year 1848 would never have had its three days, and that the dynasty of July might have remained on the throne. Sixteen years before this period England had passed through one of her great crises. She had energetically pronounced for a fundamental and complete reform in the electoral law. The Duke of Wellington, the Prime Minister of the Tory Cabinet, believed it prudent not to prolong a resistance which he considered dangerous, and retired before the national vote. The chief of the French Government in 1848 did not consider it his duty to act thus under analogous circumstances. That which the illustrious warrior in possession of the most popular renown had not dared to do with our neighbour, M. Guizot dared with us under the weight of an immense unpopularity. He resisted the wishes universally expressed for modify-

ing the electoral law and the qualification for candidates for the Chamber of Deputies.* Impotent to gain the public vote for himself, he disdained it, he braved it; and while the storm was growling from every point of the political horizon, the Cabinet presented itself before the re-assembled Chambers with its head erect and bold, and with death at its roots.

It accelerated the tempest by inserting at the commencement of the session in the address to the throne, after some promises of progressive ameliorations, an imprudent phrase, by which the Opposition considered that all the opponents of the administration were accused of cherishing blind or guilty passions, and were stigmatized as enemies to the monarchy. The drawing up of the address in answer to this speech gave rise to a discussion in the two Chambers which was rendered solemn by the serious position of affairs. The principal interest of the debate in the Chamber of Peers was centred in the foreign policy of the Cabinet, which was accused of having displayed, in the speech from the throne, too much deference for Austria, by remaining silent with respect to the reforms promised by Pope Pius IX. and some other of the Italian princes. M. Guizot replied to this reproach by paying homage to the efforts of the Holy Father, whilst at the same time he pointed out the danger of exciting the revolutionary passions already too much inflamed in Italy, where demagogism, rallied under Mazzini's flag, threatened, as usual, to compromise, by lamentable excesses, the reforms already effected or projected.

Foreign policy.

The Duke de Broglie defended the policy of the Ministry on the Swiss question. He drew a gloomy picture of the progress of Radicalism in many of the Swiss cantons, in which it had been rendered triumphant by violent revolutions and the recent victory obtained by the arms of the

* Of these two reforms, the second, relative to the incompatibility between the duties of deputy and many public and salaried offices, seemed to all the most urgent. On electoral reform opinions were very divided. According to the most general expression of opinion this should have consisted in admitting as electors all citizens whose names appeared on the jury lists, and by consequence all those who held any public employment, or who had taken their grades in the liberal professions, and those designated under the name of *capacités*. On the other hand, by the Legitimist Party and the Third Party, it was suggested to give the right of the suffrage to all citizens inscribed on the roll of direct taxation, combining this mode of election with *l'élection à deux degrés*. I am inclined to believe that if some such reform had been effected under King Louis Philippe, France would have been spared the catastrophe of 1848.

Diet over the league of the Sunderbund. He spoke of this war, undertaken on the pretext of expelling the Jesuits from the Catholic cantons, as an impious war, subversive of the cantonal rights and independence, and as contrary to liberty as to justice. He extolled the efforts made by the Cabinet to prevent it, and expressed vehement regrets that it had not been prevented by the mediation of France and the other European powers.

These great questions were discussed with even more force and vehemence in the debate on the address which took place in the Elective Chamber. Many of the most eminent orators, including MM. de Lamartine, Odillon Barrot, and Thiers, denounced the Cabinet to the country as guilty of having sacrificed to Austria the liberal cause in Poland, Italy, and Switzerland. M. Guizot had recourse, in his defence, to the principal arguments already produced in the Chamber of Peers, and produced proofs that, in respect to Poland, his wishes had been overruled by the force of circumstances, and that in Italy and Switzerland he had defended really liberal interests; but added that he could not blame Austria for opposing the rash and dangerous attempts of the revolutionary Radicals. Finally, he very skilfully put M. Thiers in antagonism with himself, by reminding the Chamber of the acts of his Ministry in 1836, and his formal orders for the expulsion of those whom he now protected. He was less happy, however, when he contended that the Spanish marriages had compelled France to strengthen her alliance with the powers of the North, and to allow them to assume a wider influence in the policy of Europe.

Home policy.

The Ministry displayed still greater weakness when it attempted to rebut the reproach of electoral corruption hurled against it by eminent orators on every bench of the Opposition, and, amongst others, by M. Billault, who put himself forward as the avenger of outraged public morality, and who submitted the following amendment to the draft of the address:—"We associate ourselves, Sire, with the wishes of your Majesty by demanding of your Government that it should before all things exert itself to the utmost to develop the morality of the people, and no longer to enfeeble it by fatal examples." M. Billault then appealed to the conscience of the Chamber, by showing that the electors sold their votes for offices; that the deputies looked to the Ministers to reimburse them for the expenses of

Amendment of M. Billault to the draft of the address.

their election; and that the Ministers, although, doubtless, honest themselves, governed by these detestable means. The orator also reproached the doctrinaires in the Cabinet, MM. Guizot and Duchâtel, with having abandoned their principles on various occasions for the sake of retaining power. In support of these accusations he enumerated a long series of facts which were already known, and the fatal consequences of which to the morality of the country he forcibly set forth. But M. de Tocqueville had already, in a prophetical discourse, branded with emotion and indignation these corrupting examples. "I am dismayed," he said, "at the conclusions deduced by Europe against our principles by the circumstances which are going on under our eyes; and if such conclusions are deduced by Europe, what will not be deduced by the population which watches us as we act in the political theatre? What effect will such a spectacle have upon them? Do you not see that social passions are already being substituted for political passions, and that every day gives greater strength to the doctrines whose whole tendency is the destruction of all the foundations of society? My profound conviction is that we are sleeping on a volcano. It would be wrong to assert that the Government has produced all this evil, but it has certainly had some share in producing it, and has very greatly contributed to produce profound disturbance in public morals, which has reacted on private morals. I do not accuse the members of the Cabinet of bad intentions, but I assert that they have effected a revolution by immoral means, by influencing men through their passions and their interests, and even their vices, and they have thus drawn around them a circle of dishonest men. . . . Ministers have never before possessed such means of corruption, as none have ever before been in the presence of a class so open to corruption. I know that they have been drawn by a species of fatality to the edge of a dangerous precipice, but it is their own fault that they have allowed themselves to be so drawn. It is a fatality by which they have been induced to create so many new offices, a fatality which has led them to divide already existing offices, and a fatality which has caused them arbitrarily to create new ones." The orator cited many recent facts which showed that functionaries had not only been deprived of their offices for having voted according to their consciences, but that notorious agents of Government corruption had been scandalously well rewarded; and then added:—

Speech of M. de Tocqueville.

"It is by such acts as these that great catastrophes are brought about. Search through history for the causes which have deprived the governing classes of power, and you will find that the latter have only lost it when they have rendered themselves, by their egotism, unworthy of retaining it. . . . The evils which I point out have already produced the most serious revolutions; and do you not now perceive that the soil of Europe is trembling beneath your feet? Do you not feel the breath of revolution in the air? My firm conviction is that public morals have come to that point of degradation at which fresh disturbances are inevitable. Do you know what will probably come to pass within the next two years, within the next year, and even, perhaps, to-morrow? What you know only is that a tempest is brooding over the horizon, that it is advancing towards and will soon be upon you. . . . Retain your laws if you choose, but, for God's sake, change the spirit of your government—that spirit which is plunging you into the abyss."

Debate on the reform banquets.

A still more violent debate took place respecting the answer to that phrase of the speech from the throne, by which many peers and a hundred deputies, who had taken part in the banquets by which France had been agitated, considered themselves to be particularly attacked; and the legality of those banquets was at the same time discussed with extreme violence. The Keeper of the Seals, M. Hébert, in an eloquent and sensible speech, enumerated the grounds on which the Government would have the right to prevent such assemblies when they tended to disturb the public peace, and declared that it would not give way before any seditious manifestation. To this defiance M. Duvergier de Hauranne replied by another. He would not yield, he said, to the ukase of a Minister, and he was ready to join all who, by some decided act of resistance, would prove that the rights of Frenchmen might not be destroyed by a mere decree of the police. This proof was to consist in the assembly of the principal deputies of the opposition at a reform banquet which had been already arranged to take place in the 12th Arrondissement of Paris, and which had been interdicted by the authorities. This formidable defiance, which had the effect of transferring the debate from the floors of the Chambers to the public thoroughfares, was followed by the vote

Defiance of M. Duvergier de Hauranne.

of the address, in which the Opposition had not succeeded in procuring a single amendment, or the insertion of any decided promise of reform on the part of the Ministry.

The day for the announced demonstration drew near. Paris, anxious and agitated, without foreseeing any great catastrophe, was nevertheless in expectation of the occurrence of serious events, and of one of those blows the shock of which, says Bossuet, is felt so far around. The stormy debates on the address had caused the greatest excitement amongst the numerous classes of the population which were already disturbed and inflamed by the speeches delivered at the seventy reform banquets which had taken place in the principal cities of the kingdom. The Republican and Legitimist enemies of the dynasty, so long held in check by a citizenship so long devoted to the maintenance of the existing state of affairs, at the present time found its citizenship discontented and divided. The hope of obtaining the revenge so long adjourned had returned to them; and the secret societies, the anarchists, and the political refugees, recruited by the demagogues, resumed their courage, silently armed themselves, and prepared for the final struggle with the Monarchy.

Agitation in Paris and France.

Intimidated, with too much reason, by these terrifying symptoms, the deputies of the dynastic Opposition and the Cabinet itself hesitated to provoke a dangerous explosion, and they agreed that the banquet demonstration should be reduced to a simple meeting, and such formal proceedings as would be sufficient to enable the legal authorities of the country to decide the question of the right of holding public meetings. The Radical Opposition, however, which desired to struggle at any price, would not rest contented with so peaceable an arrangement. Its journalists, its deputies, and its orators, amongst whom, unfortunately, was numbered M. de Lamartine, resolved to call upon the schools, the National Guard, and all Paris, in fact, to take part in a decided, although pacific demonstration, which was announced on the 21st February for the morrow in the Radical journals, *The National* and *The Reform*. On the unexpected appearance of this programme, M. Odillon Barrot and his friends of the Dynastic Opposition determined not to take part in the banquet. Being divided, however, between the honest sentiment which led them to abstain from

Political Demonstration announced for February 22.

what they thought might cause public misfortunes and a dread of losing their popularity by appearing to shrink from danger, and being at the same time controlled by their antecedents and a fatal position, they deposited in the bureau of the Chamber a formal accusation against the Cabinet, which, without proving of any advantage to themselves, added fresh fuel to the popular excitement. The dreaded Revolution burst forth on the 22nd February, amidst shouts of "Long live Reform!" "Down with Guizot!"

Impeachment of the Cabinet.

I shall give but few details of these sad days, and I shall not describe at length the mournful fall of the dynasty which had been for eighteen years triumphant, and which now, abandoned by all those who had received it with acclamations, was destroyed by an insurrection. A few days sooner a Ministry which had been long in power, and which had not retained office until driven from it by a violent revolutionary pressure, might have succeeded another Cabinet less compromised in public opinion. But it was now too late; the hour for regular concessions had gone by. Feeble at first, and uncertain, the insurrection appeared, on the first day, at several points at once; at the Champs Elysées, on the Place de la Concorde, and in certain faubourgs, where barricades were erected and abandoned. The flames which were everywhere sullenly brooding, were slow to burst forth, but, being only timidly suppressed, they speedily grew fierce, and on the second day had involved all Paris. All hope, however, was not yet lost; the resources of the Government were great, the garrison did its duty, and various regiments hastened to march upon the capital. But the National Guard answered badly to the Government summons, and the few weak battalions which took up arms manifested too evident sympathies for an insurrection the apparent object of which was electoral reform, and appeared much more disposed to interfere between the regular troops and the insurgents than to oppose the latter. The adoption of this attitude by the National Guard at length made the King resolve to yield to necessity, and on the evening of the 22nd February it became known that he had invited M. Molé to form a new Cabinet. Paris now immediately illuminated, and this news was everywhere received with tremendous acclamations as a happy omen of conciliation and peace. But on this same evening a fatality caused everything to be lost.

Revolution of 1848, February 22, 23, and 24.

M. Molé invited to form a new Cabinet.

A column of the populace descended by the Boulevards, the Faubourgs Saint Martin and the Temple, and, preceded by the red flag, encountered a battalion of infantry of the line, stationed in front of the Foreign Office, in the Boulevard des Capucines, and there a detestable pistol-shot fired against the troops provoked them; without awaiting the orders of their officers, they fired upon the mob which crowded the Boulevard and the adjacent streets, and in an instant the ground was strewn with victims of every age and either sex. At this sight the fury of the people was once more aroused to its utmost pitch; the dead were lifted up before the soldiers, who were themselves seized with horror; placed, bleeding and half naked, on dead carts, which seem to have been present in anticipation, and promenaded through the Boulevards and the most remote quarters of the city by torchlight, to the cry of "Vengeance! Vengeance!" and the sound of the tocsin, which spread its funeral reverberations through the horrors of this frightful night. The fatal news flew from mouth to mouth; the Faubourgs arose; Paris became covered with an interminable network of barricades; and by the morning the quarter of the Tuileries was almost entirely covered with them. Before such perils as these M. Molé was powerless, and withdrew; whilst the Court perceived that a vigorous and desperate resistance had become absolutely necessary.

Bloody episode on the Boulevard des Capucines.

Rapid progress of the insurrection.

The victor of the Isly, Marshal Bugeaud, was appointed before daybreak to the command-in-chief of the troops. He had under his orders Bédeau, Lamoricière, and other tried generals, and every preparation was made for a bloody and decisive struggle. In the meantime the King entrusted the conduct of affairs to the leaders of the Parliamentary Opposition, MM. Thiers and Odillon Barrot, who, trusting too implicitly to their popularity, believed that they could appease the Revolution by their mere words and presence. They put a stop to the firing of the troops, and recalled Bugeaud, who, with grief and rage, saw his sword broken in his hands. Distracted by contrary orders, the soldiers remained some time in a state of indecision and inaction, then abandoned the barricades to the insurgents, and to a great extent fraternized with them. After this the latter became innumerable, and advanced in a dense mass towards the Tuileries.

MM. Thiers and Barrot invested with power.

The King's last review.

Louis Philippe, at the instigation of the Queen, mounted his horse, and reviewed at the Carrousel several regiments and a few weak battalions of the National Guards. The regular troops received him with cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" But the National Guards replied with the cry of "Reform! Reform!" the password of the Revolutionists, and the discouraged Monarch re-entered his palace.

The conflict had already ceased everywhere except at the Palais Royal, at the Château d'Eau, where a handful of brave men, well commanded, listened only to the voice of honour and duty. The post was ultimately set on fire, and most of its brave defenders were slain.

I abridge the recital of those lamentable scenes in which are seen a monarch so horrified at bloodshed as to refuse to allow it for his own safety and that of the monarchy; generals prohibited to act; hitherto popular statesmen, such as MM. Thiers and Barrot, attempting in vain to save the throne, and everywhere ignored and insulted; regular troops giving way without fighting; and the citizen militia, O! madness! so blinded as not to perceive that the cause which was falling was their own, and so far forgetful of their duty as not only to fail to respond to the summons of the Government, but even to permit some of their own members, in their own uniform, to appear amongst the insurgents.* There was madness everywhere, and an unfortunate chance kept at a distance from France two valiant and popular princes, the Dukes d'Aumale and de Joinville, who alone were capable, at this period, of checking and vanquishing sedition. The insurrection incessantly increased, filled all the approaches to the Palace, knocked at its doors, and was at the point of bursting through them.† What a spectacle then was presented by the ancient home of the French sovereigns! Louis Philippe still deliberated. Beside him was the Queen, filled with inexpressible grief, but resigned. Around him were the princesses in tears, stupefied courtiers, mute generals, powerless and terrified ministers. The word abdication

* Scarcely a tenth part of the citizen militia assumed their arms in the days of February, and of this number a very small portion made common cause with the insurrectionists. It is untrue, therefore, that the National Guard overthrew the Government of July, the defence of which was confided to it; but it is too true that it allowed it to perish, and this was an immense fault which has not been yet forgotten.

† Apparet domus intus et atria longa patescunt;
Apparent Priami et veterum penetralia regum.

was uttered; many voices repeated it, and urged the King to consent to and sign it. Louis Philippe, apparently calm and emotionless, took his pen and wrote these words, "I abdicate, in favour of the Count de Paris, my grandson; and I hope that he may be happier than I have been." After he had signed this act of abdication the King retired by the only means of exit which remained free, and the mob forthwith burst into the Palace.

Abdication of Louis Philippe, Feb. 24, 1848.

A woman clothed in mourning—the Duchess d'Orleans—was the last to leave the Tuileries with her two children, and in this extremity many voices expressed a wish that the regency, which the law gave to the Duke de Nemours, could be conferred on the Duchess. Courageous, and resolved to brave death in the fulfilment of a great duty, she passed though the threatening crowd in order to present her son to the two Chambers. She proceeded, under the escort of the Duke de Nemours and the protection of a few friends, to the Chamber of Deputies, where M. Dupin introduced her as the Regent of the kingdom; and when the Duchess took a seat in front of the tribune with her brother-in-law Nemours and her two sons, M. Dupin and M. Odillon Barrot endeavoured to procure such an enthusiastic reception for the new King by the deputies as had been accorded, after the Revolution of July, to the Duke of Orleans. But in 1830 the majority of the Elective Chamber really represented the nation, which had elected it in spite of all the efforts of the Government, and for this reason was respected by the victorious multitude; but in 1848 it was not so, for the majority of the deputies having been elected by means of the abuse of Government influence, in spite of a national and almost universal opposition, only represented an authority which was near the end of its existence. For this reason it not only had no influence with the public, but was also penetrated with a sense of its own weakness. Its place of assembly was violated, whilst it was actually sitting, by armed bands, and its president, M. Sauzet, himself abandoned it. Four deputies—MM. Crémieux, Marie, Ledru-Rollin, and de Lamartine—demanded the nomination of a Provisional Government, the members of which were immediately pointed out with acclamations by the voices of the insurgents, and those of a few deputies mingled together. Chambers, regency, royalty, all, disappeared in the tempest.

The Duchess d'Orleans and her children at the Chamber of Deputies.

Nomination of a Provisional Government, Feb. 24.

On the following day (the 25th February) the Provisional Government proclaimed the Republic; and France was thus once more given up to every species of danger until, in accordance with the inflexible law of history, anarchy produced a master, and Louis Napoleon Bonaparte obtained, by universal suffrage, the presidency of the Republic, and, at a subsequent period (December, 1853) the Imperial throne.

Proclamation of the Republic, Feb. 25, 1848.

## CHAPTER IX.

### REMARKS ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND PARLIAMENTARY MONARCHY IN FRANCE FROM 1814 TO 1848.

*Conclusion.*

It is fit, at the conclusion of this work, that we should throw a simultaneous glance at the constitutional government of the two branches of the House of Bourbon, as well as at the principal causes which led to its fall.

During the first part of this period the sun of prosperity shone on the Restoration, and the dark clouds thrown by violent passions over the agitated period began to separate as soon as the Restoration took place. France owes to it, let us remember, its constitutional charter of 1814, its first essays in the path of political liberty, its deliverance from the scourge of foreign invasion, and the enjoyment of a long peace, after a quarter of a century of frightful warfare. It owes also to the Restoration the establishment of its public credit, the re-establishment of its maritime commerce, and the development of its industry and internal prosperity—benefits too frequently unappreciated or ignored. It owes to it also the foundation of an empire in Africa which will doubtless be some day called to great destinies. And finally, it must be acknowledged, to the honour of the Restoration, that it was a period fertile in all the fields of human activity—in the sciences, the fine arts, in oratory, and in literature, including those branches for which the French intellect had hitherto shown no great aptitude, lyrical poetry and history. The genius of the country appeared at the period of the Restoration to awake from a long sleep, it received fresh life from the electric shock of ideas, and produced numerous *chefs d'œuvre*—a brilliant proof of that well-known truth, that the arts of peace may flourish in very agitated times, provided that the agitation be accompanied by circumstances of grandeur, and that it be caused by powerful convictions and generous passions.

The following period—that of the Government of July—was doubtless as fruitful in parliamentary eloquence as that of the Restoration; but most of the men who had then acquired a name in literature had become politicians or officials. On this account, and on others which I will not mention here, French literature was less fertile in this second period than in the first,* producing few remarkable works, except a celebrated one by Alexis de Tocqueville, out of the regions of criticism and romance; this latter species of writing especially being cultivated with much success by men of various talents, but too often, it must be added, to the prejudice of good morals. This period also saw industry flourish in various branches, the public credit established, the public wealth developed to the highest point, and the efforts of the Government united with those of private individuals to endow the country with its principal railways. A great extension was also given during this reign to French conquests in Africa, which, however, it must be admitted, were always less productive than costly; and although Louis Philippe, to his honour be it said, had preserved the general peace of Europe, everywhere where France showed her flag, under this prince as under the Bourbons of the elder branch, it acquired honour.

These two monarchies have fallen, and have one after the other been engulphed before our eyes. The mind grows giddy in the contemplation of their fall, and is strongly inclined to attribute it to ill-fortune and fatality. But the world is not governed by fortune. "There are general causes," says Montesquieu, "both moral and physical, which act upon every monarchy, and either elevate and preserve it or hurl it to destruction." This great truth becomes manifest to those who examine attentively the catastrophes which have overtaken our monarchical and parliamentary governments. There were in each, from the moment of their origin, as we have already said, fatal causes of ruin inherent to the position in which they were placed and inseparable to the nature of things. It was a great misfortune for the first of these Governments that it appeared to issue from foreign invasion and the humiliation of France, and it was a danger for the other that it had been born of a successful Revolution. The Liberals, Bonapartists, Republicans, &c., closing their eyes to the immense services rendered to the country, decried the first as

* Amongst the causes which contributed to this result, political debasement holds the first place.

the natural ally of foreigners and the enemies of France; whilst the cause of the second was identified by them with those of all revolutions, and too many of them believed that they were in permanent possession of the right to resort, for the purpose of overthrowing it, to the means by which it had been established.

There was a danger to the Restoration in the very principle from which it derived its force, the hereditary and traditional principle, which is doubtless very well calculated to consolidate a Government and to gain for it the respect of peoples, but which, when ill understood and regarded as a species of divine principle, superior to all others, is almost certain to plunge a monarchy into the abyss. The contrary principle—that of a national sovereignty—has also its fictions and its dangers; but, in the case of the failure of traditional right, it is nevertheless the only basis on which new governments can be established. The Government of July invoked in its favour the national will, but it neglected to consult it by means of an universal vote, and to establish it by the only forms which were formerly and are now in use. It thus remained, in the eyes of the masses, in an equivocal and false position, deprived, on the one hand, of the strength which is transmitted with the legal and traditional principle, and on the other of the power afforded by a decided demonstration of the popular will; and this was one of the rocks on which it struck. But the most dangerous rock for each of the two Governments existed in the very state of society, in the composition of the classes whose duty it more particularly was to support and defend them. The Restoration brought into the political arena men whom the events of a quarter of a century had rendered hostile to each other, and whom the iron hand of Napoleon had held in check and disarmed, some still bleeding from their wounds and eager to repair and avenge their losses, and others determined to defend their conquests; whilst all were equally intractable and implacable, and much more occupied in forging for themselves, by means of legislation, arms which would enable them to acquire power, than in supporting the constitution and the crown by developing the resources of the country.

Victorious at length, in 1830, by the aid of the mob, the *bourgeoisie* who disposed of the sceptre in the name of France, and on a too small portion of whom the Government relied in the elections, were constantly held in check between the representatives of the old privileged classes who had been vanquished with the traditional monarchy, and a portion of the

popular classes who had been deceived in their hopes and were excited by their three days' victory. They thus found themselves beset with equal fury both from above and from below, whilst they were deprived within their own body of most of the conservative elements of empires, and had no other strength than that afforded by an union which was the result of common interest and common danger—a variable and precarious strength, which is enfeebled in proportion as the community of interest and the imminence of danger themselves decrease.

Such were the obstacles and the principal difficulties which were encountered in 1814 and 1830 by the Governments of the elder and the younger branch of the House of the Bourbons—difficulties inherent to the state of things which existed before any fault had been committed, and which were even independent of any vice in the constitution. They were great without being insurmountable, and imposed upon the Ministers of the two Governments the absolute necessity of being prudent, of seeking the support of the body of the nation, and of displaying great attention to the real wishes of the nation; this necessity being so much the greater because the very characteristic principle of constitutional and free states is that the Government should be the faithful expression of the interests, the necessities, and the morals of the society over which it presides.

The scrupulous observance of these conditions of existence would have probably prevented the events of 1830 and 1848; but these conditions were not observed. Ambitious or too confident, Ministers disdained public opinion, some of them attempting to displace the centre of gravity of the social body, whilst the others sought for a foundation for the Government where there was none. They were kept in possession of their offices by means of that unlimited administrative power of which they had equally made a long and continual use to crush down public opinion to the point at which it becomes furious and ungovernable.

Do not let us attempt to darken the picture by showing men to be more guilty than they are. There are fatal circumstances which, combined with certain opinions, frequently hurry along, in spite of themselves, the best as well as the ablest men. When a prince, in fact, who has been brought up in the doctrine of the policy consecrated to Bossuet and the divine right of kings, occupies a constitutional throne, the moment must come sooner or later when he will consider himself bound both by

honour and conscience to override both the constitution and the laws of his country. Charles I., James II., and Charles X. did this, and I might cite a great and living example on the banks of the Rhine. In like manner, when the central administration possesses an almost uncontrolled and unlimited power, there will always be some man amongst those who direct it who will believe that the safety of his country depends on the maintenance of his own policy, and who will put in motion all the wheels of this great power for the purpose of perpetuating it. The more personal ability such a man possesses the more inclined he will be to assist himself by this formidable machine. Richelieu, Mazarin, Colbert, Louvois, Turgot himself, all made use of it, and no one can affirm that the adversaries of MM. de Villèle and Guizot would, in their place, have resisted the temptations of power any more strenuously than they did. It is the instrument, therefore, that should be blamed rather than those who make use of it, and who did not abuse it for the purpose of consolidating their power until they had shaken the latter by their faults.

If the dangers which presented themselves in these difficult times could have been surmounted by high intelligence, great talents, good intentions, untarnished integrity, devotion to country, few governments would have been more prosperous than those of the last three reigns. The most eminent men of the Restoration and the following period were distinguished for these qualities; but what was most rarely found amongst them was a genuine and serious love of political liberties considered as guarantees of individual, religious, and civil liberty; they had not an intuitive sense of the influence of moral forces in the affairs of this world; and finally, they knew not that compassion for every species of distress which, in England, upwards of twenty years since, after the suppression of the corn laws, inspired the great Minister who was overthrown by his own victory, with these touching words—"I shall leave a name," he said, "which will be held in horror by those who only regard their own interests, but which will be, perhaps, mentioned affectionately in the humble dwellings in which live those whose lot is labour, and who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow."

It must be acknowledged that the egotism of party spirit and cold political calculations too often stifled that benevolent sympathy for suffering humanity, that profound respect for the human conscience and dignity in others, and that love of truth, which are the fruitful sources of

the best resolutions in our modern democracies. And yet these elevated moral dispositions, these virtues which are always so rare, although so necessary, in the heads of empires, were not more frequent during the late reign in the ranks of the Opposition than on the Ministerial benches. This was a great misfortune. There were, doubtless, amongst the members of either party very honourable exceptions; but in general we find the Opposition much more eager to defend the institutions and laws by means of which it hoped ultimately to arrive at power itself, than eager in unanimously demanding those which would allow mankind freely to develop their moral and physical faculties. It was thus that the liberty of the press and electoral reform had their champions not less numerous than devoted; yet the extension of communal and departmental liberty was but faintly demanded; fewer voices were raised with persevering energy in favour of that religious freedom guaranteed by the charter than sufficed to give it a practical existence, to break the shackles which crippled the right of association, or to render education liberal and commerce free. Too few men, in fact, pleaded with generous constancy for the numerous and suffering classes to obtain for them a remission of their burdens, or any amelioration either of their moral condition or of their general welfare.

If, however, an Opposition representing a great majority had thus comprehended the principles of liberty and progress, it might have restored strength and courage to a multitude of men sunk in dangerous indifference; it might have rallied all generous hearts not selfishly devoted to their own interests, or to a base and personal cause, but to a cause which was really popular, great, and Christian. But alas! a deplorable political school, which was completely a stranger to the true principles of modern liberty—the school of Rousseau—had left too many germs in men's minds. Liberty was only understood in France on the surface, as has been said by an eminent publicist of our own day. Its inhabitants were determined, in fact, to see liberty only in political liberty, which never exists long if it be not supported, through the whole extent of the country, by a series of strong and liberal institutions.

Political liberty is not an object in itself, but a means of protecting those other liberties, the possession of which is indispensable to the expansion of the faculties and forces of men. These other liberties themselves would be but useless and inert instruments without the ideas, the

sentiments, and the beliefs which require them as the conditions of their existence; and, amongst all these great influences on human actions, the most powerful and indispensable in the midst of a free people are the Christian beliefs, which elevate, fortify, and purify souls, and inspire self-abnegation, self-respect, and respect for others. Without these beliefs there has never been, from the times of pagan antiquity to our own, any true or durable liberty for any people; and wherever they have been seriously entertained, they have rendered men capable of accomplishing prodigies, and of obtaining for themselves a liberty which has been the mother and the guardian of all the others.

What a far distance still separates us from the end to which tend all our aspirations, and how many are the obstacles which still separate us from it! A grievous truth to utter, but one which is not only manifest to-day, but was manifest even at a time when the country was in complete possession of political liberties.

May an evil from which France has suffered during the last sixty years be promptly remedied; may a salutary equilibrium be established between the central and individual forces; may the life blood which now flows in excess to the heart of the country be distributed fairly amongst all its members; may the Constitution be so established as to guarantee the genuineness as well as the freedom of votes; may the latter become the faithful expression of the moral interests as well as the physical necessities of the country; and may those who give them be raised to a proper sense of the moral responsibility of their acts! Finally, may France bear her thoughts aloft, and remember that man does not live by bread alone, but by the words of justice and of life. Then liberty, a plant of rare and difficult growth, will become acclimatized on a soil which has been shaken by many tempests, and will be, to use words which have fallen from august lips, the promised crown of the political edifice. More fortunate than their fathers, our sons will reap the benefits which ever result from liberty, and will bear upon their banner, with legitimate pride, to the ends of the world, our immortal and glorious device, "DIEU PROTÈGE LA FRANCE!"

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